

# TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION

WITH

*NOTES AND APPENDIX*

BY

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VOL I



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TO

Professor MAX MULLER, M A , &c , &c ,

This Work

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE



"I THINK Scandinavian Paganism, to us here, is more interesting than any other. It is, for one thing, the latest, it continued in these regions of Europe till the eleventh century, 800 years ago the Norwegians were still worshippers of Odin. It is interesting also as the creed of our fathers, the men whose blood still runs in our veins, whom doubtless we still resemble in so many ways.

There is another point of interest in these Scandinavian mythologies, that they have been preserved so well"—CARLYLE'S "HERO-WORSHIP".

What Mr Carlyle says of the Scandinavian will of course apply to all Teutonic tradition, so far as it can be recovered, and it was the task of Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie* to supplement the Scandinavian mythology (of which, thanks to the Icelanders, we happen to know most) with all that can be gleaned from other sources, High-Dutch and Low-Dutch, and build it up into a whole. And indeed to prove that it *was* one connected whole, for, strange as it seems to us, forty years ago it was still considered necessary to prove it.

Jacob Grimm was perhaps the first man who commanded a wide enough view of the whole field of Teutonic languages and literature to be able to bring into a focus the scattered facts which show the prevalence of one system of thought among all the Teutonic nations from Iceland to the Danube. In this he was materially aided by his mastery of the true principles of Philology, which he was the first to establish on a firm scientific basis, and which enabled him to trace a word with certitude through the strangest disguises.

The Comparative Mythology of all nations has made great strides since Grimm first wrote his book, but as a storehouse of facts within his special province of *Teutonic Mythology*; and as a clue to the derivation and significance of the *Names* of persons and things

in the various versions of a myth, it has never been superseded and perhaps it never can be. Not that he confines himself to the Teutonic field, he compares it at every point with the classical mythus and the wide circle of Slavic, Lettic and occasionally of Ugrie, Celtic, and Oriental tradition. Still, among his *Deutsch* kindred he is most at home, and Etymology is his forte. But then etymology in his hands is transfigured from random guessing into scientific fact.

There is no one to whom Folk-lore is more indebted than to Grimm. Not to mention the loving care with which he hunted up his *Kinder und Haus-märchen* from all over Germany, he delights to detect in many a nursery-tale and popular custom of to-day the beliefs and habits of our forefathers thousands of years ago. It is impossible at times to forbear a smile at the patriotic zeal with which he hunts the trail of his German gods and heroes, the glee with which he bags a new goddess, elf, or swan-maid, and his indignation at any poaching Celt or Slav who has spirited away a mythic being that was German born and bred. "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more?"

The present translation of the *Deutsche Mythologie* will, like the last (fourth) edition of the original, be published in three volumes, the first two of which, and part of the third, will contain the translation of Grimm's text, and the remainder of the third volume will consist of his own Appendix and a Supplement.

The author's second and third editions (1844 and 1854) were each published in 2 vols., accompanied by an APPENDIX consisting, first, of a short treatise on the *Anglo-Saxon Genealogies*, and secondly, of a large collection of the *Superstitions* of various Teutonic nations. This Appendix will form a part of our Vol. III. After Grimm's death his heirs entrusted to Prof. E. H. Meyer, of Berlin, the task of bringing out a fourth edition, and including in it such additional matter as the author had collected in his note-books for future use. If Grimm had lived to finish his great Dictionary, which engrossed the latter years of his life,<sup>1</sup> he would, no doubt, have incorporated

<sup>1</sup>He used to say, he had a book ready to run out of each of his ten fingers, but he was no longer free.

the pith of these later jottings in the text of his book, rejecting much that was irrelevant or pleonastic. The German editor, not feeling himself at liberty to select and reject, threw the whole of this posthumous matter into his third volume (where it occupies 370 pages), merely arranging the items according to the order of subjects in the book, and numbering each by the page which it illustrates. This is the SUPPLEMENT so frequently referred to in the book, under the form ("see Suppl.") I have already introduced a few extracts from it in the Foot-notes, especially where it appeared to contradict, or materially to confirm, the author's opinion expressed in the text. But in the present English edition it is intended to *digest* this Supplement, selecting the most valuable parts, and adding original articles by the editor himself and by other gentlemen who have devoted special attention to individual branches of the science of Folk-knowledge. A full classified Bibliography and an accurate and detailed Index to the whole work will accompany the book. It is hoped by this means to render the English Edition as complete and serviceable as possible.

Grimm's *Preface* to the edition of 1844, giving a vigorous resumé of the book, and of the whole subject, will, as in the German accompany Vol II. There is so much in it, which implies the reader's acquaintance with every part of the book, that I have felt bound to keep it where I find it in the original

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The only additions or alterations I have ventured to make in the text are the following —

1 The book bristles with quotations in various languages, for the most part untranslated. An ordinary German reader might find the Old and the Middle High German about as intelligible as an ordinary Englishman does Anglo-Saxon and Chaucer respectively. But when it comes to making out a word or passage in Old Norse, Greek, and even Slavic, I must suppose the author to have written for a much more limited and learned public than that which, I hope, will find this English edition sufficiently readable. I have therefore *translated* a great many words and sentences,

where the interest, and even the argument, of the paragraph depended on the reader's understanding the quotations. To have translated *all* that is not English would have swelled the size of the book too much. Apart from such translation, any additions of my own are always placed in square brackets [ ], except a few notes which bear the signature "TRANS"

2 For the sake of clearness, I have divided some of the chapters (XII to XVI) into smaller sections with headings of their own.

3 I have consulted the English reader's convenience by substituting the *w* and *æ*, which he is accustomed to see in Anglo-Saxon words, for Grimm's *v* and *a*, as 'wæg' instead of 'vag'. I have also used the words 'Dutch, Mid Dutch' in a wider sense comprehending all the Teutonic dialects of the Netherlands, instead of coining the awkward adjective 'Netherlandish'

One word on the title of the book. Ought not "*Deutsche Mythologie*" to be translated *German*, rather than *Teutonic Mythology*? I am bound to admit that the author aimed at building up a *Deutsch* mythology, as distinct from the Scandinavian, and that he expressly disclaims the intention of giving a complete account of the latter, because its fulness would have thrown the more meagre remains of the *Deutsch* into the shade. At the same time he necessarily draws so much upon the richer remains of the Norse mythology, that it forms quite a substantive portion of his book, though not exhaustive as regards the Norse system itself. But what does Grimm mean by *Deutsch*? To translate it by *German* would be at least as misleading in the other direction. It would not amongst us be generally understood to include—what he expressly intends it to include—the Netherlands and England, for the English are simply a branch of the Low German race which happened to cross the sea. I have therefore thought, that for the English ear the more comprehensive title was truer to the facts on the whole than the more limited one would have been.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

From the westernmost shore of Asia, Christianity had turned at once to the opposite one of Europe. The wide soil of the continent which had given it birth could not supply it long with nourishment, neither did it strike deep root in the north of Africa. Europe soon became, and remained, its proper dwelling-place and home.

It is worthy of notice, that the direction in which the new faith worked its way, from South to North, is contrary to the current of migration which was then driving the nations from the East and North to the West and South. As spiritual light penetrated from the one quarter, life itself was to be reinvigorated from the other.

<sup>1</sup> In a book that deals so much with Heathenism, the meaning of the term ought not to be passed over. The Greeks and Romans had no special name for nations of another faith (for *ἑτερόδοξοι*, *βάρβαροι* were not used in that sense), but with the Jews and Christians of the N T are contrasted *ἔθνος*, *ἔθνη*, *ἔθνηκοί*, Lat *gentes*, *gentiles*, Ulphilas uses the pl *thiudōs*, and by preference in the gen after a pronoun, *thái thiudō*, *sumái thiudō* (gramm 4, 441, 457), while *thiudislōs* translates *ἔθνικώς* Gal 2, 14. As it was mainly the Gicck religion that stood opposed to the Judæo-Christian, the word *Ἕλλην* also assumed the meaning *ἔθνικός*, and we meet with *ἐλληνικώς* = *ἔθνικώς*, which the Goth would still have rendered *thiudislōs*, as he does render *Ἕλληνες thiudōs*, John 7, 35 12, 20. 1 Cor 1, 24 12, 13, only in 1 Cor 1, 22 he prefers *Kiekos*. This *Ἕλλην* = gentilis bears also the meaning of giant, which has developed itself out of more than one national name (Hun, Avar, Tehudi), so the Hellenic walls came to be heathenish, gigantic (see ch. XVIII). In Old High German, Notker still uses the pl *diute* for gentiles (Graff 5, 128). In the meanwhile *pagus* had expanded its narrow meaning of *κώμη* into the wider one of *ager*, *campus*, in which sense it still lives on in It paese, Fr pays, while *paganus* began to push out *gentilis*, which was lapsing into the sense of nobilis. All the Romance languages have their *pagano*, *payen*, &c., now, it has penetrated into Bohem. *pohan*, Pol *pogany*, Lith *pagonas* [but Russ *pogany* = unclean]. The Gothic *hāthra* campus early developed an adj *hāthra* agrestis, campestris = *paganus* (Ulph in Mark 7, 26 renders *ἑλληνίς* by *hāthra*), the Old H G heida an adj *heidan*, Mid H G and Dutch heide *heiden*, A S *hæð hæðra*, Engl *heath heathen*, Old Norse *heiði heiðinn*, Swed and Dan use *hedning*. The O H G word retains its adj nature, and forms its gen pl *heidanêro*. Our present heide, gen *heiden* (for *heiden*, gen *heidens*) is erroneous, but current ever since Luther. Full confirmation is afforded by Mid Lat *agrestis* = *paganus*, e g in the passage quoted in ch IV from Vita S Agili, and the 'wilde heiden' in our Heldenbuch is an evident pleonasm (see Supplement).

The worn out empire of the Romans saw both its interior convulsed, and its frontier overstept. Yet, by the same mighty doctrine which had just overthrown her ancient gods, subjugated Rome was able to subdue her conquerors anew. By this means the flood-tide of invasion was gradually checked, the newly converted lands began to gather strength and to turn their arms against the heathen left in their rear.

Slowly, step by step, Heathendom gave way to Christendom. Five hundred years after Christ, but few nations of Europe believed in him, after a thousand years the majority did, and those the most important, yet not all (see Suppl.)

From Greece and Italy the Christian faith passed into Gaul first of all, in the second and third centuries. About the year 300, or soon after, we find here and there a christian among the Germans on the Rhine, especially the Alamanni, and about the same time or a little earlier<sup>1</sup> among the Goths. The Goths were the first Teutonic people amongst whom christianity gained a firm footing, this occurred in the course of the fourth century, the West-goths leading the way and the East-goths following, and after them the Vandals, Gepidæ and Rugi were converted. All these races held by the Arian doctrine. The Burgundians in Gaul became Catholic at the beginning of the fifth century, then Arian under their Visigoth rulers, and Catholic again at the commencement of the sixth century. The Suevi in Spain were at first Catholic, then Arian (about 469), until in the sixth century they, with all the West-goths, went over likewise to the Catholic church. Not till the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth did christianity win the Franks, soon after that the Alamanni, and after them the Langobardi. The Bavarians were converted in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Frisians, Hessians and Thuringians in the eighth, the Saxons about the ninth.

Christianity had early found entrance into Britain, but was checked by the irruption of the heathen Anglo-Saxons. Towards the close of the sixth and in the course of the seventh century, they also went over to the new faith.

The Danes became christians in the tenth century, the Norwegians at the beginning of the eleventh, the Swedes not completely

<sup>1</sup> Wartz's *Ulfila*, p. 35

till the second half of the same century. About the same time christianity made its way to Iceland.

Of the Slavic nations the South Slavs were the first to adopt the christian faith—the Carentani, and under Heraclius (d. 640) the Croatians, then, 150 years after the former, the Moravians in the eighth and ninth centuries. Among the North Slavs, the Obotritæ in the ninth, Bohemians<sup>1</sup> and Poles in the tenth, Sorbs in the eleventh, and Russians at the end of the tenth.

Then the Hungarians at the beginning of the eleventh, Livonians and Lettons in the twelfth, Esthonians and Finns in the twelfth and thirteenth, Lithuanians not even till the commencement of the fifteenth.

All these data are only to be taken as true in the main, they neither exclude some earlier conversions, nor a longer and later adherence to heathenism in limited areas. Remoteness and independence might protect the time-honoured religion of a tribe. Apostates too would often attempt at least a partial reaction. Christianity would sometimes lead captive the minds of the rich and great, by whose example the common people were carried away, sometimes it affected first the poor and lowly.

When Chlodowig (Clovis) received baptism, and the Salian Franks followed his lead, individuals out of all the Frankish tribes had already set the example. Intercourse with Burgundians and West-goths had inclined them to the Arian doctrine, while the Catholic found adherents in other parts of Gaul. Here the two came into collision. One sister of Chlodowig, Lanthild, had become an Arian christian before his conversion, the other, Albofred, had remained a heathen, the latter was now baptized with him, and the former was also won over to the Catholic communion<sup>2</sup>. But even in the sixth and seventh centuries heathenism was not yet uprooted in certain districts of the Frankish kingdom. Neustria

<sup>1</sup> Fourteen Bohemian princes baptized 845, see Palacky 1, 110. The Middle North-slavs—Radehi, Tolenci, Kyani, Ciripani—still heathen in the latter half of the 11th century, see Helmold 1, 21-23 (an. 1066). The Rugians not till 1168, Helm 2, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *baptizata* est Albofreda. Lanthildis *chrismata* est, Greg. Tur. 2, 31. So among the Goths, *chrismatum* is administered to Sigibert's wife Brunichild (4, 27), and to Ingund's husband Hermimichild (3, 38, who assumes the new name of Joannes). The Arians appear to have *re-baptized* converts from Catholicism, Ingund herself was compelled by her grandmother-mother-in-law Goiswintha 'ut rebaptizaretur'. *Rebaptizare* catholicos, Eugippii vita Severini, cap. 8.

had heathen inhabitants on the Loire and Seine, Burgundy in the Vosges, Austrasia in the Ardennes, and heathens seem still to have been living in the present Flanders, especially northwards towards Friesland<sup>1</sup> Vestiges of heathenism lingered on among the Frisians into the ninth century, among the Saxons into the tenth, and in like manner among the Normans and Swedes into the eleventh and twelfth<sup>2</sup> Here and there among the northern Slavs idolatry was not extinct in the twelfth century, and not universally so among the Finns and Lithuanians in the sixteenth and seventeenth<sup>3</sup>, nay, the remotest Laplanders cling to it still

Christianity was not popular It came from abroad, it aimed at supplanting the time-honoured indigenous gods whom the country revered and loved These gods and their worship were part and parcel of the people's traditions, customs and constitution Their names had their roots in the people's language, and were hallowed by antiquity, kings and princes traced their lineage back to individual gods, forests, mountains, lakes had received a living consecration from their presence All this the people was now to renounce, and what is elsewhere commended as truth and loyalty was denounced and persecuted by the heralds of the new faith as a sin and a crime The source and seat of all sacred lore was shifted away to far-off regions for ever, and only a fainter borrowed glory could henceforth be shed on places in one's native land

The new faith came in escorted by a foreign language, which the missionaries imparted to their disciples and thus exalted into a sacred language, which excluded the slighted mother-tongue from almost all share in public worship This does not apply to the Greek-speaking countries, which could follow the original text of the christian revelation, but it does to the far wider area over which the Latin church-language was spread, even among Romance populations, whose ordinary dialect was rapidly emancipating itself from the rules of ancient Latin Still more violent was the contrast in the remaining kingdoms

The converters of the heathen, sternly devout, abstemious, mortifying the flesh, occasionally peddling, headstrong, and in

<sup>1</sup> Authorities given in Ch IV — *Conf lex Frisionum*, ed Gaupp, p xxiv, 19, 47. Heathenism lasted the longest between Laubach and the Weser

<sup>2</sup> *Fornmann i sogur* 4, 116 7, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Wedekinds notes 2, 275, 276. Rhessa damos, p 333 The Lithuanians proper converted 1387, the Samogits 1413

slavish subjection to distant Rome, could not fail in many ways to offend the national feeling. Not only the rude bloody sacrifices, but the sensuous pleasure-loving side of heathenism was to them an abomination (see Suppl). And what their words or their wonder-working gifts could not effect, was often to be executed against obdurate pagans by placing fire and sword in the hands of christian proselytes.

The triumph of Christianity was that of a mild, simple, spiritual doctrine over sensuous, cruel, barbarizing Paganism. In exchange for peace of spirit and the promise of heaven, a man gave his earthly joys and the memory of his ancestors. Many followed the inner prompting of their spirit, others the example of the crowd, and not a few the pressure of irresistible force.

Although expiring heathenism is studiously thrown into the shade by the narrators, there breaks out at times a touching lament over the loss of the ancient gods, or an excusable protest against innovations imposed from without<sup>1</sup> (see Suppl).

The missionaries did not disdain to work upon the senses of the heathen by anything that could impart a higher dignity to the Christian cultus as compared with the pagan: by white robes for subjects of baptism, by curtains, peals of bells (see Suppl), the lighting of tapers and the burning of incense<sup>2</sup>. It was also a wise or politic measure to preserve many heathen sites and temples by simply turning them, when suitable, into Christian ones, and assigning to them another and equally sacred meaning. The heathen gods even, though represented as feeble in comparison with the true God, were not always pictured as powerless in themselves, they were perverted into hostile malignant powers, into demons, sorcerers and giants, who had to be put down, but were nevertheless credited with a certain mischievous activity and influence. Here and there a heathen tradition or a superstitious custom lived on by merely changing the names, and applying to Christ, Mary and the saints what had formerly been related and believed of idols (see Suppl). On the other hand, the piety of christian priests suppressed and destroyed a multitude of heathen monuments, poems and beliefs, whose annihilation history can hardly cease to

<sup>1</sup> Fornmannna sögur 1, 31-35. Laxdæla, p. 170. Kralodvorsky epikopis, 72.74.

<sup>2</sup> Gieg. Tur. 2, 31. Fornm. sög. 1, 260. 2, 200.

lament, though the sentiment which deprived us of them is not to be blamed. The practice of a pure Christianity, the extinction of all trace of heathenism was of infinitely more concern than the advantage that might some day accrue to history from their longer preservation. Boniface and Willibrord, in felling the sacred oak, in polluting the sacred spring, and the image-breaking Calvinists long after them, thought only of the idolatry that was practised by such means (see Suppl.) As those pioneers 'purged their floor' a first time, it is not to be denied that the Reformation eradicated aftergrowths of heathenism, and loosing the burden of the Romish ban, rendered our faith at once freer, more inward and more domestic. God is near us everywhere, and consecrates for us every country, from which the fixing of our gaze beyond the Alps would alienate us.

Probably some sects and parties, non-conformity here and there among the heathen themselves, nay, in individual minds a precocious elevation of sentiment and morals, came half-way to meet the introduction of Christianity, as afterwards its purification (see Suppl.) It is remarkable that Old Norse legend occasionally mentions certain men who, turning away in utter disgust and doubt from the heathen faith, placed their reliance on their own strength and virtue. Thus in the *Sólar loð* 17 we read of Vêbogi and Rådei 'â sik þau trúðu,' in themselves they trusted, of king Hákon (Fornm sog 1, 35) 'konúgr gerir sem allir aðrir, þeir sem trúa â mátt sinn ok megin,' the king does like all others who trust in their own might and main, of Barði (ibid 2, 151) 'ek trú ekki â skuggi goð eðr fiandr, hefi ek því lengi trúat â mátt minn ok megin,' I trust not in idols and fiends, I have this long while, &c, of Hiorleifr 'vildi allir blóta,' would never sacrifice (Landn 1, 57), of Hallr and Thórir goðlaus 'vildu eigi blóta, ok trúðu â mátt sinn' (Landn 1, 11), of king Hrólfr (Fornm sog 1, 98) 'ekki er þess getit at Hrólfr konúgr ok kappar hans hafi nokkurn tíma blótat goð, heldr trúðu â mátt sinn ok megin,' it is not thought that king H. and his champions have at any time, &c, of Orvaroddr (Fornald sog 2, 165, cf 505) 'ekki vandist blótum, því hann trúði â mátt sinn ok megin,' of Finnbogi (p 272) 'ek trú â sialfan mik' This is the mood that still finds utterance in a Danish folk-song (D V 4, 27), though without a reference to religion.

Forst troer jeg mit gode sward  
 Og saa min gode hest,  
 Dernast troer jeg mine dannesvenne,  
 Jeg troer mig self allerbedst,

and it is Christian sentiment besides, which strives to elevate and consecrate the inner man (see Suppl.)

We may assume, that, even if Paganism could have lived and luxuriated a while longer, and brought out in sharper relief and more spontaneously some characteristics of the nations that obeyed it, yet it bore within itself a germ of disorganisation and disruption, which, even without the intervention of Christian teaching, would have shattered and dissolved it<sup>1</sup>. I liken heathenism to a strange plant whose brilliant fragrant blossom we regard with wonder, Christianity to the crop of nourishing grain that covers wide expanses. To the heathen too was germinating the true God, who to the Christians had matured into fruit.

At the time when Christianity began to press forward, many of the heathen seem to have entertained the notion, which the missionaries did all in their power to resist, of combining the new doctrine with their ancient faith, and even of fusing them into one. Of Norsemen as well as of Anglo-Saxons we are told, that some believed *at the same time* in Christ and in heathen gods, or at least continued to invoke the latter in particular cases in which they

<sup>1</sup> Old Norse sagas and songs have remarkable passages in which the gods are coarsely denied. A good deal in Lokasenna and Harbard's song may pass for rough joking, which still leaves the holiest things unshaken (see Suppl.). But faith has certainly grown fainter, when a daring poet can compare Odinn and Freyja to dogs (Fornm. sog. 2, 207; Islend. sog. 1, 11 ed. nov. 372; Nials. 160), when another calls the gods rangevg (squint-eyed, unfau) and iokindusta (Fornm. sog. 2, 154). When we come to Freyr, I shall quote a story manifestly tending to lessen the reverence for him, but here is a passage from Oswald 2913: 'din got dæi ist ein junger toi (tool), ich wil glauben an den alten'. If we had a list of old and favourite *dogs'-names*, I believe we should find that the designations of several deities were bestowed upon the brute by way of degradation. Vilk. saga, cap. 230-235, has handed down Thor (but cf. ed. nov., cap. 263) and Páron, one being the O.N., the other the Slav name in the Slovak form. Páron = Páron ch. VIII. With the Saxon heidsmen or hunters Thunar was doubtless in use for dogs, as perhaps Donner is to this day. One sort of dog is called by the Poles *Gr. wilas* (Linde 1, 779a, 2, 798), by the Bohemians *Hřnilas* (Jungm. 1, 759) = Thunder, Forest-thunder. In Helbling 4, 441 seq. I find a dog Wunsch (not Wunsch). Similar to this is the transference of national names to dogs: the Bohemian *Bohdok* is a dog's name, but signifies an Obotrite (Jungm. 1, 150), *Sámi* in the Nials-saga seems to mean a Same, Sabme = Lapp, Helbling 4, 458 has a *Frank* (see Suppl.).

had formerly proved helpful to them. So even by christians much later, the old deities seem to have been named and their aid invoked in enchantments and spells. Landnámabók 3, 12 says of Helgi 'hann trúði á Krist en þó hét hann á Thór til sæfara ok harðræða ok alls þess, er honum þótti mestu varða', he believed in Christ, and yet he called upon Thor in voyages and difficulties, &c. Hence the poets too transferred heathen epithets to Christ. Bede 1, 15 relates of Redwald, an East-Anglian king in the beginning of the 7th century 'rediens domum ab uxore sua, a quibusdam perversis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei depravatus, habuit posteriora pejora prioribus, ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum, et Christo servire videretur et diis quibus antea serviebat, atque in eodem fano et altare habebat in sacrificium Christi et arulam ad victimas daemoniorum' (see Suppl.) This helps to explain the relapses into paganism.

The history of heathen doctrines and ideas is easier to write, according as particular races remained longer outside the pale of baptism. Our more intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Roman religion rests upon writings which existed before the rise of Christianity, we are oftener at fault for information as to the altered shape which that religion had assumed among the common people in Greece and Italy during the first centuries of our era. Research has yet to penetrate, even deeper than it has done, into the old Celtic faith, we must not shrink from recognizing and examining Celtic monuments and customs on ground now occupied by Germans. Leo's important discovery on the real bearings of the Malberg glossary may lead to much. The religion of the Slavs and Lithuanians would be far more accurately known to us, if these nations, in the centuries immediately following their conversion, had more carefully preserved the memory of their antiquities, as it is, much scattered detail only wants collecting, and traditions still alive in many districts afford rich material. On the Finnish mythology we possess somewhat fuller information.

Germany holds a middle place, peculiar to herself and not unfavourable. While the conversion of Gaul and that of Slavland were each as a whole decided and finished in the course of a very few centuries, the Teutonic races forsook the faith of their fathers very gradually and slowly, from the 4th to the 11th century. Remains of their language too have been preserved more fully and



from the successive periods. Besides which we possess in the works of Roman writers, and especially Tacitus, accounts of the earlier undisturbed time of Teutonic heathenism, which, though scanty and from a foreign source, are yet exceedingly important, nay invaluable.

The religion of the East and South German races, which were converted first, is more obscure to us than that of the Saxons, about the Saxons again we know incomparably less than about the Scandinavians. What a far different insight we should get into the character and contents of the suppressed doctrine, how vastly the picture we are able to form of it would gain in clearness, if some clerk at Fulda, Regensburg, Reichenau or St. Gall, or one at Bremen, Corvey or Magdeburg, had in the eighth, ninth or tenth century, hit upon the plan of collecting and setting before us, after the manner of Saxo Grammaticus, the still extant traditions of his tribe on the beliefs and superstitions of their forefathers! Let no one tell me, that by that time there was nothing more to be had, here and there a footmark plainly shows that such recollections could not really have died out<sup>1</sup>. And who will show me in Sweden, which clung to heathenism longer and more tenaciously, such a composition as actually appeared in Denmark during the twelfth century? But for this fact, would not the doubters declare such a thing impossible in Sweden? In truth, the first eight books of Saxo are to me the most welcome monument of the Norse mythology, not only for their intrinsic worth, but because they show in what an altered light the ancient faith of the people had to be placed before the recent converts. I especially remark, that Saxo suppresses all mention of some prominent gods, what right have we then to infer from the non-mention of many deities in the far scantier records of inland Germany, that they had never been heard of there?

Then, apart from Saxo, we find a purer authority for the Norse religion preserved for us in the remotest corner of the North, whither it had fled as it were for more perfect safety,—namely, in Iceland. It is preserved not only in the two Eddas, but in a multitude of Sagas of various shape, which, but for that emigration

<sup>1</sup> As late as the tenth century the heroic tale of Walther and Hildegund was poetized in Latin at St. Gall, and a relic of heathen poetry was written down in German [deutlich, a misprint for deutsch?], probably at Merseburg.

coming to the rescue, would probably have perished in Norway, Sweden and Denmark

To assail the genuineness of the Norse mythology is as much as to cast doubt on the genuineness and independence of the Norse language. That it has been handed down to us both in a clearer and an obscure shape, through older and more modern authorities, makes it all the easier to study it from many sides and more historically.

Just as little can we fail to perceive the kinship and close connexion of the Norse mythology with the rest of Teutonic mythology. I have undertaken to collect and set forth all that can now be known of German heathenism, and that exclusively of the complete system of Norse mythology. By such limitation I hope to gain clearness and space, and to sharpen our vision for a criticism of the Old German faith, so far as it stands opposed to the Norse, or aloof from it, so that we need only concern ourselves with the latter, where in substance or tendency it coincides with that of inland Germany.

The antiquity, originality and affinity of the German and Norse mythologies rest on the following grounds

- 1 The undisputed and very close affinity of speech between the two races, and the now irrefutably demonstrated identity of form in their oldest poetry. It is impossible that nations speaking languages which had sprung from the same stock, whose songs all wore the badge of an alliteration either unknown or quite differently applied by their neighbours, should have differed materially in their religious belief. Alliteration seems to give place to christian rhyme, first in Upper Germany, and then in Saxony, precisely because it had been the characteristic of heathen songs then still existing. Without prejudice to their original affinity, it is quite true that the German and the Norse dialects and poetries have their peculiarities of form and finish, but it would seem incredible that the one race should have had gods and the other none, or that the chief divinities of the two should have been really different from one another. There were marked differences no doubt, but not otherwise than in their language, and as the Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Old High German dialects have their several points of superiority over the Old Norse, so may the faith of inland Germany have in many points its claims to distinction and individuality.

2 The joint possession, by all Teutonic tongues, of many terms relating to religious worship. If we are able to produce a word used by the Goths in the 4th century, by the Alamanni in the 8th, in exactly the same form and sense as it continues to bear in the Norse authorities of the 12th or 13th century, the affinity of the German faith with the Norse, and the antiquity of the latter, are thereby vindicated.

3 The identity of mythic notions and nomenclature, which ever and anon breaks out: thus the agreement of the O H G *muspill*, O Sax *mudspell*, with the Eddic *muspell*, of the O H G *itis*, A Sax *ides*, with the Eddic *dis*, or of the A Sax *brosinga mene* with the Eddic *biisinga men*, affords perfectly conclusive evidence.

4 The precisely similar way in which both there and here the religious mythus tacks itself on to the heroic legend. As the Gothic, Frankish and Norse genealogies all run into one another, we can scarcely deny the connexion of the veiled myths also which stand in the background.

5 The mingling of the mythic element with names of plants and constellations. This is an uneffaced vestige of the primeval intimate union between religious worship and nature.

6 The gradual transformation of the gods into devils, of the wise women into witches, of the worship into superstitious customs. The names of the gods have found a last lurking-place in disguised ejaculations, oaths, curses, protestations<sup>1</sup>. There is some analogy between this and the transfer of heathen myths from goddesses and gods to Mary and the saints, from elves to angels. Heathen festivals and customs were transformed into christian, spots which heathenism had already consecrated were sometimes retained for churches and courts of justice. The popular religion of the Catholics, particularly in the adoration of saints, includes a good many and often graceful and pleasing relics of paganism (see Suppl.)

7 The evident deposit from god-myths, which is found to this day in various folk-tales, nursery-tales, games, saws, curses, ill-understood names of days and months, and idiomatic phrases.

8 The undeniable intermixture of the old religious doctrine with the system of law, for the latter, even after the adoption of

<sup>1</sup> Conf. our 'donner' hammer ' the Serv. 'lele' lado ' the Lat. 'pol' aedepol ' me hercle ' me castor ' mediusfidius,' &c.

the new faith, would not part with certain old forms and usages (see Suppl.)

In unravelling these complex relations, it appears indispensable not to overlook the mythologies of neighbouring nations, especially of the Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns, wherever they afford confirmation or elucidation. This extension of our scope would find ample reason and justification in the mere contact (so fruitful in many ways) of the languages of those nationalities with Teutonic ones, particularly of the Celtic with Old Frankish, of the Finnish and Lithuanian with Gothic, and of the Slavic with High German. But also the myths and superstitions of these very nations are peculiarly adapted to throw light on the course taken by our domestic heathenism in its duration and decadence.

Against the error which has so frequently done damage to the study of the Norse and Greek mythologies, I mean the mania of foisting metaphysical or astronomical solutions on but half-discovered historical data, I am sufficiently guarded by the incompleteness and loose connexion of all that has been preserved. My object is, faithfully and simply to collect what the distortions early introduced by the nations themselves, and afterwards the scorn and aversion of christians have left remaining of heathenism, and to enlist fellow-labourers in the slow task of securing a more solid store of facts, without which a general view of the substance and worth of our mythology is not to be attained (see Suppl.).

## CHAPTER II.

### GOD

In all Teutonic tongues the Supreme Being has always with one consent been called by the general name God. The dialectic varieties are Goth *gud̥*, A S, O S, O Fris *god*, O H G *cot*, O Norse *god̥*, Swed Dan *gud*, M H G *got*, M L G *god*, and here there is a grammatical remark to make. Though all the dialects, even the Norse, use the word as masculine (hence in O H G the acc sing *cotan*, I do not know of a M H G *goten*), yet in Gothic and O Norse it lacks the nom sing termination (-s, -r) of a masc noun, and the Gothic gen sing is formed *gud̥s* without the connecting vowel *i*, agreeing therein with the three irreg genitives *mans*, *fadr̥s*, *brōð̥is*. Now, as O H G has the same three genitives irreg, *man*, *fatar*, *pruodar*, we should have expected the gen *cot* to bear them company, and I do not doubt its having existed, though I have nowhere met with it, only with the reg *cotes*, as indeed *mannes* and *fateres* also occur. It is more likely that the sanctity of the name had preserved the oldest form inviolate, than that frequent use had worn it down<sup>1</sup>. The same reason preserved the O H G spelling *cot* (Gramm 1, 180), the M Dut *god* (1, 486), and perhaps the Lat vocative *deus* (1, 1071)<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, God and other names of divine beings reject every article (4, 383 394 404 424 432), they are too firmly established as proper nouns to need any such distinction. The *der got* in MS 2, 260a is said of a heathen deity.

On the radical meaning of the word God we have not yet arrived at certainty,<sup>3</sup> it is not immediately connected with the adj

<sup>1</sup> The drift of these remarks seems to be this. The word, though used as a masc, has a neut form, is this an archaism, pointing to a time when the word was really neuter, or a mere irregularity due to abtution, the word having always been masc?—TRANS.

<sup>2</sup> Saxo does not inflect Thor, Uhland p 198.

<sup>3</sup> The Slav *bog̃h* is connected with the Sanskr *bhāga* felicitas, *bhakta* devotus, and *bhaja* colere, perhaps also with the obscure *bahts* in the Goth *andbahts* minister cultor, conf p 20, note on *boghat*, dives. Of *θεός*, *deus* we shall have to speak in ch IX.

*good*, Goth *gôds*, O N, *gôði*, A S *gôð*, O H G *cuot*, M H G, *guot*, as the difference of vowel shows, we should first have to show an intermediacy of the gradations *gida gad*, and *gada gôð*, which does take place in some other cases, and certainly God is called the Good<sup>1</sup> It is still farther removed from the national name of the Goths, who called themselves Gutans (O H G *Kuzun*, O N *Gotar*), and who must be distinguished from O N *Gautar* (A S *Geátas*, O H G *Kôzâ*, Goth *Gautôs* ?)

The word God has long been compared with the Pers *Khodâ* (Bopp, comp gram, p 35) If the latter be, as has been supposed, a violent contraction of the Zend *qradâta* (a se *datus*, incieatus, Sanskr. *svadâta*, conf *Dêvadatta* *Θεόδοτος*, *Mitradata* *Ἡλιόδοτος*, *Sridatta*), then our Teutonic word must have been originally a compound, and one with a very apt meaning, as the Servians also address God as *samozazdâni bôzhe* 'self-created God', Vuk 741

The O H G *cot* forms the first half of many proper names, as *Cotadio*, *Cotascalh*, *Cotafrit*, *Cotaham*, *Cotakisal*, *Cotaperaht*, *Cotalint*, but not so that we can infer anything as to its meaning, they are formed like *Imandio*, *Hiltiscalh*, *Sikufrit*, and may just as well carry the general notion of the Divine Being as a more definite one When *cot* forms the last syllable, the compound can only stand for a god, not a man, as in *Irmuncot*, *Hellicot*

In derivatives Ulphilas exchanges the TH for a D, which explains the tenuis in O H G, thus *guda-faurhts* (god-fearing) Luke 2, 25, *gagudei* (godliness) Tit 1, 1, though the dat sing is invariably *guða*<sup>2</sup> Likewise in speaking of many gods, which to Christians would mean idols, he spells *guda*, using it as a neuter, John 10, 34-5 The A S god has a neut pl *godu*, when idols are meant (cod exon 250,2 254,9 278,16) In like manner the O H G and M H G compound *apcot*, *aptcot* (false god) is commonly neuter, and forms its pl. *apcotir*, whether the M H G 'der aptgot' in Geo 3254 3302 can be correct, is questionable, we have taken to

<sup>1</sup> οὐδείς ἀγαθός ἐι μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός, Mark 10, 18, Luke 18, 19, which in Gothic is rendered 'ni hvashun þiuðeigs alja ans Guð', but in A S, 'nis nan man gôð buton God ana' God is the giver of all good, and himself the highest good, summum bonum Thus Plato names him τὸ ἀγαθόν

<sup>2</sup> In Gothic the rule is to change TH into D before a vowel in inflection, as, *fads*, *fædis*, *fuda*, *iud*, *haubud*, -dis, -da, -ð The peculiarity of *guð* is that it retains TH throughout the sing, *guð*, *guðs*, *guða*, *guð*, though in pl and in derivatives it falls under rule again — TRANS

using *abgott* as a masc throughout, yet our pl *gotten* itself can only be explained as originally neuter, since the true God is one, and can have no plural, and the O H G *cotâ*, M H G *gote* contain so far a contradiction. In Ulph *afguds* is only an adj, and denotes impius Sk 44, 22, *afgudei impietas*, Rom 11, 26, *εἰδωλα* he translates by *galvuga* (figmenta), 1 Cor 5, 10 10, 20 28, or by *galvugagula*, 1 Cor 10, 20, and *εἰδωλεῖον* by *galugê staðs*, 1 Cor 8, 10. Another N H G expression *gotze* I have discussed, Gramm 3, 694, Luther has in Deut 12, 3 'die *gotzen* ihnei *gotter*, making *gotze*=idolum. In Er Alberus fab 23, the *gotz* is a demigod<sup>1</sup> (see Suppl). The O N language distinguished the neut *goð* idolum from the masc *guð* deus. Snorri 119 says of Sif 'ut hânfagia goð,' the fairhaired god, I do not know if a heathen would have said it.

In curses and exclamations, our people, from fear of desecrating the name of God, resort to some alteration of it<sup>2</sup> *potz wetter!* *potz tausend!* or, *lotz tausend!* *lotz wunder!* instead of Gottes, but I cannot trace the custom back to our ancient speech. The similar change of the F1 *dieu* into *bieu*, *bleu*, *gueu*<sup>3</sup> seems to be older (see Suppl).

Some remarkable uses of the word God in our older speech and that of the common people may also have a connexion with heathen notions.

Thus it is thrown in, as it were, to intensify a personal pronoun (see Suppl). Poems in M H G have, by way of giving a hearty welcome *gotc unde mir willekomen*, Trist 504. Frib Trist 497

<sup>1</sup> Writers of the 16-17th centuries use *olgot c* for statue (Stieles says, from an allegorical representation of the apostles asleep on the Mount of Olives, ol = oil). Hans Sachs frequently has 'den olgotzen tragen' for doing house duty, I 5, 418<sup>a</sup> 528<sup>d</sup>. III 3, 24<sup>a</sup> 49<sup>d</sup>. IV 3, 37<sup>b</sup> 99<sup>a</sup>. The O H G *coz*, simpvium Numae (Juvenal 6, 343), which Graff 4, 154 would identify with *gotze*, was a vessel, and belongs to *gozan*=fundere.

<sup>2</sup> Such a fear may arise from two causes: a holy name must not be abused, or an unholy dreaded name, *e.g.* that of the devil, has to be softened down by modifying its form, see Chap XXXIII, how the people call formidable animals by another name, and for Donner prefer to say *donnerwetter* (Dan *torlenven* for Thursday), *donnerwett-tem* (*wetterstein* or *wetzstein* <sup>1</sup>), *donnerkail*, *donnerwasche*, *dummer*. In Fornm sog 10, 283 we have Oddiner for Óðinn, perhaps Wuotansheer (Woden's host) was purposely changed into Mutesheer, whether Phol into Falant, is worth considering.

<sup>3</sup> Sangbieu (sang de Dieu), corbieu (corps de D) vertubleu (vertu de D), morbleu (mort de D), parbleu (par D), vertugueu, verzugui (vertu de D), morguoi (mort de D), &c. As early as Renart 18177, *por la char bieu*. So the Engl. cock's bones, 'od's bones, 'od's wounds, 'zounds, &c. Conf. Weber metr rom. 3, 284.

*gote* sult ir willekomen sîn, iurem *lande* unde *mir* (ye shall be welcome to God, your country, and me), Trist 5186 *got* alrêst, dar nâch *mir*, west willekomen, Parz 305, 27 wis willekomen *mir* und *got*, Frauend 128, 13 sît *mir* *gote* wilkomen<sup>1</sup>, Eilh Trist 248 rehte *got* wilkomen *mir*, Dietr 5200 Nu sît ouch *mir* *got* wilkomen, Dietr 5803 sît willekomen *got* und ouch *mir*, Dietr 4619 nu wis *mir* *got* wilkomen, Oswalt 208 406 1163 1268 1393 2189 du solt grôz willekomen sîn dem rîchen *got* unde *mir*, Lanz 1082 wis *mir* unde ouch *got* wilkomen, Ls 1, 514 Occasionally *gote* stands alone diu naht sî *gote* willekomen, Iw 7400, explained in the note, p 413, as 'devoted to God,' though it only means 'to-night be (thou) welcome' Upper Germany has to this day retained the greeting 'gottwilche, gottwillkem, gottikum, skolkuom' (Stald 1, 467 Schm 2, 84) I do not find it in Romance poems, but the Saxon-Latin song of the 10th century on Otto I and his brother Hemrich has sîd wilcomo bêthiu *goda* ende *mi* The Supreme Being is conceived as omnipresent, and is expected, as much as the host himself, to take the new-comer under his protection, so the Slovèny say to the arriving guest 'bôgh tè vsprimi, God receive-you!'<sup>2</sup> and we to the parting guest 'God guide, keep, bless you!' We call it commending or committing one to God, M H G *gote* ergeben, Er 3598 I compare with these the *Hail*! called out to one who arrives or departs (heill ver þu! Sæm 67<sup>a</sup> 86<sup>b</sup>), with which are also associated the names of helpful gods heill þu farn, heill þu *ásyniom* sêr! fare thou well, be thou well by (the aid of) the Asynior, Sæm 31<sup>a</sup> heill scaltu Agnarr, allz þic heilan biðr vera tîr vera! Sæm 40

In the same way the name of the omniscient God emphasizes an assurance of knowledge or ignorance daz weiz *got* unde<sup>a</sup> *ich*, Trist 4151 den schatz weiz nu nieman wan (except) *got* unde *mîn*, Nib 2308, 3<sup>3</sup> This comfortable combination of *I* with *God* has for its counterpart the opprobrious one of a *thou* with *devil*, ch XXXIII Here too the *got* alone is enough ingen vet mîn sorg utan *gud*, Svenska visor 2, 7 That we are fully justified in

<sup>1</sup> The omission of *and* between the two datives is archaic, conf. Zeitschr f d a 2, 190

<sup>2</sup> Buge waz priim, galva Venus! Frauend 192, 20, conf 177, 14

<sup>3</sup> hie fiart uns anders nieman dan *got* unde *diu* *uoltrogellîn*, Ecke 96 niemen bevinde daz wan er und ich und ein kleinez vogellîn, das mac wol getruwe sîn, Walth. 40, 15. Birds play the spy on men's privacy.



referring these modes of speech so far back as to the heathen time, is shown by a remarkable passage in Fornald sog 1, 380 *ek hugða engar kunna nema mik ok Óðinn*. By secrets which none can know save Óðinn and to whomsoever he has whispered them, his divinity is at once revealed, *Sæm* 38<sup>a</sup>, 95<sup>b</sup>, Fornald sog 1, 487. Not quite parallel are phrases such as *daz geloube gote unde mi*, Amis 989 *iu unde gote von himile klage ich unser leit*, Nib 1889, 3 *ik klage gode unde u*, Richtsteig landi 11 16 37 *sanc die messe beide got u in*, Parz 378, 25 *Wh 289, 5 neic si in unde got*, Iw 6013. Also in O Fi, *jel te pardoins de diu et de mi*, Mones untersuch 245. Sometimes the Evil One is named by the side of the Deity *jot* noch den *tuwel* loben, Iw 1273 *in beschirmet dei tuwel noch got*, Iw 4635, *ie* no one protects him.

Poems of the Middle Ages attribute human passions to God, especially is He often pictured in a state of complacency and joy (see Suppl.), and again in the contrary state of wrath and vengeance. The former is favourable to the creation of eminent and happily endowed men: *got* was an *emei suetzen zuht*, do'r Parzivalen *woirte* (in amiable tim—form, training—when he made Percival), Parz 148, 26 *got dei was vil scriftes muotes dô er geschuof sô ieme ein wip*, MS 1, 17<sup>b</sup>. *got der was in freuden*, dô er dich als *ebene maz* (so evenly meted), MS 1, 22<sup>b</sup> *got in grossen freuden* was, dô er dich *schuof* (*ie*, created wine), Altd bl 1, 413 *got der was in hôhem weide*,<sup>1</sup> dô er *geschuof* die *reinen fruht*, *wan ime was gar uol ze muote*, MS 1, 24<sup>b</sup> *got si zer werlde blâhte*, dô *ze freuden* stuont *sin muot*, Wigal 9282 *got dei was vil uol genuot*, dô ei *schuof sô iemem wibe tugent*, *wunne, schœne an libe*, MS 1, 201<sup>a</sup> *got was gezeide mulde*, *dei si beide schuof nâch lobe*, Troj 19922 *got selb in rîchen freuden* was, dô er ir *lip als ebene maz*, Misc 2, 186 *ich weiz daz got in freuden* was, dô er *nicht, frouwe, an dir veigaz waz man ze lobe sol schouwen*. Ls. 1, 35. So a troubadour sings *belha donna, de cor y entendia* Dieus, *quan formet vostre cors amors*, Rayn 1, 117<sup>2</sup>. It is an equally heathen

<sup>1</sup> The Gothic *gavairthi* = peace.

<sup>2</sup> To the creative God rejoicing in his work, the M.H.G. poets especially attribute *diligence* and *zeal*: *an den henden lac dei gotes fliz*, Parz 88, 15 *jach, er truoge den gotes fliz*, Parz 140, 5 *got het sinen fliz gar ze wunsche wol an si geleit*, Wigal 4130 *ich wæn got selbe woirte daz mit sinei got-heher hant*, Wigal 9723 *zwære got der hat geleit sine kunst und sînre kraft, sinen fliz und sine meisterschaft an disen loblichen lip*, Iw 1685. So in

sentiment, that imputes to God a propensity to gaze at human beauty, or to do whatever men do got mohte selbe *gerne sehen* die selben juncfrouwen, Flagm 22<sup>a</sup> gott moht in (him, i.e. the musician) *gerne hoeren* in sinen himelkoeren, Trist 7649 den slac *scolte* got selbe haben *gesehen* (should have seen that stroke), Rol 198, 18 Karl 72 got selbe moht ez *gerne sehen*, Trist 6869 ein puneiz (diadem), daz in got selber *mohte sehen*, Frauend 84, 16 gestriten daz d'engel *mohten hoeren* in den muon koeren, Willeh 230, 27 si mohte râch betwingen mite (might nigh compel withal) eines engels gedanc, daz er vl lihte *enen wanc* durch si *von hmele tete* (fall from heaven for her), Iw 6500 (imitated by Ottocar 166<sup>a</sup>) ich weiz daz wol, daz sin got nicht *verdruze*, MS 2, 127<sup>a</sup> ir hâr gelîch dem golde, als ez got *wunschen solde*, MS 2 62<sup>b</sup> sîn swert dat geinc (ging, went) an siner hant, dat got selve *viêhde mêre* (would ask to know), we der ritter wêre? dey engele muosten lachen, dat hey is sus kunde machen, Haupts zeitschi 3, 24 This hilarity of the attendant guardian-angels (ch XXVIII) or valkuis must be thought of in connexion with the laughing of ghosts (ch XXXI) In Hartmann's Erec, when Enite's white hands groomed (begengen) a horse, it says 355. und wære, daz got *hien ende rite*, ich wæn, in genuoete da mite, ob er *solhen marstaller hæte* This view of a sympathizing, blithe and gracious god, is particularly expressed in the subst *huldr*, O N *hylli* Oðins *hylli*, Sæm 47<sup>a</sup>. Ullar *hylli* ok allra goða, Sæm 45<sup>b</sup>

On the other hand, of the primitive sensuous representation of an *angry avenging* deity (see Suppl), the most striking example will be treated of presently in ch VIII, under Donar, thunder<sup>1</sup> The idea recurs several times in the Edda and elsewhere *reiðr* er þer Oðinn, *reiðr* er þer Asabragr, Sæm 85<sup>b</sup> Oðinn *ofreiðr*, Sæm 228<sup>b</sup> *reið* varð þâ Freyja oc fnasaði, Sæm 71<sup>b</sup>—she was wroth,

Chrestien ja la fist Dex de sa main nue, por nature fere muser, tout le mont i poroit user, s'ele la voloit contrefeire, que ja nen porroit a chief trere, no Dex, s'il sen voloit pener, mi poroit, ce cuit, assener, que ja une telle feist, por peine que il i meist (see Suppl)

<sup>1</sup> *Placula ira* deûni, Liv 22, 9 *deos iratos habeam*! dii immortales hominibus irasci et succensere consueverunt, Cic pro Rosc 16 And Tacitus on this very subject of the Germans propitius an *irati* dii, Germ 5 *ira* dei, Hist 4, 26 *infensi* Batavis dii, Hist 5, 25 And in the Mid Ages *tu odium Dei omniumque sanctorum habebas*! Vita Meinwerchi, cap 13 § 95 *crebrescentibus jam jamque cotidie Dei justo iudicio in populo diversis calamitatibus et flagellis* . . . quid esset in quo Deus offensus esset, vel quibus placari posset *openbus*, Pertz 2, 547.

and snorted or panted, as the angry wolf in Reinh XLII spirtles out his beaid guðin *reið* ordin, Fornm sog 2, 29 231 goða *grima* (deorufn ira) is announced, Egilss 352 at *gremia* goð (offendere deos), Fornald sog 2, 69 was imo god *ábolgan*, Hel 157, 19 than wírdid iu waldand *gram*, mahtig *módag*, Hel 41, 16 (elsewhere diu Sælde, or the world, earth, is *gram*) ein *zornec* got in daz gebôt (bade them), daz uns hie suochten mit ir her, Parz 43, 28 hie ist geschehen *gotes rache*, Reinh 975 got wil vervueren sinen *zorn*, Osw 717 ich wæne daz got *ræche* da selbe sinen *anden* (wreak his vengeance), Gudr 845, 4 daz *ruue* got<sup>1</sup> (God rue it), Trist 12131 daz ez got immer *ruue*<sup>1</sup> Trist 11704 The Lex Bajuv 6, 2, in forbidding Sunday labour, says quia talis causa vitanda est, quae Deum ad *iracundiam* provocat, et exinde flagellamur in frugibus et penuriam patimur How coarse were the expressions still used in the 17th century! "An abuse that putteth God on *his mettle*, and maketh him to hold strict and pitiless inquisition, that verily he shall, for saving of his honour, smite therinto *with his fists*", and again "to run *upon the spears* of an offended jealous God"<sup>1</sup> A wicked man was in the Mid Ages called *gote leide*, loathed by God One form of imprecation was to consign a man to God's hatred *ûz in gotes haz!* Trist 5449 *ûz strichet* (sheer off) *balde in gotes haz!* Trist 14579 nu vart den *gotes haz* alsam ein böswiht von mir hin! Frauend 109, 12 mich hât der *gotes haz* bestanden, Kl 518 iuch hât rehte *gotes haz* (al foul weather, the devil, &c) daher gesendet beide, Iw 6104 sô mueze ich haben *gotes haz*, Altd w 3, 212 varet hen an *godes haz!* Wiggert 2, 47 nu mueze er gewinnen *gotes haz*, Roth 611 In like manner the MLG *godsat* hebbe! Huyd op St 2, 350 Reinaert 3196<sup>2</sup> But, what deserves particular notice, this formula 'in gotes haz,' or in acc without prepos 'gotes haz varn, strichen' has a perfect parallel in another which substitutes for God the *sun*, and so heightens the heathenish colouring, ir sult farn der *sunnen haz!* Parz 247, 26 var der *sunnen haz!* Unprinted poems of Ruediger 46 hebe dich der *sunnen haz!* Er 93 nu zuhe in von mir der *sunnen haz!* Helmbr 1799 si hiezen in strichen in der *sunnen haz*, Eracl 1100. hiez in der *sunnen haz* hin varn, Frauend 375, 26 A man so cursed does not deserve to have the sun shine on him kindly

<sup>1</sup> Hartmann on benedictions, Nurnb. 1680, p 158, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Serious illness or distress is habitually called 'der *gotes slac*,' stroke

The Vandal Gizerich steps into his ship, and leaves it to the winds *where* they shall drive it to, or among what people he shall fall that *God is angry* with, ἐφ' οὗς ὁ θεὸς ὀργισται Procop de bello Vand 1, 5

Such hostile attitude breeds now and then a *rebellious spirit* in men, which breaks out in promethean defiance and threats, or even takes a violent practical turn (see Suppl) Herodotus 4, 94 says of the Thracians οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήκες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξέοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀπειλεῖσι τῷ θεῷ. If the god denied the assistance prayed for, his statue was flung into the river by the people, immersed in water, or beaten In the Carolingian romances we repeatedly come upon the incident of Charles *threatening* the Deity, that if he deny his aid, he will throw down his altars, and make the churches with all their priests to cease from the land of the Franks, *eg* Ferabr 1211, 1428, &c So dame Biede too *threatens* to uncover the altar and break the holy relics, Orendel 2395, and Marsilies actually, after losing the battle, has the houses of his gods pulled down, Rol 246, 30 If the vintage failed, the statue of Urban was thrown into a bath or the river<sup>1</sup> The Alcadians would scourge their Pan with squills (σκίλλαις), when they returned bootless from the chase (Theocr 7, 106) The Greeks imputed to their gods not only anger and hate, but envy, love of mischief, *νέμεσις*

EPITHETS OF GOD (see Suppl) In our modern speech dei *liebe*, *liebste*, *gnädige*,<sup>2</sup> *grosse*, *gute*, *allmächtige* In our older tongue hêrre got dei *guote*, Reinh 1296 Gute frau, 276 hêrro the *gôdo*, Hel 78, 3 90, 6. frô min the *gôdo*, 143, 7 *gnædeger* trehtin, Reinh 1309—Freq the *rich* God the *rîleo* Christ, Hel 1, 2 *rîli* god, Hel 195, 9 *rîli* drohtin, Hel 114, 22 der *rîche* got von himele, Roth 4971 got der *rîche*, Nib 1793, 3 Tust 2492 durch den *rîchen* got von himel, Morolt 3526 der *rîche* got mich ie gesach, V d wibe list 114<sup>3</sup>—Cot *almahtico*, cot *herlac*, Wesso-

<sup>1</sup> When lightning strikes, our people say If God can burn, we can build again. Ettneis hebamme, p 16

<sup>2</sup> Where God is, there is grace and peace, of a solemn spot it is said Here dwells der liebe Gott<sup>1</sup> And, to drive den lieben Gott from a person's room (Lesing 1, 243), means, to disturb a solitary in his sanctum

<sup>3</sup> OHG *rîlih* dives, potens, also beatus, and dives is near akin to Divus, as Divus springs out of divit From the Slav *bôgh* is derived *boghât* (dives), Lith *baugitis*, compare ops, in-ops (Russ u-bôghny), opulentus with Ops, the Bona Dea Conf Dietenb celt 1, 196.

brunn Gebet *mæhtig* drohtin, Hel 2, 2 *freá ælmahtig*, Cædm 1, 9 10, 1 *se ælmahtiga* wealdend, Thorpe's anal 83 *mannô multisto* (largissimus), Wessobr Geb vil *multen* Christ, Cod pal 350, 56—The AS has freq *éce* dryhten, æteinus, Cædm 246, 11 Beow 3382 3555 4655 Also *witig* god, sapiens, Beow 1364, 2105 Cædm 182, 24 *witig* dryhten, Beow 3101 3679 Cædm 179, 8 *witig* wuldorecning, Cædm 242, 30—*Waltant* got, Hild *waldindinger* got, Roth 213 523 1009 2332 4031 *waltant* Krist OV 25, 91 Gudr 2243 (AS) *wealdend*, Cædm 9, 25 wuldres *wealdend*, Beow 4 heofnes wealdend, Cædm 17, 15 *peoda wealdend* fæder *ahwealda*, Beow 630 (OS) *waldand*, Hel 4, 5 6, 6 *waldand* god 3, 17 *waldand* drohtin 1, 19 *alowaldo* 4, 8 5, 20 8, 2 69, 23 This epithet is not found in the Edda The notion of 'wielding', dominari, regere, is further applied to the Supreme Being in the phrase *es walten*, Paiz 568, 1 En 7299 10165 13225 So our *gottwalt's*! M Dut *godwouls*! Huyd op St 2, 548 Our acc in '*das walt Gott*' is a blunder, Agricola 596 Praet weltb 2, 50—God is occasionally called the Old *der alte* Gott lebt noch, *re* the same as ever AS *cald* metod MHG *hât* got sin *alt* gemuete, Wh 66, 20 *der alde* got, Roth 4401 popul '*der alte* Vater' In a Servian song (Vuk 2, 244 Montenegro 101), *bôgh* is named '*stari kivrnik*', the old blood-shedder, killer; and in Frauenlob MS 2, 214<sup>b</sup> *der alte* fiedel (sweetheart) The 13th century poets sometimes use the Lat epithet *altissimus*, Wh 216, 5 434, 23 Geo 90, 401, with which may be compared the MHG *du hôhste hant*, Paiz 484, 6 487, 20 568, 8 Wh 134, 7 150, 14 and the OHG *zi waltantru hentr*, OV 25, 91—The 'all-wielding' God is at the same time the all-seeing, all-knowing, all-remembering; hence it is said of fortunate men, that God *saw* them, and of unfortunate, that God *forgot* them (OHG) *hesah* tih kot! = O te felicem! N Boeth 145 (MHG) *gesah* in got! = happy he! Altd bl 1, 347 *sô mû got ergaz*, Troj kr 14072 *sô hât got mûn vergezzen*, Nib 2256, 3 *wie gar iuwer got vergaz* (how utterly God forgot you), Iw. 6254 *got mûn vergaz*, Ecke 209 *got hæte sîn vergezzen*, Trist 9243. *genædelicher trehtin*, *wie vergæze dû ie mûn sô?* Trist 12483. For other examples, see Gramin 4, 175—God, by regarding, guards *daz si got iemer schouue*! Iw. 794 O Engl God you *see*! God-keep you in his *sight*!

Among substantive epithets are several which God has in common with earthly rulers (see Suppl.) —Gothic *fiðrya* OS *fiðho*, *fró*, AS *frēð*, which name I shall treat of more fully by and by —OHG *truh̄tîn*, MHG *trehtîn*, OS *drohtin*, AS *dryhten*, ON *dróttinn* —OHG *h̄eriro*, MHG *h̄erre*, which however, when used of God, is never contracted into *her*, any more than Dominus into the Romance *domnus*, *don* —Conspicuous above all is the name *Father* (see Suppl.) In the Edda, *alfoðr* (Sæm 46<sup>b</sup> 88<sup>a</sup> 154<sup>b</sup> Sn 3 11 17), *heirfaðir*, *herja faðir*, *valfaðir* are applied to Óðinn as the father of all gods, men and created things. Such compounds are not found in the other dialects, they may have sounded heathenish, though the AS could use *fæder* *alwealda*, Beow 630, and the idea of God as Father became more familiar to the christians than to heathens. The OHG *altfatar* = grandfather, O 1 3, 6 AS *ealdfæder*, Beow 743 1883, I have nowhere seen applied to God. As the Greeks coupled together *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, esp in the voc *Ζεῦ πάτερ*, and the Romans Jupiter, Diespiter, Dispiter, Mars pater,<sup>1</sup> as well as *Δημήτηρ*, *Δαμάτηρ*, Terra *mater*, so the Lettons bestow on almost every goddess the epithet *mahte*, *mahmina* = *mater*, *matricula* (Buttner 244 Bergmann 142), on which we shall have more to say hereafter. To all appearance, father Goth *fadr* is connected with faps lord, as pater *πατήρ* is with *πάσις*, *πόσις*, Lith *pats* —The AS *metod*, *metod*, Cædm 223, 14 eald metod, Beow 1383 sôð metod, Beow 3222 OS *metod*, Hel 4, 13 15, 17 66, 19, an expression which likewise appears in the Edda, *miotuðr* Sæm 226<sup>b</sup> 241,<sup>b</sup> seems to signify Creator, as verbally it bears the sense of mensor, moderator, finitor. The full meaning of metod will not be disclosed, till we have a more exact knowledge of the relation between the Goth *mitan* (to mete) and *máitan* (to cut), the OHG *mezan* and *meizan*, in the Lat *mētiri* and *mētere*, besides there being no shifting of consonant (d for t), the quantity is inverted. The ON *miotuðr* appears to be also sector, messor, in Snorri 104 105, the wolf's head with which Heimdall was killed is called 'miotuðr Heimðallar,' and the sword is 'mans miotuðr', so in Fornald sog p 441, 'manna miofuðr' (see Suppl.) In MHG too, the poets use mezzan of exquisite symmetry in creating *dô sin* (Wunsch's) *gewalt ir bilde maz*, Troj 19626 *got selb in*

<sup>1</sup> Jane pater! Cato 134, but what can Dissunapiter mean in the remarkable conjuring-spell, Cato 160?

riehen frouden was, dô er n lip als *ebene maz*, Misc 2, 186 er sol ze rehte lange *mezzen*, der an si sô *ebene maz*, daz er an si ze welte nie nâch vollem wunsche weder des noch des vergaz, MS 1, 154<sup>v</sup>. got dei was in fioiden, dô er dich als *ebene maz*, MS 1, 22<sup>v</sup> wer kunde in sô gemezzen, Tit 130 1 anders denne got uns maz, dô er ze werke uber mich gesaz, Parz 518, 21 'ein bilde mezzen' is therefore the same thing as 'ein bilde *schaffen*' to create (Tioj 19805), or *guezzen* to cast, mould (Walth. 45, 25 MS 1, 195<sup>b</sup> 2, 226<sup>b</sup>), and in Suchenwrit 24, 154 it says 'got het *gegozzzen* ûf n vel, ir mundel rôt und wiz n kel', which throws a significant light on the Gothic tribal name *Gáuts*, AS *Godt* OHG *Kôz* (see Suppl)—AS *scrippenl*, creator, OHG *scefo*, *scephro*, MHG *schepfare*, Wh 1, 3 NHG *schopfer*—Some of these names can be strung together, or they can be intensified by composition *drohtin god*, Hel 2.13 *waldand frô min*, Hel 148, 14 153, 8 *fied dryhten*, Beow 62 186 *lif-fred*, Cædm 2, 9 108, 18 195, 3 240, 33 Beow 4 The earthly cuning with a prefix can be used of God *wuldorcuning*, king of glory, Cædm 10, 32 *hevan-cuning*, Hel 3, 12, 18 4, 14 5, 11 and synonymously with these, *rodora weard*, Cædm 11, 2 or the epic amplification, *irmin-got obana ab herane*, Hild got von himele, Nib 2090, 4 2114, 1 2132, 1 2136, 1

Of such *epic formulas* (see Suppl), beautiful specimens, all of one tenour, can be cited from the poets, especially the Romance they are mostly borrowed from God's dwelling-place, his creative power, his omnipotence, omniscience and truth—Dios aquel, que esta en alto, Cid 800 2352 2465 qui la amont el seint cel maint (abides), Ren 26018 qui maint el firmament, Berte 129\*149 der hôho sizet unde nideriu sihet, N ps 112, 5 qui haut siet et de loing mire, Ren 11687 qui haut siet et loins voit, Berte 44, 181 Gutecl 2, 139 der ubei der blauen decke sitzt, Melander Jocoseria 1, 439 cot almahtico, dû humil inti erda gaworahtôs (wroughtest heaven and earth), Wessobr Geb cel senhor, qui lo mon a creat, Ferabr. 775 qui tot le mont forma, Berte 143 que fezit nueyte dia, Ferabr 3997 per aysel senhor que fetz cel e rozada (sky and dew), Ferabr 2994 4412. qui fist ciel et rousee, Berte 28. 66 111 139 171 188 Aimon 876 qui feis mer salee, Berte 67. qui fist et mei et onde, Méon 3, 460 des hant daz mer gesalzen hât, Parz. 514, 15 qui fait courre la nue, Berte

136 183 (*νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς*) par celui qui fait toner, Ren. 16658 17780 par qui li soleus raie, Berte 13 81 der himel und erde gebôt und die meigriezen zelt (counts the sea-sands, or pebbles), Mai 18 der dei steine zal weiz, Wh 466, 30 der die sterne hât gezalt, Parz 629, 20 der uns gap des mânen (moon's) schîn, Wh 476, 1 qui fait croitre et les vins et les blez, Feiabr 163\* der mir ze lebene genet (planned), Nib 2091, 4 Kl 484. der mir ze lebene gebôt (bade), Roth 215 517 4552 der uns daz leben gebôt, Mar 24 (M Dut) bi den here die mi ghebôt (Granum 4, 134), die mi ghewrochte, Elegast 345 451 996 qui tot a a baillier (oversee), Berte 35 qui tot a a garder, Berte 7 que totz nos a juigiei, Feiabr 308 694 1727 the man-cunnies forwardôt, Hel 152, 5 qui sor tos homes puet et vaut, Méon 4, 5 dominus qui omnia potest, Docum of 1264 in Wenk 3 no 151 wider den nieman vermac, A Heiur 1355 der aller wunder hât gewalt, Parz 43, 9 der git unde nimt (gives and takes), Parz 7 9 der weinen und lachen geschuof, Wh 258, 19 der berdiu krump unde sleht gescuof (both crooked and plain), Parz 264, 25 der ane sihet alle getougen (secrets), Diut 3, 52 der durch elliu herzen siht, Frid 355 der in diu herze siht, Wh 30, 29 der ie daz guote genet (aye the good devised), Gieg 2993 ther suntilôso man (sinless), O. iii 21, 4 dem nie voller genâden zeran (tear, waste), Er 2490 qui onques ne menti (nunquam mentitus), Berte 82 96. 120 146 Méon 3, 8 icil dieu qui ne ment, et qui fist tot quanque mer serre, Ren 19338 er mik skôp ok ollu ræðr, Fornm sog 1, 3 sâ er ollu ræðr, ibid 8, 107 er sôlna hefði skapat, ibid. 1, 242 hét â þann sem sôlna skapaði, Landn p 139

If, in some of the preceding names, epithets and phrases descriptive of God, unmistakable traces of Heathenism predominate, while others have barely an inkling of it, the following expressions are still more indisputably connected with the heathen way of thinking

In the Norse mythology, the notion of a Deus, Divus, if not of the uppermost and eldest, yet of a secondary rank, which succeeded to power later, is expressed by the word *ás*, pl *ásyn* (see Suppl.). *Landás* (Egilss pp. 365-6) is patrium numen, and by it Thor, the chief god of the North, is designated, though *ás* and *allmáttli ás* is given to Óðinn (Landn 4, 7). *ásmegni* is divine power tha rex



honum ásmegin halfu, Sn 26 fœraz í ásmegin, Sn 65 But the name must at one time have been universal, extending over Upper Germany and Saxony, under such forms as Goth OHG *ans*, pl *ansers*, *ensî*, AS *ás*, pl *és* (conf our gans, with ON *gås*, pl *gæss*, AS *gôs*, pl *gês*, and *hōse* = *hansa*) It continued to form a part of proper names Goth *Ansila*, OHG *Anso*, the OHG *Anshelm*, *Anshult*, *Anspald*, *Ansnôt* correspond in sense to *Cotahelm*, *Cotahult*, &c ; AS *Osweald*, *Oslâf*, *Osdæg*, *Osrêd*, ON *Asbiorn*,<sup>1</sup> *Asdis*, *Asgautr*, *Aslaug*, *Asmundr*, &c—Now in *Ulphilas* Lu 2, 41-2, *ans* denotes a beam, *δοκός*, which is also one meaning of the ON *ás*, whether because the mighty gods were thought of as joist, rafter and ceiling of the sky, or that the notions of jugum and mountain-ridge were associated with them, for *ás* is especially used of jugum terræ, mountain-ridge, Dan *bieg-aas* (*dettiås* = sliding beam, portcullis, Landn 3, 17) But here we have some other striking passages and proofs to weigh An AS poem couples together '*ésa* gescot' and '*yifa* gescot,' the shots of auses and of elves, *jaculum divorum et geniorum*, just as the *Edda* does *æsir* and *álfa*, *Sæm* 8<sup>b</sup> 71<sup>a</sup> 82<sup>a</sup> 83<sup>b</sup>. *Jornandes* says, cap 13 *Tum Gothi, magna potiti per loca victoria, jam proceres suos quasi qui fortuna vincebant, non puros homines, sed semideos, id est anses* (which would be *ansers*) *vocavere* What can be plainer? The Norse *æsir* in like manner merge into the race of heroes, and at much the same distance from an elder dynasty of gods whom they have dethroned And here the well-known statement of *Suetonius* and *Hesychius*,<sup>2</sup> that the Etruscans called the gods *ασευες* or *ασι*, may fairly be called to mind, without actually maintaining the affinity of the Etruscan or Tyrrhenian race with the ancient German, striking as is the likeness between *τυρρηνός*, *τυρσηνός* and the ON *purs*, OHG *durs*<sup>3</sup>

The significance of this analogy, however, is heightened, when

<sup>1</sup> *Ursus divinus*, *Aslarna* (*ursa divina*), for which the *Waltharius* has the hybrid *Ospurn*, prop *Anspurn*, conf *Reinh* fuchs p *αλαν* For *Asketill*, *Oscytel*, see end of ch III

<sup>2</sup> *Suet* Octavian cap. 97 *futurumque, ut inter deos referretur, quod asan*, id est reliqua pars e *Cæsaris* nomine, *Etrusca lingua deus* vocaretur *Hesych* s v *αισοι θεοι ἰπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν* Conf *Lanzi* 2, 483-4, also *Dio* *Cass* 56, 29

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately *purs* means a giant, and *durs* a demon, which, if they have anything to do with the *τυρσηνοί*, would rather imply that these were a hostile and dreaded people—TRANS

we observe that the Etruscan religion, and perhaps also the Roman and the Greek, supposed a circle of *twelve* superior beings closely bound together and known by the name of *dui consentes* or *complices* (see Suppl.), exactly as the Edda uses the expressions *hopt* and *bond*, literally meaning vincula, for those high numina (Sæm 24<sup>a</sup> 89<sup>b</sup> Sn 176 204), and also the sing *hapt* and *band* for an individual god (Sæm 93<sup>b</sup>). Though *haptbandun* in the Merseburg poem cannot with certainty be taken to mean the same thing (the compound seems here to denote mere bodily chains), it is possible that *deus* and *δῖος* are referable to *δέω* I bind, that same 'ans' a yoke, is the same thing as the 'brace and band' of all things, neither can we disregard the fact that *twelve* is likewise the number of the Norse *æsir*, conf Sæm 3<sup>b</sup> 'æsir or þvi liði' of the set, kindred

Some other appellations may be added in support. In the earliest period of our language, the neut *ragin* meant consilium. Now the plural of this, as used in the Edda, denotes in a special manner the plurality of the gods (see Suppl.) *Regin* are the powers that consult together, and direct the world, and the expressions *blifð regin*,<sup>1</sup> *holl regin* (kind, merciful gods), *uppregin*, *ginregin* (superæ potestates) have entirely this technical meaning. *Ragnarok* (Goth *raginê nqvis* <sup>2</sup> dimness, darkness of gods) signifies the end of the world, the setting of the divine luminaries. Sæm 89<sup>b</sup> has "*roginn ok regin*" coupled together, *rognir* (cf 196<sup>a</sup>) being used to distinguish the individual *ragneis* (raguneis<sup>2</sup>), masc. These ON *regin* would be Goth *ragina*, as the *hopt* and *bond* are Gothic *hafta* and *banda*, all neut.—The same heathen conception peeps out in the OS *regangiscapu*, *reganogiscapu*, Hel 79, 13 103, 3, equivalent to *fatum*, destiny, the decree and counsel of the gods, and synonymous with *wurdgiscapu*, Hel 103, 7, from *wurd*, *fatum*. And again in *metodogiscapu*, Hel 66, 19 147, 11. We have seen that *metod* likewise is a name for the Supreme Being, which the christian poet of the Heland has ventured to retain from the

<sup>1</sup> The blithe, happy gods, when people stepped along in stately gorgeous attire, men thought that *gods* had appeared *menn hugðu at æsir væri þar komnir*, Landn 3, 10. The Vols saga c 26 says of Sigurð 'þat hygg ec at her fari einn af goðunum,' I think that here rides one of the gods. So in Parz 36, 18 'alda wip und man verjach, si ne gesachen nie helt so wunneclîch, ir gote im sôlten sîn gelîch' (declared, they saw never a hero so winsome, their gods must be like him). The more reason is there for my note on Siegfried (ch XV), of whom the Nib 84, 4 says . *der dort sô hêrlîchen gât* (see Suppl.).

heathen poetry But these gen plurals regano, metodo again point to the plurality of the binding gods

\*The collection of Augustine's letters contains (cap 178), in the altercatio with Pascentius, a Gothic or perhaps a Vandal formula *sihōia armen*, the meaning of which is simply *κύριε ἐλέησον*<sup>1</sup> Even if it be an interpolation, and written in the fifth or sixth century, instead of at the end of the fourth, it is nevertheless remarkable that *sihōia* should be employed in it for God and Lord Ulphilas would have said *fráuja armái* The inf *armén*, if not a mistake for *armé*, might do duty as an imperative, at the same time there is a Finn and Esth word *armo* signifying gratia, misericordia But *sihōia*, it seems, can only be explained as Teutonic, and must have been already in heathen times an epithet of God derived from his victorious might (see Suppl) Goth *sigs*, ON *sigr*, OHG *sigu*, AS *sige* victoria, triumphus Óðinn is styled *sigr-god*, *sigtǫr*, *sigfoður*, and the Christian poets transfer to God *siguðr-óttinn*, Hel 47, 13 114, 19 125,6 *siguðr-yhten*, Cædm 33, 21 48, 20 *sigmetod*, Beow. 3544 *sigsgoi*, Beow 3108<sup>2</sup> elsewhere *sigoi adryhten*, *sigorafred*, *sigorawcaldend*, *sigoi agod*, *sigoi acyning* It is even possible that from that ancient *sihōia* sprang the title *sira*, *sire* still current in Teutonic and Romance languages<sup>3</sup>

The gods being represented as *superi* and *uppregin*, as dwelling on high, in the sky, uphímm, up on the mountain height (ás, ans), it was natural that individual gods should have certain particular *mountains* and *abodes* assigned them

Thus, from a mere consideration of the *general names* for God and gods, we have obtained results which compel us to accept an intimate connexion between expressions in our language and conceptions proper to our heathenism The 'me and God,' the gracious and the angry God, the frôho (lord) and the father, the behold-ing, creating, measuring, casting, the images of ans, fastening, band,

<sup>1</sup> The Teheremisses also pray 'juma sirlaga,' and the Tchuvashes 'tora sirlag,' i.e., God have mercy, G J Mullers saml russ gesch 3, 359 The Mordvuns say when it thunders 'pashangu Porguini pas,' have mercy, god Porguini, Georgi description 1, 64

<sup>2</sup> den sig hat got in siner hant, MS 2,16\*.

<sup>3</sup> Gott. anz 1833, pp 471-2 Diez however raises doubts, Roman. gram. 1, 41

and again, all lead both individually, and with all the more weight collectively, into the path to be trod. I shall take up all the threads again, but I wish first to determine the nature and bearings of the cultus.

## CHAPTER III.

### WORSHIP

The simplest actions by which man expressed his reverence<sup>1</sup> for the gods (see Suppl.), and kept up a permanent connexion with them, were Prayer and Sacrifice. Sacrifice is a prayer offered up with gifts. And wherever there was occasion for prayer, there was also for sacrifice (see Suppl.)

PRAYER—When we consider the word employed by Ulphilas to express adoration, we at once come upon a correspondence with the Norse phraseology again. For *προσκυνέω* the Goth equivalent is *inveita*, inváit, invitum, Matt 8, 2 9, 18 Mk 5, 6 15, 19 Lu 4, 7-8 John 9, 38 12, 20 1 Cor 14, 25, and once for *ἀσπάζομαι*, Mk 9, 15 (see Suppl.) Whether in using this word the exact sense of *προσκύνησις* was caught, may be doubted, if only because it is invariably followed by an acc., instead of the Greek dat. In Mod Greek popular songs, *προσκυνεῖν* is used of a vanquished enemy's act of falling to the ground in token of surrender. We do not know by what gesture *inveitan* was accompanied, whether a bowing of the head, a motion of the hand, or a bending of the knee. As we read, 1 Cor 14, 25 *drusands ana anda-vleizn* (=antlitz), *inveitið guð*, a suppliant prostration like *προσκύνησις* is not at variance with the sense of the word. An OS *giwitan*, AS *gewitan*, means *adore*, could *inveitan* also have signified merely *going up to*, approaching? Paul Diac 1, 8 twice uses *accedere*. *Fiaveitan* is *vindicare*. Now let us compare the ON *vita* *inclinare*,<sup>2</sup> which Biorn quotes under *veit*, and spells, erroneously, I

<sup>1</sup> Verehrung, O H G *ēia*, Goth prob *aiza*. The O H G *ēion* is not merely our *ehren*, to honour, but also *verehien*, *reveren* (as *reverentia* is adoration, cultus), AS *weorðian*, OS *gwiethōn*. All that comes from the gods or concerns them is *holy*, for which the oldest Teutonic word is Goth *uīhs*, O H G *uīh*, but only a few of the O H G documents use this word, the rest preferring *heilac*, OS has only *hēlug*, AS *hālig*, O N. *heilagur*. On the connexion of *uīh* with the subst *uīh*, more hereafter. *Frōn* denotes *holy* in the sense of dominicus.

<sup>2</sup> Cleasby-Vigfusson gives no meaning like *inclinare*, either under *vita* 'to fine,' or under *vita* 'to wit'—TRANS

think, vita From it is derived *veita* (Goth *váitjan* <sup>2</sup>), *veita* heiðr, honorem peragere, *veita* tíðr, sacra peragere, *veitsla*, epulum, Goth *váitislô* <sup>1</sup>

The Goth *bida* preces, *bidjan* precari, rogare, orare, are used both in a secular and a spiritual sense The same with OHG *peta* and *pttan*, but from *peta* is derived a *petôn* adorare, construed with acc of the person whom O 1 17, 62 u 14, 63 nidar-fallan joh *mih betôn*, O u 4, 86-9 97 m 11, 25 T 46, 2 60, 1 *petôta* inan, Diut 1, 513<sup>b</sup> But *betôn* can also express a spiritual orare, T 34, 1, 2, 3 *beto-man* cultores, O II 14, 68 In MHG I find *beten* always followed by the prep *an* (see Suppl) *beten an* diu abgot, Bail 72, 4 an ein bilde *beten*, ibid 98, 15 sô muoz si iemer mê nâch gote sîn min *anebet*, she must after God be my (object of) adoration, Ben 146 Our *bitten* ask, *beten* pray, *anbeten* adore, are distinct from one another, as *bitte* request is from *gebet* prayer The OS *bedôn* is not followed by acc, but by prep. *te* *bedôn te* minun barma, Hel 33, 7 8, and this of itself would suggest what I conjectured in my Gramm 2, 25, that *bidjan* originally contained the physical notion of jacere, prosterni, which again is the only explanation of Goth *badu* κλινιδιον a bed, and also of the old *badu*, AS *beado* = cædes, strages <sup>2</sup>—The AS New Test translates adorare by *ge-cādð-médan*, i e, to humble oneself The MHG *flêhen*, when it signifies supplicare, governs the dat gote flêhen, Aegid 30 den goten vlêhen, Parz 21, 6 Wh 126, 30 Turl Wh 71<sup>a</sup>, but in the sense of demulcere, solari, the acc, Parz 119, 23 421, 25 Nib 499, 8 (see Suppl) <sup>3</sup> It is the Goth *blárgan*, fovere, consolari An OHG *flêhôn* vovere I only know from N cap 8, Bth 178, and he spells it *flêhôn* ten (acc quem) wir flehoton We say 'zu gott flehen,' but 'gott anflehen'—The Goth *aiþhrôn* προσεύχεσθαι, *προσαιρέν* expresses begging rather than asking or praying. The OHG *dræcan*, OS, *þraggan*, is both precari and impetrare, while AS *þregan*, ON, *þregga*, is invariably

<sup>1</sup> Bopp, Comp gram p 128, identifies *inveita* with the Zend *nivaédhayēmi* invoco

<sup>2</sup> What was the physical meaning of the Slav *moliti* rogare, *molitise* orare, Boh *modlití se*, Pol *modlić się*? The Sloven *moliti* still means porrigere, conf Lith *meldziu rogo*, inf *melsti*, and *malda* oratio. Pruss *madla*, conf Goth *maþljan* loqui, *maþleims* loquela, which is next door to oratio

<sup>3</sup> Iw 3315 *vlcgete* got, but in the oldest MS *vlêhete* gote

impetrare, accipere, so that asking has passed over into effectual asking, getting (see Suppl.)

Another expression for prayer is peculiar to the Norse and AS dialects, and foreign to all the rest ON *bœn* or *bæn*, Swed Dan *bon*, AS *bén*, gen *bêne* f, Cædm 152, 26, in Chaucer *bone*, Engl *boon*, from it, *béna* supplex, *bénsian* supplicare. Lastly the Icel. Swed *dýrka*, Dan *dýrke*, which like the Lat *colere* is used alike of worship and of tillage, seems to be a recent upstart, unknown to the ON language

On the form and manner of heathen prayer we lack information, I merely conjecture that it was accompanied by a *looking up to heaven, bending of the body* (of which *híðjan* gave a hint), *folding of hands, bowing of knees, uncovering of the head*. These gestures grow out of a crude childlike notion of antiquity, that the human suppliant presents and submits himself to the mighty god, his conqueror, as a *defenceless victim* (see Suppl.) Precari deos *cælu-que suspicere* is attested by Tacitus himself, Germ 10. Genuflectere is in Gothic *knussjan*, the supplicare of the Romans was flexo corpore adorare. Falling down and bowing were customs of the christians too, thus in Hel 47, 6 48, 16 144, 24 we have *te bedu hnigan*. 58, 12 *te drohtine hnigan* 176, 8 *te bedu fallan* 145, 3 *gihnêg an knobeda*. In the Sôlarliôð is the remarkable expression. *henni ec laut*, to her (the sun) I bowed, Sæm 126\*, from *lûta* inclinare *falla â knê ok lûta*, Vilk saga cap 6 *nu strauk kongsdóttir sinn legg, ok mælti, ok sér i loptið upp*, (stoked her leg, and spoke, and looks up to the sky), Vilk saga cap 61. So the saga of St Olaf tells how the men bowed before the statue of Thor, *lutu því skrimslu*, Fornm sog 4, 247 *fell til ríðar fyrri líkneski* (fell to earth before the likeness) Fornm sog 2, 108. The Langobards are stated in the Dial. Gregori M 3, 28 to have adored *submissis cervicibus* a divinely honoured goat's head. In the Middle Ages people continued to *bow* to lifeless objects, by way of blessing them, such as a loved country, the road they had traversed, on the day<sup>1</sup>. Latin writers of the time, as Lambert, express urgent entreaty by *pedibus provolvi*, the attitude was used not only to

<sup>1</sup> Dem stige nigen, Iw 5837 dem wege nigen, Parz 375, 26 dem lande nigen, Trist 11532 nigen in daz lant, Wigal 4018 nigen in elhu lant, Iw 7755. in die werlt nigen, Frauend 163, 10. den stigen und wegen segentun, Iw. 357 (see Suppl.).

God, but to all whom one wished to honour neig im ûf den fuoz, Morolt 41<sup>b</sup> hie viel sie ûf sinen vuoz, Iw 8130 ouch nige ich ir unz ûf den fuoz, MS 1, 155<sup>a</sup> valle fur si (fall before her), und nige ûf ir fuoz, MS 1, 54<sup>a</sup> buten sich (howed) weinende ûf sinen vuoz, Greg 355 neig im nder ûf die hant, Dietr 55<sup>b</sup> These passages show that people fell before the feet, and at the feet, of him who was to be revered wilt fallan te minun fôtun, bedôs te minun barma, Hel 33, 7 sich bôt ze tal (bowed to the ground) gein sinen fuezen meder, Wh 463, 2<sup>1</sup> An O Boh song has 'sie *klannet* bohu,' to bow before God, Komginh hs 72, but the same has also the un-Teutonic 'se *buti w čelo přede bohy*,' to beat one's blow before God<sup>2</sup> Uncovering the head (see Suppl) certainly was from of old a token of respect with our ancestors, which, like bowing, was shown to deity as well as to kings and chiefs Perhaps the priests, at least those of the Goths, formed an exception to this, as their name pile-ati is thus accounted for by Jordanes, quia *opertis capitibus trans* litabant, while the rest of the people stood uncovered In a survival of heathenish harvest-customs we shall find this uncovering further established, ch VII In Nicolai Magni de Gow registium superstitionum (of 1415) it is said Insuper hodie inveniuntur homines, qui cum novilunium primo viderint *flexis genibus* adorant vel *deposito capitulo* vel *pileo*, inclinato capite honorant alloquendo et suscipiendo<sup>3</sup> An AS legend of Cuðberht relates how that saint was wont to go down to the sea at

<sup>1</sup> Fial in sine fuazi, O III 10, 27 an sine fueze, Karl 14<sup>b</sup> The Christians in the Mid Ages called it *vrre fallen*, Parz 460, 10 Karl 104<sup>a</sup> Berth 173 Kschr 2958 3055 Kneeling and kissing the ground, to obtain absolution dâ er ût iner venie lac (lay), Earl 366, 21 den erger maz mit der langen venie, Erib Trist. 2095 venien suochen, MS 1, 23<sup>b</sup> Morolt 28<sup>a</sup> Troj 9300 terrae osculationibus, quas *venias* appellant, Pez bibl ascet 8, 440 ge ze kuchen und banehte (prostrated<sup>2</sup>) ze gote sinu ghder mit venien und gebet, Cod kolocz 180

<sup>2</sup> The uhelo-bitnava, beating of the forehead in presenting a petition, was prohibited in Russia by Catharine II Conf pions vultibus adorare, Helmold 1, 38

<sup>3</sup> What else I have collected about this practice, may be inserted here *elerato a capite pileo* alloquitur seniore, Dietm Merseb p 824 (an 1012) *sublata cydare* surgens inclinat honeste, Ruodlieb 2, 93 Odofredus in I secundo loco digest de postulando Or signon, hic colligimus argumentum, quod aliquis quando veniet coram magistratu debet ei revereri, quod est contra Ferrarienses, qui, si essent *coram Deo*, non *extraherent sibi capellum* vel *burretum de capite*, nec *flexis genibus* postularent *Pileus in capite* est, Isengrimus 1139 *oster la chape* (in saluting), Alcon 4 261 *gelupfet* den huot, Ms H 3, 330 sinen *huot* er *abenam*, hiemit eret er in alsô, Wigal 1436 er *sôch* durch sin habscheit den *huot* gezogenlichen abe, Troj 1775. dô stuont er ûf geswinde



night, and standing *up to his neck* in the briny breakers, to sing his prayers, and afterwards to *kneel down* on the shingles, with *palms stretched out* to the firmament<sup>1</sup> *Lifting up* and *folding of the hands* (see Suppl) was also practised to a master, particularly to a feudal lord In Ls 3, 78 we have 'bat mit zertânen armen,' prayed with outspread arms The Old Bavarian stapfsakên (demial of indebtedness) was accompanied by elevation of the hands, RA 927 (see Suppl) It is not impossible that the christian converts retained some heathen customs in praying In a manuscript, probably of the 12th century, the prayers are to be accompanied by some curious actions *sô mîz (measure) den ubir dîn hîrza in modun crucis, unde von dem bristleffile zuo demo nabile, unde mîz denne von erte rippe unz an daz andire, unde sprich alsus* Again *sô mîz denne die rechtun hunt von deme langistîn vingue unz an daz resti (wîst), unde mîz denne von deme dûnnin zuo deme minnisten vingue* One prayer was called 'der vane (flag) des almehtigîn gotis', nine women are to read it nine Sundays, 'sô ez moiginet', the ninth has to read the psalm Domini est terra, in such a posture 'daz ir lîb met ruore die erde, wan die ellebogen unde die kniee,' that her body touch not the ground, except at the elbows and knees, the others are all to stand till the lighted candle has burnt out, Diut 2, 292-3

We cannot now attach any definite meaning to the Gothic *aviludôn evχapιστεiv*, it is formed from *avilud* χάρις, which resembles an O Sax *alat, olat gratiae*, does it contain *luð cantus*, and was there moreover something heathenish about it? (See Suppl) The old forms of prayer deserve more careful collecting, the Norse, which invoke the help of the gods, mostly contain the

gnuoc, ein schupel daz er ûf truoc von gmmen und von golde fin, daz num er ab dem houbte sin, Tiog 18635 er zuchet im sin leppali, Ls 3, 35 ei was gciert, daz ei von dem houbt den huot hiez vliegen und sprach, Koloc 101 Festus explains *lucem facere dicuntur Saturno sacrificantes, id est capita detegere*, again *Saturno fit sacrificium capite aperto*, conf Macrobi Sat 1, 8 See in Virg 3, 407

<sup>1</sup> Was gewunod þæt he wolde gān on niht tō sæ, and standan on þam sealtum brimme, oð his swuan, surgende his gebedu, and cūðan his cneowu on þam ceosle gebyrde, āstrehtum handbriedum tō heofolcūm iodeie, Thorpes analecta, pp. 76-7 homil 2 138 [I have thought it but far to rescue the saint from a perilous position in which the German had inadvertently placed him by making him "wade into the sea up to his neck, and kneel down to sing his prayers"—TRANS]—In the O Fr jeu de saint Nicoll, Turvogant has to be approached on *bare elbows and knees*, Legrand fabl 1, 343

verb *duga* with the sense propitium esse bið ec Ottari oll goð *dugā* (I Ot pray all, &c), Sæm. 120<sup>b</sup> biðja þā ðisr *duga*, Sæm 195<sup>a</sup> Duga means to help, conf Gramm 4, 687 There is beauty in the ON prayer biðjom herjafoðr *í hugom sitja* (rogemus deum in animis sedere nostris), Sæm 113<sup>a</sup>, just as Christians pray the Holy Ghost to descend *in herzen unsén sázi*, O iv 5, 30 (see Suppl.)

Christians at prayer or confession looked toward the *East*, and lifted up their arms (Bingham lib xi cap 7, ed hal 3, 273), and so we read in the Kristinbalkr of the old Gulathing law 'vei skulum *líta austr*, oc biðja til ens helga Krists árs ok friðar,' we must bow east, and pray the holy Christ for plenty and peace (conf Syntagma de baptismo p 65), in the Waltharius 1159 contra *orientalem* prostratus corpore partem precatur, in AS formulas *eastweard* ic stande, and in Troj 9298 9642 *kêret ruc gén Orient* The heathens, on the contrary, in praying and sacrificing, looked *Northwards*: horfa (turn) *í norðr*, Fornm sog 11, 134 leit (looked) *í norðr*, Sæm 94<sup>a</sup> beten gegen *mitternacht*, Keisersperg omeiss 49<sup>b</sup> And the North was looked upon by the christians as the unblessed heathen quarter, on which I have given details in RA 808, it was unlucky to make a throw toward the north, RA 57, in the Lombard boundary-treaties the northern tract is styled 'nulla ora,' RA 544 These opposite views must serve to explain a passage in the Roman de Renart, where the fox prays *christianly*, and the wolf *heathenly*, Reinh fuchs p xli<sup>1</sup>

As the expressions for asking and for obtaining, pp 30, 31, are identical, a prayer was thought to be the more effectual, the more people it was uttered by

got enwolde so manegem munde  
sîn genâde niht versagen Wîgal 4458  
die juncvrouwen bâten alle got,  
nu ist er sô gnâdec unt sô guot  
unt sô reine gemuot,  
daz ei niemer kunde  
sô manegem suezen munde  
betelichiu dinc versagen Iw 5351

<sup>1</sup> At the abrenuntiatio one had to face the sunset, with wrinkled brow (*fronte caperata*), expressing anger and hatred, but at the confession of faith, to face the sunrise, with eyes and hands raised to heaven, Bingham lib xi. cap. 7 § 13 14 Conf. Joh Olavii synt de baptismo, pp 64-5

in (to the nuns) wāren de mūnde sô royt,  
 so wes sī god bāden,  
 of syt mit vlize dāden,  
 he id in nummei inkūnde  
 dem rōsenrōten mūnde  
 bedelichei dinge versagen

Ged von der vrouwen sperwere, Cod beol 184, 54<sup>a</sup> Hence  
*helfen* singen, MS 1, 57<sup>a</sup> 2, 42<sup>b</sup> Conf cento novelle 61<sup>1</sup>

SACRIFICE—The word *opfer*, a sacrifice, was introduced into German by christianity, being derived from the Lat *offerio offerre*<sup>2</sup> The AS very properly has only the verb *offrian* and its derivative *offring* (oblatio). In OHG, from *opfarōn*, *opfoiōn* there proceeded also a subst *opfan*, MHG *ophern* and *opher*,<sup>3</sup> and from Germany the expression seems to have spread to neighbouring nations, ON *offr*, Swed Dan *offer*, Lith *appiera*, Lett *uppuris*, Esth *ohwei*, Fin *uhri*, Boh *ofěra*, Pol *ofiara*, Sloven *ofer* Everywhere the original heathen terms disappeared (see Suppl)

The oldest term, and one universally spread, for the notion 'to worship (God) by sacrifice,' was *blōtan* (we do not know if the Goth pret was *báblōt* or *blōtánda*), I incline to attach to it the full sense of the Gk *θύειν*<sup>4</sup> (see Suppl) Ulphilas saw as yet no objection to translating by it *σέβεσθαι* and *λατρεύειν*, Mk 7, 7.

<sup>1</sup> Mock-piety, hypocrisy, was branded in the Mid Ages likewise, by strong phraseology er wil *gote die fure abez en* (eat the feet off), Ls 3, 421 Fragn 28<sup>a</sup> Mones anz 3, 22 unserm Hcigott die fuess abbeissen wollen (bite off), Schmeller 2, 231 den heiligen die fuss abbeten wollen (pray the saints' feet off them), Simplic 1 4, 17 herrgottbeisser, Hofer 2, 48 heirgottfiser (fuszler), Schmid 1, 93 heilgentresserin, 10 ehen, p 62 So the Ital *mancipandro*, Fr *mangeur de cuene*, Boh Pol *licobrazek* (licker of -unt-) A Latin saint is indifferently termed *kapeltrete*, *tempeltrete*, *tempelwune*, Mones schausp p 123 137 (see Suppl)

<sup>2</sup> Not from *operari*, which in that sense was unknown to the church, the Romance languages likewise using It. *offerire*, Sp *ofrecer*, Fr *offrir*, never *operare*, *obrar*, *ouvrer*, the same technical sense adheres to *offeria*, *ofienda*, *offrande* From oblata come the Sp *obla*, Fr *ouble*, and perhaps the MHG. *obler*, unless it is from eulogia, oblagio From *offre* and *offerta* are formed the Wel *offryd*, Ir *ofrion*, *aifrion*, *offial* Lastly, the derivation from *ferre*, *offerre*, is confirmed by the German phrase 'ein opfer *bringen*, *darbringen*'

<sup>3</sup> *Ophar*, *opfer* could hardly be the Goth *ábr ḥwapor*, in which neither the vowel nor the consonant agrees The Wel *abert*, Gael *abairt*, Ir *uibairt*, (sacrificium) probably belong also to *offerta*.

<sup>4</sup> When Sozomen hist. eccl 6, 37 in a narrative of Athanasius uses *προσκυνεῖν καὶ θύειν*, the Gothic would be *innreitan jah blōtan*

Lu 2, 37, he construes it with an acc of the person *blōtan* *fráujan* is to him simply *Deum colere*, with apparently no thought of a bloody sacrifice *For λατρεία* Rom 12, 1, he puts *blōtinnassus*, and for *θεοσεβής* John 9, 31 *guðblōstreus* The latter presupposes a subst *blōstr* (*cultus, oblatio*), of which the S is explained in Gramm 2, 208 *Usblōterns* (*παράκλησις*) 2 Cor 8, 4 implies a verb *usblōtjan* to implore Cædmon uses the AS *blōtan* pret *blēot*, *onblōtan* pret *onblēot*, of the Jewish sacrifice, and follows them up with acc of thing and dat of person *blōtan* *sunu* (*filium sacrificare*) 173, 5 *onblēot* *þæt lāc Gode* (*obtulit hostiam Deo*) 177, 21. In Ælfred's Orosius we have the same *blōtan* pret *blōtte* I derive from it *blētsian*, later *blessian*, to bless The OHG *pluozan*, pret *pliez* and *pluoza*, appears only in glosses, and renders *libare, litare, victimare, immolare*, Gl Hrab 959<sup>a</sup> 960<sup>a</sup> 966<sup>b</sup> 968<sup>b</sup> Diut 1, 245, 258<sup>1</sup> No case-construction is found, but an acc of the thing may be inferred from partic *kaplōzaniu* *immolata* A subst *pluostar* *sacrificium, bluostar*, Is 382 Gl emm 411 Gl jun 209 T 56, 4 95, 102<sup>1</sup>, *pluostarhūs* *idolium*, Gl emm 402 *plouazhūs* *fanum, pluostaran* *sacrificator*, *ibid* 405 It is plain that here the word has more of a heathen look, and was not at that time used of christian worship, with the thing, the words for it soon die out But its universal use in Norse heathendom leaves no doubt remaining, that it was equally in vogue among Goths, Alamanni, Saxons, before their conversion to christianity. The ON verb *blōta*, pret. *blēt* and *blōtaði*, takes, like the Gothic, an acc of the object worshipped, thus, Grâgâs 2, 170, in the formula of the trygdamâl *svâ viða sem* (as widely as) *kristnir menn kinkior sækia, heiðnir menn haf blōta* (*fana colunt*), and in the Edda Thôr *blōta, mik blōta, blōtaðr* Oðin Sæm 111<sup>a</sup>, 113<sup>b</sup>, 141<sup>1</sup>, 165<sup>12</sup> always the meaning is *sacrificio venerari* So that in Goth and ON the verb brings out more the idea of the person, in OHG and AS more that of the thing But even the O Dan version of the OT uses *blothe* *immolare, blōðhmadh*

<sup>1</sup> The Gl Hrab 954<sup>1</sup> *bacha, pluostar*, is incomplete, in Gl Ker 45 Diut 1, 166<sup>1</sup> it stands *bacha sacrificat, pluostar plouat*, or *separ plōat*, so that it is meant to translate only the Lat verb, not the subst *bacha* (*βάκχη*) Or perhaps a better reading is 'bachat' for *bachatur*, and the meaning is 'non sacrificat'

<sup>2</sup> Landn 1, 2 *blōtaði hvarna þrjá*, worshipped three ravens, who were going to show him the road, so, in Sæm 141<sup>a</sup>, a bull demands that cows be sacrificed to him, the victim itself is ON *blōt*, and we are told occasionally feck at blōti, ak blōti miklu, offered a sacrifice, a great sacrifice, Landn 2, 29.

lbamina, *blotelsa* holocaustum, Molbech's ed pp 171 182 215 249 Also the O Swed Uplandslag, at the very beginning of the church-balkr has ængin skal affgudum *blotæ*, with dat of person, implying an acc of the thing—The true derivation of the word I do not know<sup>1</sup> At all events it is not to be looked for in blôð sanguis, as the disagreeing consonants of the two Gothic words plainly show, equally divergent are the OHG pluoza and pluot from one another, besides, the worship so designated was not necessarily bloody A remarkable passage in the Livonian rhyming chronicle 4683 tells of the Sameits (Schamaits, Samogits).

ir *bluotekir* dei warf zuo hant  
 sin lôz nâch ir alden site,  
 zuo hant er *bluotete* alles mite  
 em quek.

Here, no doubt, an animal is sacrificed I fancy the poet retained a term which had penetrated from Scandinavia to Lithuania without understanding it himself, for bluotkir is merely the O Swed blôtkir, heathen priest, the term is foreign to the Lithuanian language<sup>2</sup>

A few more of these general terms for sacrifice must be added (see Suppl.)—OHG *antheiz* (hostia, victima), Diut 1, 240<sup>a</sup> 246, 258 278<sup>b</sup>, and as verbs, both *antheizôn* and *inheizan* (immolare), Diut 1, 246 258—OHG *insakên* (litare), Gl Hrab 968<sup>b</sup>, *insakêt* pîm (delibor), ibid 959<sup>a</sup> 960<sup>a</sup>, to which add the Bavarian stapfsakên, RA 927, just so the AS *onsecgan*, Cod exon 171, 32 257, 23 *onsecgan* tô tîbie (devote as sacrifice), Cædm 172, 30 tiber *onsæge*, 90, 29 108, 17 tifer *onsæge*, Ps 65, 12 lâc *onsæge* Cod exon. 254, 19 257, 29, lâc *onsæge*, Cædm 107, 21 113, 15 Cod exon 168, 28 gild *onsæge*, Cædm 172, 11 and *onsæges* (oblatio)—As *inheizan* and *onsecgan* are formed with the prefix and-, so is apparently the OHG *ineihan* pîm (delibor), Hrab 960<sup>a</sup>, which would yield a Goth. *andaukan*, it is

<sup>1</sup> Letter for letter it agrees with φλοιδω I light up, burn, which is also expressed in θύω and the Lat suffio, but, if the idea of burnt-offering was originally contained in blôtan, it must have got obscured very early

<sup>2</sup> Even in MHG the word seems to have already become extinct, it may survive still in terms referring to place, as blot graben, blot garten in Hessen, conf the phrase 'blotzen müssen,' to have to fork out (sacrifice) money. An old knife or sword also is called blotz (see Suppl.).

from this OHG *meihhan*, which I think Graff 1, 128 has misread *ireihan*, that a later *neihhan* immolare, libare Graff (2, 1015) seems to have risen by aphæresis (Gramm. 2, 810), as *neben* from *ineben*, *conf* *eichôn* (dicare, vindicare), Graff 1, 127 To this place also belongs the OHG *pfelahan* (libare, immolare), Diut 1, 245 248 —All this strictly denotes only the ‘on-saying,’ dedication, consecration of the offering, and it follows from the terminology at least that particular objects were selected beforehand for sacrifice<sup>1</sup> Thus *antheiz* is elsewhere simply a vow, votum, solemn promise, *intheizan* vovere, hence also the AS *onsecgan* has determinative substantives added to it

In the same sense *brudan* (offerre) seems to have been in use very early, AS *lâc bebeodan*, Cædm 173, 9 ON *bodn* (oblatio) From this *brudan* I derive *bruds* (mensa), ON *broðr* (discus), AS *beod* (mensa, laux), OHG *prot*, from its having originally signified the holy table of offerings, the altar.

The Goth *fullafahan* (with dat of pers) prop to please, give satisfaction, is used for *λατρεύειν*, Lu 4, 8 (see Suppl) —In Mk 1, 44 Lu 5, 14 *atbanian* adferre, *προσφέρειν*, is used of sacrifice, and in AS the subst *bring* by itself means oblatio, so Wolfiam in Parz 45, 1 says *sī brāhten* offer vil ir goten, and Fundgr II 25 *ein lam zopphere brāhte* —It is remarkable that the Goth *saljan*, which elsewhere is intransitive and means *divertere, manere* [put up, lodge, John 1, 39 40] is in Lu 1, 9 Mk 14, 12 1 Cor 10, 20 28 used transitively for *θυμιᾶν* and *θύειν*, and hunsla *saljan*, John 16, 2 stands for *λατρείαν προσφέρειν*, which brings it up to the meaning of OHG and AS *sellan*, ON *selja*, tradere, to hand over, possibly because the solemn presentation included a personal approach The OHG *pgangan* (obire) is occasionally applied to worship *pganc* (ritus), Diut 1, 272\*. afgoda *begangan*, Lacomblet 1, 11 —*Gildan*, *heltan*, among its many meanings, has also to do with worship and sacrifice, it was from the old sacrificial banquets that our *guilds* took their name OS *waldandes* (God's) *geld*, Hel. 3, 11 6, 1 that *geld* lēstian, Hel. 16, 5 AS *brynegeld*, holocaustum, Cædm 175, 6, 177, 18 *gild* onsecgan, 172, 11 Abel's offering is a *gield*, 60, 5 *deofolgield*, idololatia, Beda 3, 30. Cod

<sup>1</sup> So the O Boh. *obiecati obiet* (Koniginh hs 72) is strictly *offer renhessen*, to promise or devote an offering

exon 245, 29 251, 24 hæðengræld, Cod exon 243, 23 OHG heidan<sup>1</sup> *helt* sacrilegium gote u *gelt* bringent, Warn. 2906 offer-unc<sup>2</sup> *ghelstan*, sacrificium, Is 395 dhu blôstar iro *ghelstro*, Is 382 —Peculiar to the AS dialect is the general term *lác*, neut, often rendered more definite by verbs containing the notion of sacrifice onbléot þæt *lác* gode, Cædm 177, 26 dryhtne *lác* brohton, 60, 2 *lác* bebeodan, 173, 9 *lác* onsægde, 107, 21 113, 15 ongan *lác*, 90, 19 (see Suppl) The word seems to be of the same root as the Goth masc láiks (saltatio), OHG. leih (ludus, modus), ON leiki, and to have signified at first the dance and play that accompanied a sacrifice, then gradually the gift itself<sup>1</sup> That there was playing and singing at sacrifices is shown by the passages quoted further on, from Gregory's dialogues and Adam of Bremen

The following expressions I regard as more definite (see Suppl) Ulph. in Rom 11, 16 renders ἀπαρχή, the offering of firstfruits at a sacrifice, delibatio, by *ufarskafts*, which I derive not from skapan, but from skaban (shave) radcre, since ἀπαρχαί were the first clippings of hair off the victim's forehead, Odyss 14, 422 3, 446 If we explain it from skapan, this word must have passed from its meaning of create into that of facere, immolare—The Goth *utôð* is lex, the OHG *wizôð* (Graff 1, 1112 Fundgr 1, 398<sup>b</sup>) both lex and euchaistia, the Fris *utat* invariably the latter alone, just as *zakón* in Serv has both meanings [but in Russ only that of lex]—Ulph translates *θυσία* by Goth *hunsli*, Matt 9, 13 Mk 9, 49 Lu 2, 24, then again *λατρείαν προσφέρειν* in John 16, 2 by *hunsli* *saljan*, where the reference is expressly to killing. And *θυσιαστήριον* is called *hunslastaðs*, Matt 5, 23-4 Lu. 1, 11. But the corresponding AS *húsel*, Engl *housel*, allows of being applied to a Christian sacrament, and denotes the eucharist, *húselgong* the partaking of it, *húselfæt* the sacred vessel of sacrifice, conf Cædm 260, 5 *húselfatu* hálegu for the sacred vessels of Jerusalem. Likewise the ON *húsl* in the Norw and Swed laws is used in a christian, never in a heathen sense No *hunsol* is found in OHG, neither can I guess the root of the word.—Twice, however, Ulph

<sup>1</sup> Serv *πρῶτον* offering, what is laid before, *prōto-huti* to offer; Sloven *dar*, *darina*, *dariva* = δῶρον [Russ *daru* sviatuye = δῶρα ἁγία means the eucharist] The Sloven *aldor*, bloodless offering, seems not to be Slavic, it resembles Hung *aldorát* *θυσία* is rendered in O Slav by *zhrtva* (Kopitar's Glagol 72<sup>c</sup>), in Russ by *zhertva* [fr *zhánti* to roast, burn<sup>1</sup> or *zhráti* devour, *zhera* glutton?] ]

renders *θυσία* by *sáuðs*, pl *sáudeis*, Mk 12, 33 Rom 12, 1 I suppose he thought of the sacrifice as that of an animal slaughtered and boiled, the root seems to be *siuðan* to seethe, and the ON has *sauðr* a ram, probably because its flesh is boiled<sup>1</sup> In Eph 5, 2 we have '*hunsl jah sáuð*' side by side, for *προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν*, and in Sken 37, 8 *gasaljands sik hunsl jah sáuð*—The OHG *zepar* is also a sacrifice in the sense of hostia, victima, Hymn 10, 2 12, 2 21, 5. Gl Hrab 965<sup>b</sup> Diut 240<sup>a</sup> 272<sup>a</sup> (see Suppl) We could match it with a Goth *tibr*, if we might venture on such an emendation of the unique *áribi δάρον*, Matt 5, 23 (conf Gramm 1, 63) My conjecture that our German *ungezefer* (vermin), formerly *ungezeber*,<sup>2</sup> and the O Fr *atouvre* also belong to this root, has good reasons in its favour To this day in Franconia and Thuringia, *zefer*, *gezefer* (insects) not only designate poultry, but sometimes include even goats and swine (Reinwald *henneb id* 1, 49 2, 52, conf Schm 4, 228) What seems to make against my view is, that the AS *tiber* cannot even be restricted to animals at all, Cædm 90, 29 108, 5 172, 31 175, 3 204, 6 301, 1 *sigetiber*, 203, 12 *sigortifer*, Cod exon 257, 30, on the contrary, in 60, 9 it is Cain's offering of grain that is called *tiber*, in distinction from Abel's gield, and in Ælfr gl 62<sup>b</sup> we find *wintifer*, libatio But this might be a later confusion, or our *ungezefer* may have extended to weeds, and consequently *zepar* itself would include anything fit for sacrifice in plants and trees<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile there is also to be considered the ON *tafn*, victima and *esca ferarum*—Lastly, I will mention a term peculiar to the ON language, and certainly heathen. *förn*, fem victima, hostia, *fórna*, immolare, or instead of it *fórnfæra*, conf Fornm sog 1, 97 2, 76 this *fórna* at the same time, according to Biorn, meaning *elevare*, *tollere* AS *fórn* porcus, porcaster (?)

<sup>1</sup> Rom 12, 1 'present your bodies a *living sáuð*' was scarcely a happy combination, if *sáuðs* conveyed the notion of something boiled! Can nothing be made of *sóðjan* satiare soothe (Milton's 'the soothest shepherd' = sweetest, Goth. *sútista*)? Grimm's law of change in mutes has many exceptions *pater* father *fæder* vater (4 stages instead of 3, so *mater*), *sessel* a settle, and *sattel* a saddle, both from *sit* *sat*, *treu* true, but *trænken* drink, &c.—TRANS

<sup>2</sup> Titur 5198, *ungezeber* stands for monster, but what can *ungezebele* mean in Lanz 5028 vor grözem ungezebele? nibeles?

<sup>3</sup> Cædm 9, 2 *þa seo tid gewat ofer tiber sceacan middangeardes* This passage, whose meaning Thorpe himself did not rightly seize, I understand thus As time passed on over (God's) gift of this earth The inf sceacan (elabi) depends on *gewat*, so in Judith anal 140, 5 *gewiton on fleám sceacan*, began to flee, and still more freq *gewiton* gangan



If the *ô* did not hinder, we could identify it with the adj *forn* vetus, *forn* soiceiei, *fornæskia* soicery, and the OHG *furnic* antiquus, priscus, canus (Graf 3, 628), and in particular, use the same glosses for the illustration of *baccha pluostar*. *Forn* would then be the term applied by the christians to heathen sacrifices of the *forn* olden time, and that would easily glide into soicery, nay, there would be an actual kinship conceivable between *separ* and *zoupar* (zauber, magic), and so an additional link between the notions of sacrifice and sorcery, knowing as we do that the verbs *garauan*, *wihan* and perhaps *zouwan* [AS *gearwian* to prepare, Goth *veihan* to consecrate, and *taujan* to bring about] are applicable to both, though our OHG *haro*, *kanawi* victima, Graf 4, 241 (Geim gar, AS *gearw*, yare) expresses no more than what is made ready, made holy, consecrated<sup>1</sup>. We shall besides have to separate more exactly the ideas *vow* and *sacrifice*, Mid Lat *rotum* and *census*, closely as they border on one another: the *vow* is, as it were, a private sacrifice.

Here then our ancient language had a variety of words at its command, and it may be supposed that they stood for different things, but the difficulty is, to unravel what the differences in the matter were.

Sacrifice rested on the supposition that human food is agreeable to the gods, that intercourse takes place between gods and men. The god is invited to eat his share of the sacrifice, and he really enjoys it. Not till later is a separate divine food placed before him (see Suppl.). The motive of sacrifices was everywhere the same: either to render thanks to the gods for their kindnesses, or to appease their anger; the gods were to be kept gracious, or to be made gracious again. Hence the two main kinds of sacrifice: *thank-offerings* and *sin-offerings*<sup>2</sup>. When a meal was eaten, a head of

<sup>1</sup> The Skr *kratu* sacrifice, or accord to Benfey 2, 307 process, comes from *kr* facere, and in Latin, *facere* (agnis, vitula, Virg. ecl. 3, 77) and *operari* were used of the sacred act of sacrifice, so in Grk, *πέζειν* = *ἐρδειν*, Boet *πέδδειν* of offering the hecatomb, and *ἐρδειν* = *ἐργεῖν*, our *wirken*, *work*, *ἐπιπέζειν* Od. 17, 211 *θύειν*, *πέζειν*, *δρᾶν*, Athenæus 5, 403, as *δρᾶν* for *θύειν*, so *δράσις* = *θύσια*. The Catholic priest also uses *conferre*, *perficere* for consecrate (Cæsar *heisterbach* 9, 27), compare the 'aliquid plus novi facere' in *Bucard of Worms* 10, 16 and p. 193<sup>c</sup>. The Lat *agere* signified the slaughtering of the victim.

<sup>2</sup> *Sühn*-opfer, strictly, conciliatory offerings, but as these were generally identical with *Sund*-opfer, *sin-offerings*, I have used the latter expression, as short and familiar.—TRANS

game killed, the enemy conquered (see Suppl.), a fistling of the cattle born, or grain harvested, the gift-bestowing god had a first right to a part of the food, drink, produce, the spoils of war or of the chase (the same idea on which tithes to the church were afterwards grounded). If on the contrary a famine, a failure of crops, a pestilence had set in among a people, they hastened to present propitiatory gifts (see Suppl.). These sin-offerings have by their nature an occasional and fitful character, while those performed to the propitious deity readily pass into periodically recurring festivals. There is a third species of sacrifice, by which one seeks to know the issue of an enterprise, and to secure the aid of the god to whom it is presented (see Suppl.). Divination however could also be practised without sacrifices. Besides these three, there were special sacrifices for particular occasions, such as coronations, births, weddings and funerals, which were also for the most part coupled with solemn banquets.

As the gods show favour more than anger, and as men are oftener cheerful than oppressed by their sins and errors, thank-offerings were the earliest and commonest, sin-offerings the more rare and impressive. Whatever in the world of plants can be laid before the gods is gay, innocent, but also less imposing and effective than an animal sacrifice. The streaming blood, the life spilt out seems to have a stronger binding and atoning power. Animal sacrifices are natural to the warrior, the hunter, the herdsman, while the husbandman will offer up grain and flowers.

The great anniversaries of the heathen coincide with popular assemblies and assizes<sup>1</sup>. In the *Ynglinga saga* cap 8 they are specified thus: þá skyldi blóta í móti vetrí (towards winter) til árs, enn at miðjum vetrí blóta til gróðrar, í þriðja at sumri, þat var sigiblót (for victory). In the *Olafs helga saga* cap 104 (Fornm. sog 4, 237) en þat er siði þeirra (it is their custom) at hafa blót á haustum (autumn) ok fagna þa vetri, annat blót hafa þei at miðjum vetrí, en hit þriðja at sumri, þa fagna þei sumari; conf. ed. holm cap 115 (see Suppl.). The Autumn sacrifice was offered to welcome the winter, and til árs (pro annonae ubertate), the Mid-winter sacrifice til gróðrar (pro feracitate); the Summer one to welcome the summer, and til sigs (pro victoria). Halfdan the Old

<sup>1</sup> RA 245 745 821-5.

held a great midwinter sacrifice for the long duration of his life and kingdom, Sn 190 But the great general blót held at Upsal every winter included sacrifices 'tíl ârs ok friðar ok sigrs,' Fœnum sog 4, 154 The formula sometimes runs 'tíl ârbôtar' (year's increase), or 'tíl friðar ok vetriarfars gôðs (good wintertime) In a striking passage of the Gutalagh, p. 108, the great national sacrifices are distinguished from the smaller offerings of cattle, food and drink 'fir þann tíma oc lengi eptir síðan troðu menn á hult oc á hauga, vǫ ok staf-garða, oc á hafþin guð blótastu þair *synum* oc *dydrum* sinum, oc *filebr* mǫ *mat* oc *mundgati*, þat gærðu þair eptir vantro sinni Land alt hafði sár *hoystu blótan* mǫ *fullu*, ellar hafði huer þrjúungr sár En smér þing hafðu *mundu blótan* med, *filebr* mat oc mungati, sum haita *subnautar* þi et þair *subu* allir saman.'

*Easter-fires, Mayday-fires, Midsummer-fires*, with their numerous ceremonies, carry us back to heathen sacrifices, especially such customs as rubbing the sacred flame, running through the glowing embers, throwing flowers into the fire, baking and distributing large loaves or cakes, and the circular dance Dances passed into plays and dramatic representations (see ch XIII, drawing the ship, ch XXIII, and the witch-dances, ch XXXIV). Afzelius 1, 3 describes a sacrificial play still performed in parts of Gothland, acted by young fellows in disguise, who blacken and rouge their faces (see ch. XVII, sub fine). One, wrapt in fur, sits in a chair as the *victim*, holding in his mouth a bunch of straw-stalks cut fine, which reach as far as his ears and have the appearance of sow-bristles by this is meant the boar sacrificed at Yule, which in England is decked with laurel and rosemary (ch X), just as the devil's offering is with rue, rosemary and orange (ch XXXIII) — The great sacrificial feast of the ancient Saxons was on Oct 1, and is traced to a victory gained over the Thuringians in 534 (see ch VI), in documents of the Mid Ages this high festival still bears the name of the *gemeinwoche* or common week (see ch XIII, Zisa), Wurdwein dipl magunt 1 præf III-V Scheffers Heltaus p 142 conf Hofeis osti wb. 1, 306 Another chronicle places it on Sept 25 (Ecc fr or. 1, 59), Zisa's day was celebrated on Sept 29, St Michael's on the 28th, so that the holding of a *harvest-offering* must be intended all through — In addition to the great festivals, they also sacrificed on special occasions, particularly when famine or

disease was rife, sometimes for long life 'blôta til lángrifi,' Landn 3, 4, or for favour (thockasaeld) with the people 'Grímr, er blótinn var dauðr (sacrificed when dead) fur thokkasael, ok kallaði kamban', Landn 1, 14 3, 16 This epithet *kamban* must refer to the sacrifice of the dead man's body, I connect it with the OHG *nichimpida* funus, Mid Dut *limban* comere, Diut 2, 207<sup>a</sup>. conf note to Andr 4

*Human Sacrifices* are from their nature and origin expiative, some great disaster, some heinous crime can only be purged and blotted out by human blood With all nations of antiquity they were an old-established custom<sup>1</sup>, the following evidences place it beyond a doubt for Germany (see Suppl) Tac Germ 9 Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus *humanis* quoque *hostiis* litare fas habent Germ 39. stato tempore in silvam coeunt, *caesoque publice* (in the people's name) *humane* celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia Tac Ann 1, 61 lucis propinquus barbarae arae, apud quas *tribunos* ac primorum ordinum *centuriones* mactaverant Tac Ann 13, 57 sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Cattis exitiosius fuit, quia victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacrare, quo voto equi, *vir*, cuncta victa *occidioni* dantur Isidori chron Goth, aera 446 quorum (regum Gothorum) unus Radagaisus . . . Italiam belli feritate aggreditur, promittens *sanguinem* Christianorum *dis suis* litare, si vinceret Jornandes cap 5 quem Martem Gothi semper asperima placavere cultura, nam victimae ejus *montes* fuere *captorum*, opinantes bellorum praesulem aptius *humani sanguinis* effusione placandum<sup>2</sup> Orosius 7, 37 of Radagaisus, whom he calls a Scythian, but makes him lead Goths to Italy qui (ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi generis) *sanguinem* *dis suis* propinare *deverat*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lasaulx die suhnopfer der Griechen u Römer, Würzburg 1841 pp 8—13

<sup>2</sup> Conf Cæs de B Gall 6, 17 on the worship of Mars among the Gauls, and Procop de B Goth 3, 14 on the Slavens and Antes θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν πάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερέια πάντα ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἦδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἢ νόσφ' ἀλοῦσι ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἣν διαφύγωσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσῃν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπῃ ἐπέσχοντο, καὶ οἰόνται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς εἰσῆσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Of him Augustine says, in sermo 105, cap 10 Rhadagaysus rex Gothorum . . . Romae . . . Jovi sacrificabat quotidie, nuntiabaturque ubique, quod a sacrificiis non desisteret

Procopius de bello Goth 2, 15 of the Thulites, *ie* Scandinavians  
 θύουσι δὲ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι. τῶν δὲ  
 ἱερεῶν σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὥνπερ ἄν δοριά-  
 λωτον ποιήσαιτο πρῶτον. τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν,  
 ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι Ibid 2, 14, of the  
 Heruli πολὺν τινα νομίζοντες θεῶν ὄμιλον, οὓς δὴ καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι ὅσιον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι Ibid  
 2, 25, of the already converted Franks at their passage of the Po  
 ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖ-  
 κας τῶν Γόθων, οὔςπερ ἐνταῦθα εὗρον ἱερέονόν τε καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τὰ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκροθίνια τοῦ πολέμου ἐρρίπ-  
 τουν. οἱ βάρβαροι γὰρ οὗτοι, Χριστιανοὶ γεγονότες, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς  
 παλαιᾶς δόξης φυλάσσουσι, θυσίαις τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὅσια ἱερέοντες, ταύτῃ τε τὰς μαντείας ποιούμενοι.  
 Sidonius Apollinarius 8, 6 of the Saxons mos est remeaturis  
 decimum quemque captorum per aequales et cruciarias poenas,  
 plus ob hoc tūsti quod superstizioso ritu necare Capitul de partib  
 Saxon 9 si quis hominem diabolo *sacrificaverit* et *in hostiam, more*  
*paganorum, daemionibus obtulerit* Lex Frisionum, additio sap tit  
 42 qui fanum effregerit . . . *immolatur diis*, quorum templa  
 violavit, the law affected only the Frisians 'tians Laubachi,' who  
 remained heathens longer What Strabo relates of the Cimbri, and  
 Dietmar of the Northmen, will be cited later Epist Bonif 25 (ed  
 Wurdtw) hoc quoque inter alia crimina agi in partibus illis  
 dixisti, quod quidam ex fidelibus ad *immolandum* paganis sua  
*venundent mancipia*, masters were allowed to sell slaves, and  
 christians sold them to heathens for sacrifice The captive prince  
 Graecus Avar de (a) Suevis *pecudis more* litatus (ch XIII, the  
 goddess Zisa)<sup>1</sup> For evidences of human sacrifice among the Norse,  
 see Muller's sagabibl 2, 560 3, 93 As a rule, the victims were  
 captive enemies, purchased slaves or great criminals, the sacrifice  
 of women and children by the Franks on crossing a river reminds  
 of the Greek διαβατήρια,<sup>2</sup> the first fruits of war, the first prisoner

<sup>1</sup> Adam of Bremen de situ Daniae cap 24, of the Lathuanians · dracones  
 adorant cum volucris, quibus etiam *viros litant homines*, quos a mercatoribus  
 emunt, diligenter omnino probatos, ne maculam in corpore habeant

<sup>2</sup> Hence in our own folk-tales, the first to cross the bridge, the first to  
 enter the new building or the country, pays with his life, which meant, falls a  
 sacrifice Jornandes cap 25, of the Huns ad Scythiam properant, et *quantos-*  
*cunque prius in ingressu Scytharum habuere, litare Victoriae.*

taken, was supposed to bring luck. In folk-tales we find traces of the immolation of *children*, they are killed as a cure for leprosy, they are walled up in basements (ch XXXV XXXVI, end), and a feature that particularly points to a primitive sacrificial rite is, that toys and victuals are handed in to the child, while the roofing-in is completed. Among the Greeks and Romans likewise the victims fell amid noise and flute-playing, that their cries might be drowned, and the tears of children are stifled with caresses, 'ne flebilis hostia immoletui'. Extraordinary events might demand the death of kings' sons and daughters, nay, of kings themselves. Thorio offers up *his son* to the gods, Worm mon dan. 285. King Oen the Old sacrificed *nine sons* one after the other to Oðin for his long life, Yngl saga cap 29. And the Swedes in a grievous famine, when other great sacrifices proved unavailing, offered up their *own king* Dômaldr, *ibid.* cap 18.

*Animal sacrifices* were mainly thank-offerings, but sometimes also expiatory, and as such they not seldom, by way of mitigation, took the place of a previous human sacrifice. I will now quote the evidences (see Suppl). *Herculem et Martem concessis animalibus placant*, Tac. Germ 9, *re*, with animals suitable for the purpose (Hist 5, 4), 'concessum' meaning sacrum as against profanum, and only those animals were suitable, whose flesh could be eaten by men. It would have been unbecoming to offer food to the god, which the sacrificer himself would have disdained. At the same time these sacrifices appear to be also banquets, an appointed portion of the slaughtered beast is placed before the god, the rest is cut up, distributed and consumed in the assembly. The people thus became partakers in the holy offering, and the god is regarded as feasting with them at their meal (see Suppl). At great sacrifices the kings were expected to taste each kind of food, and down to late times the house-spirits and dwarfs had their portion set aside for them by the superstitious people—*Quadiaginta rustici a Langobardis capti carnes immolatitias comedere compellebantur*, Greg M dial. 3, 27, which means no 'more than that the heathen Langobards permitted or expected the captive christians to share their sacrificial feast.<sup>1</sup> These 'immolatitiae carnes' and 'hostiae im-

<sup>1</sup> I do not know how *compellere* can be softened down to 'permitting or expecting'.—TRANS.

molatitiae, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt' are also mentioned in Bonifacii epist 25 and 55, ed Wurdtw

In the earliest period, the *Horse* seems to have been the favourite animal for sacrifice, there is no doubt that before the introduction of Christianity its flesh was universally eaten. There was nothing in the ways of the heathen so offensive to the new converts, as their not giving up the slaughter of horses (*hrossa-sláti*) and the eating of horseflesh, conf Nialls cap 106. The Christian Northmen reviled the Swedes as *hross-ætunnar*, Fornm sog 2, 309. Fagrsk. p 63. King Hákon, whom his subjects suspected of Christianity, was called upon 'at hann skyldi eta *hrossaslátr*,' Saga Hásk gôða cap 18. From Tac ann 13, 57 we learn that the Hermandunî sacrificed the *horses* of the defeated Catti. As late as the time of Boniface (Epist ed Wurdtw 25 87. Serr 121 142),<sup>1</sup> the Thuringians are strictly enjoined to abstain from horseflesh. Agathias bears witness to the practice of the Alamanni *ἱπποῦς τε καὶ βόας, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα μυρία καρατομοῦντες* (beheading), *επιθειάζουσι*, ed bonn 28, 5—Here we must not overlook the *cutting off* of the *head*, which was not consumed with the rest, but consecrated by way of eminence to the god. When Cæcina, on approaching the scene of Varus's overthrow, saw *horses' heads* fastened to the stems of trees (*equorum artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora*, Tac ann. 1, 61), these were no other than the Roman horses, which the Germans had seized in the battle and offered up to their gods<sup>2</sup> (see Suppl.). A similar 'immolatus *equi abscissum caput*' meets us in Saxo gram p 75, in the North they fixed it on the neidstange (niðstong, stake of envy) which gave the power to bewitch an enemy, Egilss p 389. In a Hessian kindermarchen (no 89) we have surviving, but no longer understood, a reminiscence

<sup>1</sup> Inter cetera *agrestem caballum* aliquantos comedere adjunxisti, plerosque et *domesticum* hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps sinas. And *in primis de volatilibus*, id est graculis et corniculis atque cicinnis, quae omnino cavendae sunt ab esu christianorum etiam et fibri et leporis et *equi silvatici* multo amplius vitandi. Again, Hieronymus adv Jov. lib 2 (ed basil 1553 2, 75) *Sarmatae, Quadi, Vandali et innumerabiles aliae gentes equorum et vulpium carnibus delectantur*. Otto frising 6, 10 *Audiat, quod Pecenati* (the wild Pechenare, Nib 1280, 2) et hi qui *Falones* vocantur (the Valwen, Nib 1279, 2. Tit. 4097), *ciudis et immundis carnibus*, utpote *equinis* et *catinis* usque hodie vescuntur. Rol 98, 20 of the heathen *sie erent diu roa*. Witches also are charged with eating horseflesh (see Suppl.).

<sup>2</sup> Also in that passage of Joinaudes about Mais *huic truncis suspendebantur exuviae*.

of the mysterious meaning of a suspended *horse's head*<sup>1</sup>—But on horse-sacrifices among the heathen Norse we have further information of peculiar value. The St Olaf's saga, cap 113 (ed. Holm 2, 181), says *þat fylgði ok þeirri sogn, at þar væri drepit naut ok hross til árbôtar* (followed the saying that there were slain neat and horse for harvest-boot). A tail-piece at the very end of the Hervaalsaga mentions a similar sacrifice offered by the apostate Swedes at the election of king Svein (second half of 11th century) *var þá framleiddt hross eitt á þingit, ok hoggvit í sundr, ok skript til áts, en niðpuðu blöðinu blóttið, kostuðu þá allir Svíar kristni ok hófust blót*, then was led forward a horse into the Thing, and hewed in sunder, and divided for eating, and they reddened with the blood the blót-tree, &c. Fornaldr sog 1, 512. Dietmar of Merseburg's description of the great Noise (strictly Danish) sacrificial rite, which however was extinct a hundred years before his time, evidently contains circumstances exaggerated legendwise and distorted, he says 1, 9. Sed quia ego de hostius (Northmannorum) mira audiui, haec indiscussa praeterire nolo est unus in his partibus locus, caput istius regni, Lederun nomine, in pago qui Selon<sup>2</sup> dicitur, ubi post novem annos mense Januario, post hoc tempus quo nos theophaniam domini celebriamus, omnes convenerunt, et ibi dñs suismet lxxx et ix homines, et totidem equos, cum canibus et gallis pro accipitribus oblatis, immolant, pro certo, ut praedixi, putantes hos eisdem eiga inferos servituros, et commissa crimina apud eosdem placaturos quam bene rex noster (Heinrich I. an 931) fecit, qui eos a tam execrando ritu prohibuit!—A grand festive sacrifice, coming once in nine years, and costing a considerable number of animals—in this there is nothing incredible. Just as the name hecatomb lived on, when there was nothing like that number sacrificed, so here the legend was likely to keep to a high-sounding number, the horror of the human victims perhaps it threw in bodily. But the reason alleged for the annual sacrifice is evidently wide of the mark, it mixes up what was done

<sup>1</sup> Gregory the Great (epist 7, 5) admonishes Brunichild to take precautions with her Franks, 'ut de animalium capitibus sacrificia sacrilega non exhibeant'.

<sup>2</sup> Selon for Sælond, ON Sælundr, afterwards Sioland, Seeland, i.e., Zealand. Lederun, the Sax. dat of Lédæra, ON Hleiðra, afterwards Létræ, Leire; conf. Goth. Hleiþra tabernaculum.



at funerals<sup>1</sup> with what was done for expiation. It was only the bodies of nobles and rich men that were followed in death by bondsmen and by domestic and hunting animals, so that they might have their services in the other world. Suppose 99 men, we will say prisoners of war, to have been sacrificed to the gods, the animals specified cannot have been intended to escort those enemies, nor yet for the use of the gods, to whom no one ever set apart and slaughtered horses or any beasts of the chase with a view to their making use of them. So whether the ambiguous *eisdem* refers to homines or diis (as *eodem* just after stands for the latter), either way there is something inadmissible asserted. At the new year's festival I believe that of all the victims named the horses alone were sacrificed, men, hounds and cocks the legend has added on.<sup>2</sup> How Dietmar's story looks by the side of Adam of Bremen's on the Upsal sacrifice, shall be considered on p. 53.

Among all animal sacrifices, that of the *horse* was preeminent and most solemn. Our ancestors have this in common with several Slavic and Finnish nations, with Persians and Indians with all of them the horse passed for a specially sacred animal.<sup>3</sup>

Sacrifice of *Oxen* (see Suppl.) The passage from Agathias (ἵππους τε καὶ βόας) proves the Alamannic custom, and that from the Olafssaga (*naut ok hross*) the Norse. A letter to Saint Boniface (Epist. 82, Wurdtw.) speaks of ungodly priests 'qui *tauros et hircos* diis paganorum immolabant'. And one from Gregory the Great ad Melitum (Epist. 10, 76 and in Bede's hist. eccl. 1, 30) affirms of the Angles. *boves solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere*

<sup>1</sup> With Sigurðr *servants* and *hawks* are burnt, Sæm 225<sup>b</sup>, elsewhere *horses* and *dogs* as well, conf. RA 344. Asvitus, morbo consumptus, cum *canis et equo* terreno mandatur antro, Saxo gram. p. 91, who misinterprets, as though the dead man fed upon them. nec contentus equi vel canis esu, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pro accipitribus' means, that in default of hawks, cocks were used. Some have taken it, as though dogs and cocks were sacrificed to deified birds of prey. But the 'pro' is unmistakable.

<sup>3</sup> Conf. Bopp's Nalas and Damayanti, p. 42, 268. The Hyperboreans sacrificed *asses* to Apollo, Pindar Pyth. 10. Callimach. fr. 187. Anton Liberal. metam. 20. The same was done at Delphi, Boeckh corp. insc. I, 807, 809. In a Mod. Greek poem Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλωποῦς διήγησις vv. 429-434, a similar offering seems to be spoken of, and Hagek's bohni chron. p. 62 gives an instance among the Slavs. That, I suppose, is why the Silesians are called *ass-eaters* (Zeitvertreiber 1668, p. 153), and if the Gottingers receive the same nickname, these popular jokes must be very old in Germany itself (see Suppl.).

The *black ox* and *black cow*, which are not to be killed for the household (Superst 887),—were they sacred sacrificial beasts? Val Supht, a free peasant on the Samland coast (Samogitia or 'Semi-galia), sacrificed a *black bull* with strange ceremonies<sup>1</sup> I will add a few examples from the Norse During a famine in Sweden under king Dômaldr þá efiðo (instituted) Svîar blôt stôr at Uppsolum, it fyrsta haust (autumn) blôtuðu þeir *yxnum*, and the oxen proving insufficient, they gradually went up to higher and higher kinds, Yngl saga, c 18 þá gekk hann til hofs (temple) Freyss, ok leiddi þagat *uxan gamlan* (an old ox), ok mælti svâ 'Freyr, nú gef ek þer uxa þenna', en uxanum brâ svâ við, at hann qvað við, ok féll niðr dauðr (dealt the ox such a blow, that he gave a groan and fell down dead), Islend sog 2, 348 conf Vigaglumssaga, cap 9 At a formal duel the victor slew a *bull* with the same weapons that had vanquished his foe þá var leiddr fram *gráððánger mikill ok gamall*, var þat kallat *blôtneut*, þat skyldi sâ hoggva er sigr hefði (then was led forth a bull mickle and old, it was called blôt-neat, that should he hew who victory had), Egilss p 506 conf Kormaks-saga p 214-8—Sacrifice of *Cows*, Sæm 141 Fornm sog 2, 138—The Greek *ἐκατόμβη* (as the name shows, 100 oxen) consisted at first of a large number of neat, but very soon of other beasts also The Indians too had sacrifices of a hundred, Holzmann 3, 193<sup>2</sup>

*Boars, Pigs* (see Suppl) In the Salic Law, tit 2 a higher composition is set on the *majalis sacrivus* or *votivus* than on any other This seems a relic of the ancient sacrifices of the heathen Franks, else why the term *sacrivus*? True, there is no vast difference between 700 and 600 den (17 and 15 sol), but of animals so set apart for holy use there must have been a great number in heathen times, so that the price per head did not need to be high Probably they were selected immediately after birth, and marked, and then reared with the rest till the time of sacrificing—In Frankish and Alamannic documents there often occurs the word *friscing*, usually for porcellus, but sometimes for agnus, occasionally in the more limited sense of porcinus and agninus, the word may by

<sup>1</sup> Berlin monatschr 1802 8, 225. conf Lucas David 1, 118-122

<sup>2</sup> In many districts of Germany and France, the butchers at a set time of the year lead through the streets a *fatted ox* decked with flowers and ribbons, accompanied by drum and fife, and collect drink-money In Holland they call the ox *belder*, and hang gilded apples on his horns, while a butcher walks in front with the axe (bell). All this seems a relic of some old sacrificial rite.

its origin express recens natus, new-born,<sup>1</sup> but it now lives only in the sense of porcellus (frischling) How are we to explain then, that this OHG *friscung* in several writers translates precisely the Lat hostia, victima, holocaustum (Notker cap 8, ps 15, 4 26, 6 33, 1 39, 8 41, 10 43, 12 22 50, 21 115, 17 ôsterfriscung, ps 20, 3 lamp unkawemmit kakepan erdu friscung, *ie* lamb unblemished given to earth a sacrifice, Hymn 7, 10), except as a reminiscence of heathenism? The Jewish paschal lamb would not suggest it, for in friscung the idea of porcellus was predominant—In the North, the expiatory boar, *sônargoltr*, offered to Freyr, was a periodical sacrifice, and Sweden has continued down to modern times the practice of baking loaves and cakes on Yule-eve in the shape of a boar This *golden-bristled* boar has left his track in inland Germany too According to popular belief in Thuringia,<sup>2</sup> whoever on Christmas eve abstains from all food till suppertime, will get sight of a young *golden pig*, *ie* in olden times it was brought up last at the evening banquet A Lauterbach ordinance (weisthum) of 1589 decreed (3, 369), that unto a court holden the day of the Three-kings, therefore in Yule time, the holders of farm-steads (hubner) should furnish a clean *goldferch* (gold-hog) gelded while yet under milk, it was led round the benches, and no doubt slaughtered afterwards<sup>3</sup> So among the Welsh, the swine offered to the gods

<sup>1</sup> Ducange sub v Eccard Fr or 2, 677 Dorows denkm. I 2, 55. Lacomblet 1, 327 Graff 3, 833 Schmeller wtb 1, 619

<sup>2</sup> Gutgesells beitr zur gesch des deutschen alterthums, Meiningen 1834, p 138.

<sup>3</sup> This passage from the Lauterb ordin I can now match by another from those of Vinkbuch in the Alamann country It says 1, 436 the provost shall pick out in the convent a *swine worth 7 schilling pfennig*, and as soon as harvest begins, let it into the convent crewyard, where it must be allowed generous fare and free access to the corn, there it is left till the Thursday after St Adolf's day, when it is slaughtered and divided, half to the farm-bailiff, half to the parish, on the same day there is also a distribution of bread and cheese to the parish—The price of seven shillings tallies with the seven and a half fixed by the Lauterb ordin, and is a high one, far exceeding the ordinary value (conf Gott anz 1827, pp. 336-7), it was an arrangement long continued and often employed in these ordinances, and one well suited to a beast selected for sacrifice The Lauterbach *goldferch*, like that of Vinkbuch, is doled out and consumed at a festive meal, the assize itself is named after it (3, 370), at Vinkbuch the heathenish name only has been forgotten or suppressed Assuredly such assize-feasts were held in other parts of Germany too St Adolf was a bishop of Straszburg, his day falls on August 29 or 30 (Conr v Dankr namenb p 117), and the assize therefore in the beginning of September Swine are slaughtered for the household when winter sets in, in Nov or Dec, and as both of these by turns are called *schlachtmonat*, there might linger in

became one destined for the King's table. It is the '*swîn ealgylden, eofof irenheard*' of the Anglo-Saxons, and of its exact relation to the worship of Frôho (Fieyr) we have to treat more in détail by and by. The Greeks sacrificed swine to Dêmêtêr (Ceres), who as Nerthus stands very near to Niorðr, Fieyr and Freyja.

*Rams, Goats* (see Suppl.) — As *fúscing* came to mean *victima*, so conversely a name for animal sacrifice, Goth *sáuðs*, seems to have given rise to the ON name for the animal itself, *sauðr* = wether. This species of sacrifice was therefore not rare, though it is seldom expressly mentioned, probably as being of small value. Only the saga *Hâkonar gôða* cap 16 informs us þar var oc drepinn (killed) allskonar *smali*, ok svâ hross. *Smali* (μῆλα) denotes principally sheep, also more generally the small beasts of the flock as opposed to oxen and horses, and as '*alls konar (omnis generis)*' is here added, it seems to include goats. The sacrifice of *he-goats* (*hircos*) is spoken of in the above-quoted Epist. Bonif 82. In the Swedish superstition, the water-sprite, before it will teach any one to play the harp, requires the sacrifice of a *black lamb*, Svenska folkv 2, 128. Gregory the Great speaks once of *she-goats* being sacrificed; he says the Langobards offer to the devil, *re*, to one of their gods, *caput caprae*, hoc ei, per circuitum currentes, carmine nefando dedicantes, Dial 3, 28. This head of a she-goat (or he-goat?) was reared aloft, and the people bowed before it. The *hallowing of a he-goat* among the ancient Prussians is well known (Luc David 1, 87, 98). The Slavonian god Triglav is represented with three goats' heads (Hanka's *zbyrka* 23). If that Langobardic '*carmin nefandum*' had been preserved, we could judge more exactly of the rite than from the report of the holy father, who viewed it with hostile eyes.

About other sacrificial beasts we cannot be certain, for of Dietmar's dogs and hawks and cocks, hardly any but the last are to be depended on (see Suppl.). But even then, what of domestic poultry, fowls, geese, pigeons? The dove was a Jewish and christian

this also a reference to heathen sacrifices\*, an AS name for Nov is expressly *blôtmoneð*. The common man at his yearly slaughtering gets up a feast, and sends meat and sausages to his neighbours (conf. *mauchli*, Stalder 2, 525), which may be a survival of the common sacrifice and distribution of flesh. It is remarkable that in Servia too, at the solemn burning of the *badnyak*, which is exactly like the yule-log (ch. XX, Fires), a *whole swine* is roasted, and often a *sulking pig* along with it; Vul's Montenegro, pp 103-4.

sacrifice, the Greeks offered cocks to Asklepios, and in Touraine a white cock used to be sacrificed to St Christopher for the cure of a bad finger (Henri Estienne cap 38, 6) Of game, doubtless only those fit to eat were fit to sacrifice, stags, roes, wild boars, but never bears, wolves or foxes, who themselves possess a ghostly being, and receive a kind of worship Yet one might suppose that for expiation uneatable beasts, equally with men, might be offered, just as slaves and also hounds and falcons followed the burnt body of their master Here we must first of all place Adam of Bremen's description (4, 27) of the great sacrifice at Upsala by the side of Dietmar's account of that at Hlethra (see p 48) —*Solet quoque post novem annos communis omnium Sveoniae provinciarum solennitas celebrari, ad quam nulli praestatur immunitas, reges et populi, omnes et singuli sua dona ad Ubsolam transmittunt, et, quod omni poena crudelius est, illi qui jam induerunt christianitatem ab illis ceremoniis se iedimunt Sacrificium itaque tale est ex omni animante quod masculinum est, novem capita offeruntur, quorum sanguine deos tales placari mos est Corpora autem suspenduntur in lucum qui proximus est templo Is enim lucus tam sacer est gentilibus, ut singulae arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinae credantur Ibi etiam canes, qui pendent cum hominibus, quorum corpora mixtim suspensa narravit mihi quidam christianorum se septuaginta duo vidisse Ceterum naeniae, quae in ejusmodi ritibus libatoris fieri solent, multiplices sunt et inhonestae, ideoque melius reticendae* —The number nine is prominent in this Swedish sacrificial feast, exactly as in the Danish, but here also all is conceived in the spirit of legend First, the *heads* of victims seem the essential thing again, as among the Franks and Langobards, then the dogs come in support of those Hlethra 'hounds and hawks,' but at the same time remind us of the old judicial custom of hanging up wolves or dogs by the side of criminals (RA 685-6) That only the *male* sex of every living creature is here to be sacrificed, is in striking accord with an episode in the Reinardus, which was composed less than a century after Adam, and in its groundwork might well be contemporary with him At the wedding of a king, the *males* of all quadrupeds and birds were to have been *slaughtered*, but the cock and gander had made their escape It looks to me like a legend of the olden time, which still circulated in the 11-12th centuries, and which even a nursery-tale (No 27, the Town-

musicians) knows something of<sup>1</sup> Anyhow, in heathen times *male animals* seem to be in special demand for sacrifice<sup>2</sup> As for killing one of every species (and even Agathias's *καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα μύθια* does not come up to that), it would be such a stupendous affair, that its actual execution could never have been conceivable, it can only have existed in popular tradition It is something like the old Mirror of Saxony and that of Swabia assuring us that every living creature present at a deed of rapine, whether oxen, horses, cats, dogs, fowls, geese, swine or men, had to be beheaded, as well as the actual delinquent (in real fact, only when they were his property),<sup>3</sup> or like the Edda relating how oaths were exacted of all animals and plants, and all beings were required to weep The creatures belonging to a man, his domestic animals, have to suffer with him in case of cremation, sacrifice or punishment

Next to the kind, stress was undoubtedly laid on the colour of the animal, *white* being considered the most favourable *White* horses are often spoken of (Tac. Germ 10 Weisth 3, 301 311 831), even so far back as the Persians (Herod 1, 189) The friscing of sacrifice was probably of a spotless white, and in later law-records *snow-white* pigs are pronounced inviolable<sup>4</sup> The Votiaks sacrificed a *red* stallion, the Tcheremisses a *white* When under the old German law *dun* or *pred* cattle were often required in payment of fines and tithes, this might have some connexion with sacrifices<sup>5</sup>, for witchcraft also, animals of a particular hue were requisite The water-sprite demanded a *black* lamb, and the huldres have a *black* lamb and *black* cat offered up to them (Asb 1 159). Saxo Gram p 16 says, *rem divinam facere furvis hostius*, does that mean *black* beasts?—We may suppose that cattle were

<sup>1</sup> Or will any one trace this incident in the Reynard to the words of the Vulgate in Matt 22, 4 *tauri mei et altilia occisa sunt, venite ad nuptias*, which merely describe the preparations for the wedding-feast? Any hint about males is just what the passage lacks

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks offered *male* animals to gods, *female* to goddesses, Il 3, 103 a *white male* lamb to Helios (sun), a *black ewe* lamb to Gê (earth) The Lithuanians sacrificed to their earthgod Zemennik *utrusque* sexus domestica animalia, Haupt's zeitschr 1, 141

<sup>3</sup> Reyscher and Wilda zeitschr für deutsches recht 5, 17, 18

<sup>4</sup> RA 261 594 Weisth 3, 41. 46 69 conf Virg Aen 8, 82 *candida cum fetu consolor albo* sus, and the Umbrian *trif apruf iufnu ute peru* (tres apros rubros aut piceos), Aufrecht und Kirchh umbr sprachd 2, 278-9

<sup>5</sup> RA 587 667 Weisth 1, 498 3, 430. *White* animals hateful to the gods, Tettau and Temme preuss sag 42

garlanded and adorned for sacrifice. A passage in the Edda requires gold-horned cows, *Sæm* 141\*, and in the village of Fienstadt in Mansfeld a coal-black ox with a white star and white feet, and a he-goat with gilded horns were imposed as dues<sup>1</sup>. There are indications that the animals, before being slaughtered, were led round within the circle of the assembly—that is how I explain the *leading round the benches*, and *per circuitum currere*, pp 51, 52—perhaps, as among the Greeks and Romans, to give them the appearance of going *voluntarily* to death<sup>2</sup> (see Suppl.) Probably care had to be taken also that the victim should *not* have been used in the *service of man*, e.g., that the ox had never drawn plough or waggon. For such colts and bullocks are required in our ancient law-records at a formal transfer of land, or the ploughing to death of removers of landmarks.

On the actual procedure in a sacrifice, we have scarcely any information except from Norse authorities. While the animal laid down its life on the sacrificial stone, all the streaming blood (ON *hlaut*) was caught either in a hollow dug for the purpose, or in vessels. With this gore they smeared the sacred vessels and utensils, and sprinkled the participants<sup>3</sup>. Apparently divination was performed by means of the blood, perhaps a part of it was mixed with ale or mead, and drunk. In the North the blood-bowls (*hlautbollar*, *blótbollar*) do not seem to have been large, some nations had big cauldrons made for the purpose (see Suppl.) The Swedes were taunted by Olafr Tryggvason with sitting at home and licking their sacrificial pots, ‘at sitja heima ok sleikja *blót-bolla sína*,’ *Fornm sog* 2, 309. A cauldron of the Cimbri is noticed in Strabo 7, 2 *ἔθος δέ τι τῶν Κίμβρων διηγούνται τοιοῦτον, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συστρατευούσαις παρηκολούθουν προμάντιες ἱερεῖαι πολίδοις, λευχείμενες, καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας ἐπιπεπορ-*

<sup>1</sup> Neue mitth. des thür sachs vereins V. 2, 131, conf II 10, 292 Od 3, 382.

σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦριν, εὐρυμέτωπον,  
ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὐκ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ  
τὴν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω, χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας

<sup>2</sup> Oc engu skyldi tortýna hvítki íe ne monnum, nema snálf gengi í burt *Eyrb saga*, p 10. And none should they kill (tortima?) neither beast nor man, unless of itself it ran a-tilt.

<sup>3</sup> *Saga Hakonar góða*, cap 16 *Eyrb saga* p. 10 *rauð horgin*, reddened the (stone) altar, *Fornald sog.* 1, 413 *stalla lata rjóða blóði*, 1, 454 527 *Sæm.* 114<sup>b</sup> *rauðvū blóðinu blóðtré*, *Fornald sog.* 1, 512 the Grk *αἶμα τῷ βωμῷ περιχέειν* conf *Exod* 24, 8.

πημέναι, ζῶσμα χαλκοῦν ἔχουσαι, γυμνόποδες· τοῖς οὖν αἰχμαλώ-  
τοις διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου συνήντων ξιφήρεις· καταστέψασαι δ'  
αὐτοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν, ὅσον ἀμφορέων εἴκοσι· εἶχον  
δὲ ἀναβάθραν, ἣν ἀναβάσα (ἢ μάντις) ὑπερπετῆς τοῦ λέβητος  
ἐλαιομότῳ ἐκαστον μετεωρισθέντα ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προχομένου αἵματος  
εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα, μαντεῖαν τινὰ ἐποιοῦντο<sup>1</sup> Another cauldron of  
the Suevi, in the Life of St Columban Sunt etenim inibi vicinæ  
nationes Suevorum, quo cum moraretur, et inter habitatores illius  
loci progredieretur, reperit eos sacrificium profanum *lutare* velle,  
vasque magnum, quod vulgo *cupam* vocant, quod viginti et sex  
modios amplius minusve capiebat, *cerevisia plenum* in medio habe-  
bant positum Ad quod vii Dei accessit et sciscitatur, quid de illo  
fieri vellent? Illi arunt deo suo Wodano, quem Mercurium  
vocant alii, se velle *lutare* Jonas Bobbiensis, vita Columb (from  
the first half of the 7th cent Mabillon ann Bened 2, 26) Here  
we are expressly told that the cauldron was filled with ale, and not  
that the blood of a victim was mixed with it, unless the narrative  
is incomplete, it may have meant only a drink-offering

Usually the cauldron served to cook, *ie* boil, the victim's flesh,  
it never was roasted Thus Herodotus 4, 61 describes a boiling  
(*ἔψευ*) of the sacrifice in the great cauldron of the Scythians  
From this *seething*, according to my conjecture, the ram was called  
*sarups*, and those who took part in the sacrifice *suðnautar* (partakers  
of the sodden), Gutalag p 108, the boilings, the cauldrons and pots  
of witches in later times may be connected with this<sup>2</sup> The distri-  
bution of the pieces among the people was probably undertaken by  
a priest, on great holidays the feast<sup>3</sup> was held there and then in  
the assembly, on other occasions each person might doubtless take

<sup>1</sup> 'They say the Cimbri had this custom, that their women marching with  
them were accompanied by priestess-prophetesses, gray-haired, white-robed,  
with a linen scarf buckled over the shoulder, wearing a brazen girdle, and  
bare-footed, these met the prisoners in the camp, sword in hand, and having  
crowned them, led them to a brass *basin* as large as 30 amphoræ (180 gals);  
and they had a ladder, which the priestess mounted, and standing over the  
basin, cut the throat of each as he was handed up With the blood that gushed  
into the basin, they made a prophecy'

<sup>2</sup> The trolls too, a kind of elves, have a *copper little* in the Norw. saga,  
Faye 11, the christians long believed in a *Saturn dolium*, and in a *large*  
*cauldron* in hell (chaudière, Méon 3, 284-5)

<sup>3</sup> They also ate the strong broth and the fat swimming at the top. The  
heathen offer their king Hakon, on his refusing the flesh, *drecka soðit* and *eta*  
*flotit*, Saga Håkonar göða cap 18 conf Fornm. sog 10, 381.



his share home with him. That priests and people really ate the food, appears from a number of passages (conf. above, p. 46). The Capitularies 7, 405 adopt the statement in Epist. Bonif. cap. 25 (an. 732) of a Christian 'presbyter Jovi mactans, et immolatis carnes vescens,' only altering it to 'dus mactanti, et immolatis carnibus vescenti.' We may suppose that private persons were allowed to offer small gifts to the gods on particular occasions, and consume a part of them, thus the Christians called 'more gentium offerre, et ad honorem daemonum comedere,' Capit. de part. Sax. 20. It is likely also, that certain nobler parts of the animal were assigned to the gods, the *head, liver, heart, tongue*<sup>1</sup>. The head and skin of slaughtered game were suspended on trees in honour of them (see Suppl.).

Whole *burntofferings*, where the animal was converted into ashes on the pile of wood, do not seem to have been in use. The Goth. *allbrunst* Mk. 12, 33 is made merely to translate the Gk. *όλοκαύτωμα*, so the OHG. *albrandopher*, N. ps. 64, 2, and the AS. *bynegeld onhnead* rommes blöde, Cædm. 175, 6. 177, 18 is meant to express purely a burnt offering in the Jewish sense<sup>2</sup>.

Neither were *incense-offerings* used, the sweet incense of the Christians was a new thing to the heathen. Ulphilas retains the Gk. *thymama* Lu. 1, 10. 11, and our *weih-rauch* (holy-reek), O. Sax. *wirōc* Hel. 3, 22, and the ON. *reykels*, Dan. *rogelse* are formed according to Christian notions (see Suppl.).

While the sacrifice of a slain animal is more sociable, more universal, and is usually offered by the collective nation or community, fruit or flowers, milk or honey is what any household, or even an individual may give. These *Fruit-offerings* are therefore more solitary and paltry, history scarcely mentions them, but they have lingered the longer and more steadfastly in popular customs (see Suppl.).

When the husbandman cuts his corn, he leaves a clump of ears standing for the god who blessed the harvest, and he adorns it with

<sup>1</sup> γλῶσσα καὶ κοιλία (tongue and entrails) ἱερείου διαπεπραγμένον, Plutarch, Phoc. 1. γλῶσσας τάνναι and ἐν πυρὶ βῆλαι, Od. 3, 332. 341. conf. De linguae usu in sacrificiis, Nitzsch ad Hom. Od. 1, 207. In the folk-tales, whoever has to kill a man or beast, is told to bring in proof the tongue or heart, apparently as being eminent portions.

<sup>2</sup> Slav. *páliti* obiti, to kindle an offering, Koniginh. hs. 98.

ribbons To this day, at a fruit-gathering in Holstein, five or six apples are left hanging on each tree, and then the next crop will thrive More striking examples of this custom will be given later, in treating of individual gods But, just as tame and eatable animals were especially available for sacrifice, so are *fruit-trees* (*frugiferae arbores*, Tac Germ 10), and *grains*; and at a formal transfer of land, boughs covered with leaves, apples or nuts are used as earnest of the bargain The MHG poet (Fundgr II, 25) describes Cain's sacrifice in the words 'eine garb er nam, er wolte sie oppheren mit eheren joch mit *agenen*,' a sheaf he took, he would offer it with ears and eke with spikes a formula expressing at once the upper part or beard (*arista*), and the whole ear and stalk (*spica*) as well Under this head we also put the *crowning* of the divine image, of a sacred tree or a sacrificed animal with *foliage* or *flowers*, not the faintest trace of this appears in the Norse sagas, and as little in our oldest documents From later times and surviving folk-tales I can bring forward a few things On Ascension day the girls in more than one part of Germany twine *garlands* of white and red flowers, and hang them up in the dwellingroom or over the cattle in the stable, where they remain till replaced by fresh ones the next year<sup>1</sup> At the village of Questenberg in the Harz, on the third day in Whitsuntide, the lads carry an oak up the castle-hill which overlooks the whole district, and, when they have set it upright, fasten to it a large *garland* of branches of trees plaited together, and as big as a cartwheel They all shout 'the *queste* (i.e. garland) hangs,' and then they dance round the tree on the hill top; both tree and garland are renewed every year<sup>2</sup> Not far from the Meisner mountain in Hesse stands a high precipice with a cavern opening under it, which goes by the name of the Hollow Stone Into this cavern every Easter Monday the youths and maidens of the neighbouring villages carry *nosegays*, and then draw some cooling water No one will venture down, unless he has flowers with him<sup>3</sup> The lands in some Hessian townships have to pay a *bunch of mayflowers* (lilies of the valley) every year for rent<sup>4</sup> In all these examples, which can easily be multiplied, a heathen

<sup>1</sup> Bragur VI 1, 126

<sup>2</sup> Otmars volkssagen, pp. 128-9 What is told of the origin of the custom seems to be fiction

<sup>3</sup> Wigands archiv 6, 317.

<sup>4</sup> Wigands archiv 6, 318 Casselsches wochenbl. 1815, p. 928<sup>b</sup>.

practice seems to have been transferred to christian festivals and offerings<sup>1</sup>

• As it was a primitive and widespread custom at a banquet to set aside a part of the *food* for the household gods, and particularly to place a dish of *broth* before Berhta and Hulda, the gods were also invited to share the festive *drink*. The drinker, before taking any himself, would pour some out of his vessel for the god or house-sprite, as the Lithuanians, when they drank beer, spilt some of it on the ground for their earth-goddess Zemynele<sup>2</sup>. Compare with this the Norwegian sagas of Thor, who appears at weddings when invited, and takes up and empties huge casks of ale—I will now turn once more to that account of the Suevic *ale-tub* (cupa) in Jonas (see p. 56), and use it to explain the heathen practice of *minne-drinking*, which is far from being extinct under christianity. Here also both name and custom appear common to all the Teutonic races.

The Gothic *man* (pl. *munum*, pret. *munda*) signified I think, *gaman* (pl. *gamunum*, pret. *gamunda*) I betink me, I remember. From the same verb is derived the OHG *minna* = *minia* amor, *minnôn* = *minnôn* amare, to remember a loved one. In the ON language we have the same *man*, *munum*, and also *minni* memoria, *minna* recordari, but the secondary meaning of amor was never developed.

It was customary to honour an absent or deceased one by making mention of him at the assembly or the banquet, and draining a goblet to his memory. This goblet, this draught was called in ON *erfi drychja*, or again *minni* (*erfi* = funeral feast).

At grand sacrifices and banquets the god or the gods were remembered, and their *minni* drunk. *minnis-ol* (ale), Sæm 119<sup>b</sup> (opposed to *ðminnis ol*), *minnis-horn*, *minnis-full* (cupful). *fôro minni morg*, ok skyldi horn dreckia í *minni* hvert (they gave many a m, and each had to drink a horn to the m) um gôlt gânga at *minnom* ollum, Egilss 206. 253. *minniol signôð* ásom, Olafs helga

<sup>1</sup> Beside cattle and grain, other valuables were offered to particular gods, and in special cases, as even in christian times voyagers at sea e.g., would vow a *silver ship* to their church as a votive gift, in Swedish folk-songs, *offra en gryta af malm* (vessel of metal), Arvidss 2, 116, en gryta af *blindast malm* (of silver) Ahlqvists Öland II 1, 214, also articles of clothing, e.g. *reð skoc*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Teut. languages I know of no technical term like the Gk. σπένδω, λείβω, Lat. *libo*, for drink-offerings (see Suppl.)

saga (ed holm) 113 *signa* is the German *segnen* to bless, consecrate *signa full* Oðin, Thôr Oðins *full*, Niarðar *full*, Freys *full* drecka, Saga Hâkonar gôða cap 16 18 In the Herrauds-saga cap 11, Thôi's, Oðin's and Freya's *minne* is drunk At the burial of a king there was brought up a goblet called *Bragafull* (funeral toast cup), before which every one stood up, took a solemn vow, and emptied it, Yngl saga cap 40, other passages have *bragarfull*, Sæm 146<sup>a</sup> Fornald sog 1, 345 417 515 The goblet was also called *minnisveig* (swig, draught), Sæm 193<sup>b</sup> After conversion they did not give up the custom, but drank the *minne* of Christ, Mary, and the saints Krists *minni*, Michaëls *minni*, Fornm sog 1, 162 7, 148 In the Fornm. sog 10, 1781, St Martin demands of Olaf that *his minni* be proposed instead of those of Thôr, Oðin, and the other âses

The other races were just as little weaned from the practice, only where the term *minne* had changed its meaning, it is translated by the Lat *amor* instead of *memoria*,<sup>1</sup> notably as early as in Liutprand, hist 6, 7 (Muratori II. 1, 473), and Liutpr hist Ott 12 *diaboli in amorem vinum bibere* Liutpr antapod 2, 70 *amoris salutisque mei causa bibito* Liutpr leg 65 *potas in amore beati Johannis præcursoris* Here the Baptist is meant, not the Evangelist, but in the Fel Faber evagat 1, 148 it is distinctly the latter In Eckehard casus S Galli, Pertz 2, 84 *amoreque*, ut moris est, osculato et epoto, lætabundi discedunt In the Rudlieb 2, 162:

post poscit vinum *Gertrudis amore*, quod haustum  
participat nos tres, postremo basia fingens,  
quando vale dixit post nos gemit et benedixit

In the so-called Liber occultus, according to the Munchen MS., at the description of a scuffle.

hujus ad edictum nullus plus percutit ictum,  
sed per clamorem poscunt *Gertrudis amorem*

In the Peregrinus, a 13th cent Latin poem, v 335 (Leyser 2114):  
et rogat ut potent sanctae *Gertrudis amore*,  
ut possent omni prosperitate frui

<sup>1</sup> The 12th cent poem Von dem gelouben 1001 says of the institution of the Lord's Supper, whose cup is also a drink of remembrance to Christians den coî nam er mit dem wine, unde *segente* darinne ein vil guote *minne* Conf *loving cup*, Thom's Anecd. 82.

At Ereke's departure: der wirt neig im an den fuoz, ze hand truog  
er im dô ze heiles gewinne *sant Gêtrûde minne*, Er 4015 The  
armed champion 'tranc *sant Johannes segen*,' Er 8651 Hagene,  
while killing Etzel's child, says, Nib 1897, 3

nu trinken wir die *minne* unde gelten skuneges win,

iz mac anders niht gesîn

wan trinkt und *geltet Ezeln win*, Helbl 6, 160 14 86.

Here the very word *gelten* recalls the meaning it had acquired in  
connexion with sacrificing, conf Schm 2, 40 si dô zucten di suet  
unde scancten eine *minne* (diew their swords and poured out a m),  
Herz Ernst in Hoffm fundgr 1, 230, 35 *minne* schenken,  
Berthold 276-7 *sant Johannes minne* geben, Oswald 611 1127  
1225 (see Suppl) No doubt the same thing that was afterwards  
called 'einen ehrenwein schenken', for even in our older speech  
*êra*, *êre* denoted veneration, reverence shown to higher and loved  
beings

In the Mid Ages then, it was two saints in particular that had  
*minne* drunk in honour of them, *John* the evangelist and *Gertrude*  
*John* is said to have drunk poisoned wine without hurt, hence  
a drink consecrated to him prevented all danger of poisoning  
*Gertrude* revered *John* above all saints, and therefore her memory  
seems to have been linked with his But she was also esteemed as  
a peacemaker, and in the *Latinarius meticus* of a certain *Andreas*  
*rector scholarum* she is invoked

O pia *Gerdrudis*, quae pacis commoda cedis

bellaque concludis, nos caeli mergito ludis'

A clerk prayed her daily, 'dass sie ihm schueffe herberg guot,' to  
find him lodging good, and in a MS of the 15th cent we are  
informed aliqui dicunt, quod quando anima egressa est, tunc prima  
nocte pernoctabit cum beata *Gerdrude*, secunda nocte cum arch-  
angelis, sed tertia nocte vadit sicut diffinitum est de ea. This  
remarkable statement will be found further on to apply to *Freya*,  
of whom, as well as of *Hulda* and *Beirhta*, *Gertrude* reminds us the  
more, as she was represented spinning Both *John's* and *Ger-  
trude's minne* used especially to be drunk by parting friends,  
travellers and lovers of peace, as the passages quoted have shown  
I know of no older testimony to *Gertrude's minne* (which presup-  
poses *John's*) than that in *Rudlieb*; in later centuries we find

plenty of them der brähte mir sant *Johans* segen, Ls 3, 336  
sant *Johans segen* trinken, Ls 2, 262 ich dāht an sant *Johans*  
*minne*, Ls 2, 264 varn (to fare) mit sant *Gertrūde minne*,  
Amgb 33<sup>b</sup> setz sant *Johans* ze buigen mir, daz du komest  
gesunt herwider schier, Hatzl 191<sup>b</sup> sant *Johannes namen*  
trinken, Altd bl 413 sant *Gertrūde minne*, Cod kolocz 72  
trinken sant *Johannes segen* und scheiden von dem lande, Morolt  
3103 dīz ist sancte *Johans minne*, Cod pal 364, 158 S *Johans*  
*segnen* trinken, Anshelm 3, 416 *Johans segen*, Fischart gesch kl  
99<sup>b</sup> Simpliciss 2, 262<sup>1</sup>

Those Suevi then, whom Columban was approaching, were probably drinking *Wuotan's minne*, Jonas relates how the saint blew the whole vessel to pieces and spoilt their pleasure manifesto datum intelligi, *diabolum* in eo vase fuisse occultatum, qui per profanum litatore caperet animas sacrificantium So by Luitprand's *devil*, whose minne is drunk, we may suppose a heathen god to have been meant *gefa þriggja sálda ol* Oðni (give three tuns of ale to Oðinn), Fornm sog 2, 16 *gefa Thôr ok Oðni ol, ok signa full* ásum, ibid 1, 280. *drecka minni* Thôrs ok Oðins, ibid 3, 191. As the North made the sign of Thor's hammer, christians used the cross for the blessing (segnung) of the cup, conf. *poculum signare*, Walthai 225, precisely the Norse *signa full*

Minne-drinking, even as a religious rite, apparently exists to this day in some parts of Germany At Otbergen, a village of Hildesheim, on Dec 27 every year a chalice of wine is hallowed by the priest, and handed to the congregation in the church to drink as *Johannis segen* (blessing), it is not done in any of the neighbouring places. In Sweden and Norway we find at Candlemas a *dricka eldborgs skål*, drinking a toast (see Superst k, Swed 122)

<sup>1</sup>Thomasius de poculo S. Johannis vulgo Johannistrunk, Lips 1675 Scheffers Haltaus p 165 Oberlin s. vb. Johannis minn und trunk Schmeller 2, 593 Hannov. mag 1830, 171-6 Ledeburs archiv 2, 189 On Gertrude espec. Huyd op St 2, 343-5 Clignett's bñdr 392-411 Hoffm horae belg 2, 41-8 Antiqvvariske annaler 1, 313 Hanka's Bohem glosses 79<sup>b</sup> 132<sup>a</sup> render Johannis amor by *swatá mīna* (holy m) And in that Slovenic document, the Freysinger MS (Kopitar's Glagolita xxvii, conf. xliii) is the combination da klanyamse, i modlimse, im i tchesti ich *pryem*, i obieti nashe im nesem (ut genuflectamus et precemur eis et honores eorum bibamus et oblationes nostras illis feramus), *tchest* is honor, *тѣмѣ*, cultus, our old éra, but I also find *slava* (fame, glory) used in the sense of minne, and in a Serbian song (Yuk, 1 no 94) wine is drunk 'za slave bozhye' to the glory of God In the Finnish mythology is mentioned an *Ukko malja*, bowl of Ukko, malja = Swed. skål, strictly scutella, potato in memoriam vel sanitatem.

Now that Suevic *cupa* filled with beer (p 75) was a hallowed *sacrificial cauldron*, like that which the Cimbri sent to the emperor Augustus<sup>1</sup> Of the Scythian cauldron we have already spoken, p 75, and we know what part the cauldron plays in the Hymis-qviða and at the god's judgment on the *seizure of the cauldron* (by Thor from giant Hymir) Nor ought we to overlook the ON proper names *Ashetill*, *Thórketill* (abbrev Thorkel) AS *Oscytel* (Kemble 2, 302), they point to kettles consecrated to the *âs* and to Thor

Our knowledge of heathen antiquities will gain both by the study of these drinking usages which have lasted into later times, and also of the shapes given to *baked meats*, which either retained the actual forms of ancient idols, or were accompanied by sacrificial observances A history of German cakes and bread-rolls might contain some unexpected disclosures Thus the Indiculus superstit 26 names *simulacra de conspersa farina* Baked figures of animals seem to have represented animals that were revered, or the attributes of a god<sup>2</sup> From a striking passage in the Firdthiofs saga (fornald sog 2, 86) it appears that the heathen at a *dís*a blót *baked images of gods* and *smeared* them with *oil* 'sátu konur við eldinn ok bokuðu goðin, en sumar smurðu ok þeiðu með dákum,' women sat by the fire and baked the gods, while some anointed them with cloths By Fróþiof's fault a baked Baldr falls into the fire, the fat blazes up, and the house is burnt down According to Voetius de superstit 3, 122 on the day of Paul's conversion they placed a figure of straw before the hearth on which they were baking, and if it brought a fine bright day, they anointed it with butter, otherwise they kicked it from the hearth, smeared it with dirt, and threw it in the water

Much therefore that is not easy to explain in popular offerings and rites, as the colour of animals (p 54), leading the boar round (p 51), flowers (p 58), minne-drinking (p 59), even the shape of cakes, is a reminiscence of the sacrifices of heathenism (see Suppl)

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέμψαν τῷ Σεβαστῷ δῶρον τὸν ἱερώτατον παρ' αὐτοῖς λέβητα, the most sacred cauldron they had, Strabo VII 2.

<sup>2</sup> Baking in the shape of a boar must have been much more widely spread than in the North alone, see below, Fró's boar, even in France they baked *cochelnis* for New Year's day, Mem. de l'ac celt 4, 429

Beside prayers and sacrifices, one essential feature of the heathen cultus remains to be brought out the *solemn carrying about of divine images*. The divinity was not to remain rooted to one spot, but at various times to bestow its presence on the entire compass of the land (see ch XIV). So Nerthus rode in state (*invehebatur populus*), and Berecynthia (ch XIII), so Frô travelled out in spring, so the sacred ship, the sacred plough was carried round (ch XIII Isis). The figure of the unknown Gothic god rode in its waggon (ch. VI). Fetching-in the Summer or May, carrying-out Winter and Death, are founded on a similar view. Holda, Berhta and the like beings all make their circuit at stated seasons, to the heathen's joy and the christian's terror, even the march of Wuotan's host may be so interpreted (conf. ch XXXI Frau Gauden). When Frô had ceased to appear, Dietrich with the ber (boar) and Dietrich Bern still showed themselves (ch X XXXI), or the sônagoltr (atonement-boar) was conveyed to the heroes' banquet (ch X), and the boar led round the benches (p 51). Among public legal observances, the progress of a newly elected king along the highways, the solemn lustration of roads, the beating of bounds, at which in olden times gods' images and priests can hardly have been wanting, are all the same kind of thing. After the conversion, the church permanently sanctioned such processions, except that the Madonna and saints' images were carried, particularly when drought, bad crops, pestilence or war had set in, so as to bring back rain (ch XX), fertility of soil, healing and victory, sacred images were even carried to help in putting out a fire. The Indicul paganiar XXVIII tells '*de simulacro quod per campos portant*,' on which Eccard I, 437 gives an important passage from the manuscript Vita Maresvidis (not Maresvidis) *statuimus ut annuatim secunda feria pentecostes patronum ecclesiae in parochiis vestris longo ambitu circumferentes et domos vestras lustrantes, et pro gentilitio ambariali in lacrymis et varia devotione vos ipsos mactetis et ad refectionem pauperum eleemosynam comportetis, et in hac curti pernactantes super reliquias vigilis et cantibus solennisetis, ut praedicto mane determinatum a vobis ambitum pia lustratione complentes ad monasterium cum honore debito reportetis. Confido autem de patroni hujus misericordia, quod sic ab ea gyrate terrae semina uberius proveniant, et variae aeris inclementiae cessent*. The Roman ambarvalia were purifications of fields, and sacrifices were



offered at the terminus publicus , the *May procession* and the *riding of bounds* and *roads* during the period of German heathenism must have been very similar to them . On the Gabel-heath in Mecklenburg the Wends as late as the 15th century walked round the budding corn with loud cries , Giesebrecht 1, 87

## CHAPTER IV.

### TEMPLES

In our inquiries on the sacred dwelling-places of the gods, it will be safest to begin, as before, with expressions which preceded the christian terms temple and church, and were supplanted by them.

The Gothic *alhs* fem translates the Jewish-Christian notions of *ναός* (Matt 27, 5 51 Mk 14, 58 15, 29 Lu 1, 9 21 2 Cor 6, 16) and *ἱερόν* (Mk 11, 11 16 27 12, 35 14, 49 Lu 2, 27 46 4, 9 18, 10 19, 45 John 7, 14 28 8, 20 59 10, 23) To the Goth it would be a time-hallowed word, for it shares the anomaly of several such nouns, forming its gen *alhs*, dat *alh*, instead of *alháis*, *alhái* Once only, John 18, 20, *gudhus* stands for *ἱερόν*, the simple *hus* never has the sense of *domus*, which is rendered *razn* Why should Ulphilas disdain to apply the heathen name to the christian thing, when the equally heathen *templum* and *ναός* were found quite inoffensive for christian use?

Possibly the same word appears even earlier, namely in Tacitus, Germ 43 *apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur; praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis, nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium Ut fiatres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur*—This *alcis* is either itself the nom, or a gen of *alx* (as *falcis* of *falx*), which perfectly corresponds to the Gothic *alhs* A pair of heroic brothers was worshipped, without any statues, in a sacred grove, the name can hardly be ascribed to *them*,<sup>1</sup> it is the abode of the divinity that is called *alx* Numen is here the sacred wood, or even some notable tree in it<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless it were dat pl of *alcus* [or *alca δακή*] A Wendicholz, Bohem holec, which has been adduced, is not to the point, for it means strictly a bald naked wretch, a beggar boy, Pol *golec*, Russ *gholiak* Besides, the Naharvali and the other Lygian nations can scarcely have been Slavs

<sup>2</sup> I am not convinced that numen can refer to the place The plain sense seems to be 'the divinity has that virtue (which the Gemini have), and the name *Alcis*,' or 'of *Alx*,' or if dat pl, 'the *Alcae*, *Alci*' May not *Alcis* be conn with *δακή* strength, safeguard, and the dat *δακί* pointing to a nom *ἄλξ*, \**ἄλκω* I defend, or even Caesar's *alcis* and Pausanias's *ἄλκαι* elks?—TRANS

Four or five centuries after Ulphilas, to the tribes of Upper Germany their word *alah* must have had an old-fashioned heathenish sound, but we know it was still there, preserved in composition with proper names of places and persons (see Suppl.) Alaholf, Alahat, Alahhilt, Alahgund, Alahtrût, Alahstat in pago Hassorum (A D 834), Schannat tiad fuld no 404 Alahdorp in Mulahgôwe (A D 856), *ibid* no 476. The names *Alahstat*, *Alahdorf* may have been borne by many places where a heathen temple, a hallowed place of justice, or a house of the king stood. For, not only the fanum, but the folk-mote, and the royal residence were regarded as consecrated, or, in the language of the Mid Ages, as *frôno* (set apart to the frô, lord). Alstidi, a king's pfalz (palatium) in Thuringia often mentioned in Dietmar of Merseburg, was in OHG *alahsteti*, nom alahstat. Among the Saxons, who were converted later, the word kept itself alive longer. The poet of the Heliand uses *alah* masc exactly as Ulphilas does *alhs* (3, 20 22 6, 2 14, 9 32, 14 115, 9 15 129, 22 130, 19 157, 16), seldomer *godas hâs* 155, 8 130, 18, or, that *hêlaga hâs* 3, 19. Cædm 202, 22 *allu* (1 *alh* hâlgne = holy temple), 258, 11 *ealhstede* (palatium, aedes regia). In Andr 1642 I would read 'ealde *ealhstedas*' (delubra) for 'eolhstedas', conf the proper names *Ealhstân* in Kemble 1, 288 296 and *Ealhheard* 1, 292 quasi stone-hard, rock-hard, which possibly leads us to the primary meaning of the word<sup>1</sup>. The word is wanting in ON documents, else it must have had the form *alh*, gen *als*.

Of another primitive word the Gothic fragments furnish no example, the OHG *wih* (nexus), Diut 1, 492\*, O Sax *wih* masc (templum), Hel 3, 15 17 19 14, 8 115, 4 119, 17 127, 10 129, 23 130, 17. 154, 22 169, 1, *friduunih*, Hel 15, 19, AS *wih* wiges, or *weoh* weos, also masc wiges (idoli), Cædm 228, 12 *þisne wig wurdigean* (hoc idolum colere), Cædm 228, 24 conf *wigweorðing* (cultus idolorum), Beow 350 *weohweorðing* Cæd exon 253, 14 *wihgild* (cultus idoli), Cædm 227, 5 *weobedd* (ara), for *weohbedd*, *wihbedd*, Cædm 127, 8 *weos* (idola), for *weohas*, Cæd exon 341, 28 —The alternation of *i* and *eo* in the AS indicates a short vowel, and in spite of the reasons I have urged in Gramm 1, 462, the same seems to be true of the ON. *ve*, which in the sing. as

<sup>1</sup> There is however a noun *Hard*, the name of many landing-places in the south of England, as Cracknor Hard, &c.—TRANS.

*Ve*, denotes one particular god, but has a double pl, namely, a masc *vear* dñ, idola, and a neut *ve* loca sacra Gutalag 6, 108 111 haita â hult epa hauga, â *vi* epa stafgarþa (invocare lucos aut tumulos, idola aut loca palis circumsepta), títta â hult, â hauga, *vi* oc stafgarþa, han standr í *vi* (stat in loco sacro) In that case we have here, as in alah, a term alternating between nemus, templum, fanum, idolum, numen, its root being doubtless the Gothic veiha (I hallow), váih, váihum, OHG wihi, weih, wihi, from which also comes the adj veihs sacer, OHG wih, and we saw on p 41 that wihi was applied to sacrifices and worship In Lappish, *vi* is said to mean silva

Still more decisive is a third heathen word, which becomes specially important to our course of inquiry The OHG *haruc* masc, pl harugâ, stands in the glosses both for fanum, Hiab 963<sup>b</sup> for delubrum, Hiab 959<sup>a</sup> for lucus, Hrab 969<sup>a</sup>, Jun. 212 Diut 1, 495<sup>b</sup>, and for nemus, Diut 1, 492<sup>a</sup> The last gloss, in full, runs thus 'nemus plantavit=*forst* flanzôta, edo (or) *haruc*, edo *wih*' So that *haruc*, like *wih*, includes on the one hand the notion of templum, fanum, and on the other that of wood, grove, lucus<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that the Lex Ripuar has preserved, evidently from heathen times, *harahus* to designate a place of judgment, which was originally a wood (RA 794 903) AS *hearg* masc, pl heargas (fanum), Beda 2, 13 3, 30 Orosius 3, 9, p 109 *heargtraef* (fani tabulatum), Beow 349 æt *hearge*, Kemble, 1, 282 ON *horg* masc, pl horgar (delubrum, at times idolum, simulacrum), Sæm 36<sup>a</sup> 42<sup>a</sup> 91<sup>a</sup> 114<sup>b</sup> 141<sup>a</sup>, especially worth notice is Sæm 114<sup>b</sup> *horg* hlaðinn steinom, griot at gleri oðit, roðit í nyio nauta bloði (h paven with stones, grit made smooth, reddened anew with neat's blood) Sometimes *horg* is coupled with *hof* (fanum, tectum), 36<sup>a</sup> 141<sup>a</sup>, in which case the former is the holy place amidst woods and rocks, the built temple, aula, conf 'haman ok *horg*,' Foinm sog 5, 239 To both expressions belongs the notion of the place as well

<sup>1</sup> And in one place haragâ=arae Elsewhere the heathen term for altar, Gk βωμος, was Goth *buda*, OHG *piot*, AS *bod* strictly a table (p 38), likewise the Goth *badr*, OHG *petir*, AS *bed*, *bedd* (lectus, p 30) gets to mean ara, areola, fanum, conf AS *wihbed*, *ueohbed*, *ueobed*, afterwards distorted into *ueofed* (ara, altare), OHG *lotapetti* (gods'-bed, lectus, pulvinar templi), Graff 3, 51, with which compare Brunhild's *bed* and the like, also the Lat lectisternium 'Ad altare S Kiliani, quod vulgo lectus dicitur,' Lang reg. 1, 239 255 (A.D. 1160 5), (see Suppl.)

as that of the numen and the image itself (see Suppl.) Haruc seems unconnected with the O Lat haruga, aruga, bull of sacrifice, whence haruspex, aruspex. The Gk τέμενος however also means the sacred grove, Il 8, 48 23, 148 τέμενος τάμον, Il 20, 184

Lastly, synonymous with haruc is the OHG *pario*, gen *parawes*, AS *bearo*, gen *bearwes*, which betoken lucus<sup>1</sup> and aibor, a sacred grove or a tree, æt bearwe, Kemble 1, 255 ON *bari* (aibor), Sæm 109\*, *bari* (nemus) 86<sup>b</sup> 87\* qui ad aras sacrificat=de za demo *parawe* (al za themo we) ploazit, Dniut 1, 150, ara, or rather the pl arae, here stands for templum (see Suppl.)

*Temple* then means also *wood*. What we figure to ourselves as a built and walled house, resolves itself, the farther back we go, into a holy place untouched by human hand, embowered and shut in by self-grown trees. There dwells the deity, veiling his form in rustling foliage of the boughs, there is the spot where the hunter has to present to him the game he has killed, and the herdsmen his horses and oxen and rams.

What a writer of the second century says on the cultus of the Celts, will hold good of the Teutonic and all the kindred nations. Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἀγάλμα δὲ Διὸς κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρύς, Maximus Tyrius (diss 8, ed Reiske 1, 142). Compare Lasicz 46 deos *nemora* incolere persuasum habent (Samogitae). Habitarunt di quoque *sylvas* (Haupts zeitschr 1, 138).

I am not maintaining that this forest-worship exhausts all the conceptions our ancestors had formed of deity and its dwelling-place, it was only the principal one. Here and there a god may haunt a mountain-top, a cave of the rock, a river, but the grand general worship of the people has its seat in the *grove*. And nowhere could it have found a worthier (see Suppl.)

At a time when rude beginnings were all that there was of the builder's art, the human mind must have been roused to a higher devotion by the sight of lofty trees under an open sky, than it could feel inside the stunted structures reared by unskilful hands. When long afterwards the architecture peculiar to the Teutons reached its

<sup>1</sup> To the Lat *lucus* would correspond a Goth *lāuhs*, and this is confirmed by the OHG *lōh*, AS *leāh*. The Engl *lea*, *ley* has acquired the meaning of meadow, field, also the Slav *lug*, Boh *lutz*, is at once grove, glade, and meadow. Not only the wood, but wooded meadows were sacred to gods (see Suppl.).

perfection, did it not in its boldest creations still aim at reproducing the soaring trees of the forest? Would not the abortion of miserably carved or chiselled images lag far behind the form of the god which the youthful imagination of antiquity pictured to itself, throned on the bowery summit of a sacred tree? In the sweep and under the shade<sup>1</sup> of primeval forests, the soul of man found itself filled with the nearness of sovran deities. The mighty influence that a forest life had from the first on the whole being of our nation, is attested by the 'maich-fellowships,' *marka*, the word from which they took their name, denoted first a forest, and afterwards a boundary.

The earliest testimonies to the forest-cultus of the Germans are furnished by Tacitus. Germ. 9. *ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus adpellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident*<sup>2</sup> Germ. 39, of the Semnones, *Stato tempore in silvam augurii patrum et prisca formidine sacra*<sup>3</sup> omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt. *est et alia ludo reverentia nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum per humum evolvuntur*<sup>4</sup> cap. 40. *est in insula oceanum castrum*

<sup>1</sup> Walde *hleo, hlea* (umbra, umbraculum), Hel. 33, 22, 73, 23. AS *hleo*, ON *hlæ*, OHG *hwa*, Graff 2, 296, MHG *he, heve*.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf of Fulda († 863) has incorporated the whole passage, with a few alterations, in his treatise *De translatione Alexandri* (Peitz 2, 675), perhaps from some intermediate source. Tacitus's words must be taken as they stand. In his day Germany possessed no masters who could build temples or chisel statues, so the grove was the dwelling of the gods, and a sacred *hleo* instead of a statue. Moser § 30 takes the passage to mean, that *hleo* was common to the whole nation as worshipped unseen, so as not to give one distinct the advantage of possessing the temple, but that separate gods did have their images made. This view is too political, and also ill-suited to the isolation of tribes in those times. No doubt, a region which included a god's hill would acquire the more renown and sacredness, as spots like Rhetra and Loreto did from containing the Slavic sanctuary or a Madonna, that did not prevent the same worship from obtaining seats elsewhere. With the words of Tacitus compare what he says in Hist. 2, 78. *est Judaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus, ita vocant montem deumque, nec simulacrum deo aut templum, sic tradidere majores, ara tantum et reverentia*, and in Dial. de Orat. 12. *nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum*. In Tacitus *secretum* = *secessus*, seclusion, not *arcanum*.

<sup>3</sup> This hexameter is not a quotation, it is the author's own.

<sup>4</sup> Whoever is engaged in a holy office, and stands in the presence and precincts of the god, must not stumble, and if he falls to the ground, he forfeits his privilege. So he who in holy combat sinks to the earth, may not set

*nemus*, dicatumque in eo vehiculum veste contextum cap 43 apud Naharvalos *antiquae religionis lucus* ostenditur .  
 numini nomen *Aleis*, nulla simulacra cap 7 effigies et signa (*ve* effigiata signa) quaedam detractae *lucis* in proelium ferunt, with which connect a passage in Hist 4, 22 inde depromptae *silvis lucusque* ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inne proelium mos est Ann 2, 12 Caesar transgressus Visuigim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Aminio locum pugnae, convenisse et alias nationes in *sylvam Herculi sacram* Ann 4, 73 mox conpertum a transfugis, nongentos Romanorum apud *lucum*, quem Baduhennae vocant, pugna in posterum extracta confectos, though it does not appear that this grove was a consecrated one<sup>1</sup> Ann 1, 61 *lucus* propinquus *barbarae arae*, apud quas tribunos inactaveant, conf 2, 25 propinquo *lucos* defossam Varianae legionis aquilam modico praesidio servari Hist 4, 14 Civilis primores gentis . *sacrum* in *nemus* vocatos These expressions can be matched by others from Claudian three centuries later, Cons Stilich 1, 288

Ut procul Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae  
 venari tuto liceat, *lucosque* vetusta  
 religione truces, et *robora numinus instar*  
*barbarici* nostrae feriant impune bipennes

De bello Get 545

*Horiantes* his adde *deos* Non somnia nobis,  
 nec volucres, sed *clara* palam *vox edita luro est* .  
 ' rumpe omnes, Alarice, moras ' '

It is not pure nature-worship that we are told of here, but Tacitus could have had no eye for the *mores Germanorum*, if their most essential feature had escaped him. Gods dwell in these groves, no images (simulacra, in human form) are mentioned by name as being set up, no temple walls are reared<sup>2</sup>. But sacred vessels and altars

himself on his legs, but must finish the fight on his knees, Danske viser 1, 115, so in certain places a stranger's carriage, if overturned, must not be set upright again, RA 554. What is fabled of an idol called Sompar at Gollitz (now Lausitz monatsschr 1805, p 1-18) has evidently been spun out of this passage in Tac, the Semnonis are placed in the Lausitz country, as they had been previously by Aventin (Frankl 1580, p 27<sup>b</sup>), who only puts a king Schwab in the place of Sompar.

<sup>1</sup> Baduhenna, perhaps the name of a place, like Arduenna. Mullenhoff adds Badymna, Patumna (Haupts zeitchr 9, 241).

<sup>2</sup> Brissonius de regno Pers 2, 28, ' Persae diis suis nulla templa vel altaria constituunt, nulla simulacra ', after Herodot 1, 131.

stand in the forest, heads of animals (*ferarum imagines*) hang on the boughs of trees. There divine worship is performed, and sacrifice offered, there is the folk-mote and the assize, everywhere a sacred awe and reminiscence of antiquity. Have not we here *alah, wih, paro, haruc* faithfully portrayed? How could such technical terms, unless they described an organized national worship presided over by priests, have sprung up in the language, and lived?

During many centuries, down to the introduction of christianity, this custom endured, of venerating deity in sacred woods and trees.

I will here insert the detailed narrative given by Wihbald († 786) in the *Vita Bonifacii* (Canisius II 1, 242 Pertz 2, 343) of the holy oak of Geismar (on the Edder, near Fritzlar in Hesse).<sup>1</sup> The event falls between the years 725 and 731. *Is autem* (Bonifacius) . . . *ad obsessas ante ea Hessorum metas cum consensu Carli ducis* (*ie* of Charles Martel) *reduit* tum vero Hessorum jam multi catholica fide subditi ac septiformis spiritus gratia confirmati manus impositionem acceperunt, et alii quidem, nondum animo confortati, intemeratae fidei documenta integre percipere renuerunt, alii etiam linguis et faucibus clanculo, alii vero aperte *sacrificabant*, alii vero auspicia et divinationes, praestigia atque incantationes occulte, alii quidem manifeste exercebant, alii quippe auspicia et auguria intendebant, diversosque *sacrificandi ritus* incoluerunt, alii etiam, quibus mens sanior inerat, omni abjecta gentilitatis prophanatione nihil horum commiserunt quorum consultu atque consilio arborem quandam *mirae magnitudinis*, quae *prisco Paganorum vocabulo* appellatur *robur Jovis*, in loco, qui dicitur Gaesmere, servis Dei secum astantibus, succidere tentavit cumque mentis constantia confortatus arborem succidisset, magna quippe aderat copia Paganorum, qui et inimicum *deorum suorum* intra se diligentissime devotabant, sed ad modicum quidem arbore praecisa confestum *immensa roboris moles*, divino desuper flatu exagitata, palmitum confracto culmine, corrui, et quasi superi nutus solatio in quatuor etiam partes disrupta est, et quatuor ingentis magnitudinis aequali longitudine trunci, absque fratrum labore astantium apparuerunt quo viso prius devotantes Pagani etiam versa vice benedictionem Domino, pristina abjecta maledictione, credentes

<sup>1</sup> A shorter account of the same in the annalist Saxo, p. 133.



reddiderunt. Tunc autem summae sanctitatis antistes consilio inito cum fratribus ex supradictae arboris materia <sup>1)</sup> oratorium construxit, illudque in honore S. Petri apostoli dedicavit. From that time christianity had in this place a seat in Hesse, hard by was the ancient capital of the nation, 'Mattium (Marburg), id genti caput,' Tac Ann 1, 56, which continued in the Mid Ages to be the chief seat of government. According to Landau, the oak and the church built out of it stood on the site of St Peter's church at Fritzlar. The whole region is well wooded (see Suppl.)

Not unsimilar are some passages contained in the Vita S Amandi († 674), on the wood and tree worship of the northern Franks. Acta Bened. sec. 2 p 714, 715, 718). Amandus audivit pagum esse, cui vocabulum Gandavum, cujus loci habitatores iniquitas diaboli eo circumquaque laqueis vehementer irretivit, ut incolae terrae illius, relicto deo, *arbores et ligna* pro deo colerent, atque *fana* vel *idola* adorarent—Ubi *fana* destruebantur, statim monasteria aut ecclesias construebat—Amandus in pago belvacense verbum domini dum praedicaret, pervenit ad quendam locum, cui vocabulum est Rosonto juxta Aionnam fluvium . . . respondit illa, quod non ob aliam causam ei ipsa coecitas evenisset, nisi quod *auguria* vel *idola* semper coluerat. insuper ostendit ei locum, in quo praedictum idolum adorare consueverat, scilicet *arbores*, quae erat *daemoni dedicata*. 'nunc igitur accipe securum et hanc nefandam arborem quantocius succidere festina'

Among the Saxons and Frisians the veneration of groves lasted much longer. At the beginning of the 11th century, bishop Unwan of Bremen (conf. Adam Brem 2, 33) had all such woods cut down among the remoter inhabitants of his diocese. *lucos* in episcopatu suo, in quibus paludicolae regionis illius *errore veteri* cum professione falsa christianitatis *immolabant*, succidit, Vita Meinweri, cap 22. Of the holy tree in the Old Saxon *Limesl* I will treat in ch VI. Several districts of Lower Saxony and Westphalia have until quite recent times preserved vestiges of *holy oaks*, to which the people paid a half heathen half christian homage. Thus, in the principality of Minden, on Easter Sunday, the young people of both sexes used with loud cries of joy to dance a *reigen* (rig,

<sup>1</sup> Other MS have 'mole' or 'metallo'. A brazen image on the oak is not to be thought of, as such a thing would have been alluded to in what precedes or follows.

circular dance) round an *old oak*<sup>1</sup> In a thicket near the village of Wormeln, Paderborn, stands a *holy oak*, to which the inhabitants of Wormeln and Calenberg still make a solemn procession every year<sup>2</sup>

I am inclined to trace back to heathenism the proper name of *Holy Wood* so common in nearly all parts of Germany It is not likely that from a christian church situated in a wood, the wood itself would be named holy, and in such forests, as a rule, there is not a church to be found Still less can the name be explained by the royal ban-forests of the Mid Ages, on the contrary, these forests themselves appear to have sprung out of heathen groves, and the king's right seems to have taken the place of the cultus which first withdrew the holy wood from the common use of the people In such forests too there used to be sanctuaries for criminals, RA 886-9

An old account of a battle between Franks and Saxons at Notteln in the year 779 (Pertz 2, 377) informs us, that a badly wounded Saxon had himself secretly conveyed from his castle into a holy wood. *Hic vero (Luibertus) magno cum maiore se in castrum recepit Ex quo post aliquot dies mulier egrotum humeris clam in sylvam Sytheri, quae fuit thegathon sacra, nocte portavit Vulnere ibidem lavans, externita clamore effugit Ubi multa lamentatione animam exspiravit* The strange expression thegathon is explained by τ' ἀγαθόν (the good), a name for the highest divinity (summus et princeps omnium deorum), which the chronicler borrowed from Macrobius's somn Scip. 1, 2, and may have chosen purposely, to avoid naming a well-known heathen god (see Suppl.) Sytheri, the name of the wood, seems to be the same as Sunderi (southern), a name given to forests in more than one district, *eg* a Sundernhart in Franconia (Hofers uik p 308) Did this heathen hope for healing on the sacred soil? or did he wish to die there?

The forest called *Dat hallage holt* is mentioned by a document in Kindlinger's Munst beitr 3, 638 In the county of Hoya there stood a *Herlügen-loh* (Pertz 2, 362) A long list of Alsatian documents in Schopflin allude to the holy forest near Hagenau; no 218 (A D 1065). *cum foresto herlügenforst nominato in comitatu Gerhardi comitis in pago Nortcove. no 238 (1106) in sylvā*

<sup>1</sup> Weddigen's westphal mag 3, 712.

<sup>2</sup> Spilckers beitrage 2, 121.

*heilgeforst* no 273 (1143) *praedium* Loubach in *sacro nemore* situm no 297 (1158) *utantur* pascuis in *sacra silva* no 317 (1173) in *silva sacra* no 402 (1215) in *sacra silva* no 800 (1292) *conventum* in konigesbrucken in *heiligenforst*. no 829 (1304) *nemus nostrum et imperii dictum* *heiligvorst* no 851 (1310) *pecora* in foresta nostra, quae dicitur der *heilige forst*, pascere et tenere no 1076 (1356) *porcos* tempore glandium nutriendos in *silva sacra* The alternating words 'forst, silva, nemus,' are enough to show the significance of the term The name of the well-known *Dreieich* (Drieichahn) is probably to be explained by the heathen worship of three oaks, a royal ban-forest existed there a long time, and its charter (I, 498) is one of the most primitive

The express allusion to Thuringia and Saxony is remarkable in the following lines of a poem that seems to have been composed soon after the year 1200, Reinh. F. 302; the wolf sees a goat on a tree, and exclaims.

ich sihe ein obez hangen,	I see a fruit hanging,
ez habe hâr ode boist,	That it has hair or bristles,
in einem heiligen vorste	In any holy forest
ze Düringen noch ze Sachsen	Of Thuringia nor of Saxony
enkunde niht gewachsen	There could not grow
bezzet obez ûf iise.	Better fruit on bough

The allusion is surely to sacrificed animals, or firstfruits of the chase, hung up on the trees of a sacred wood? Either the story is based on a more ancient original, or may not the poet have heard tell from somewhere of heathenish doings going on in his own day among Saxons and Thuringians? (see Suppl.)

And in other poems of the Mid Ages the sacredness of the ancient forests still exerts an after-influence In Alex 5193 we read '*der edele walt frône*'; and we have inklings now and again, if not of sacrifices offered to sacred trees, yet of a lasting indelible awe, and the fancy that ghostly beings haunt particular trees Thus, in Ls. 2, 575, misfortune, like a demon, sat on a tree; and in Altd. w. 3, 161 it is said of a *hollow tree*

dâ sint heiligen inne,	There are saints in there,
die herent aller lute bet <sup>1</sup>	That hear all people's prayers
	(see Suppl.).

<sup>1</sup> From the notion of a forest temple the transition is easy to paying divine honours to a single tree Festus has '*delubrum* fustis delibatus (staff with

Still more unmistakably does this forest cultus prevail in the North, protected by the longer duration of heathenism. The great sacrifice at Lêdera described by Dietmar (see p 48) was performed in the island which, from its even now magnificent beech-woods, bore the name of *Scælundr*, sea-grove, and was the finest grove in all Scandinavia. The Swedes in like manner solemnized their festival of sacrifice in a grove near Upsala, Adam of Bremen says of the animals sacrificed *Corpora suspenduntur in lucum qui proximus est templo, is enim lucus tam sacer est gentibus, ut singulae arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinae credantur*. Of Hloðr Heiðreksson we are told in the *Hervararsaga* cap 16 (fornald sog 1, 491), that he was born with arms and horse in the *holy wood* (à mork hinn helgu). In the grove *Glasislundr* a bird sits on the boughs and demands *sacrifices*, a temple and gold-horned cows, *Sæm.* 140-1. The sacred trees of the Edda, *Yggdrasil* and *Mímameiðr*, *Sæm.* 109\*, hardly need reminding of.

Lastly, the agreement of the Slav, Prussian, Finnish and Celtic paganisms throws light upon our own, and tends to confirm it. Dietmar of Merseburg (*Pertz* 5, 812) affirms of the heathen temple at Riedegost *quam undique sylva ab incolis intacta et venerabilis circumdat magna*, (*ibid* 816) he relates how his ancestor Wibert about the year 1008 rooted up a grove of the Slavs. *lucum* Zutibure dictum, ab accolis *ut deum* in omnibus *honoratum*, et ab aevo antiquo *nunquam violatum*, radicatus eruens, sancto martyri Romano in eo ecclesiam construxit. Zutibure is for Sveti bor = holy forest, from bor (fir), pine-barren, a Merseburg document of 1012 already mentions an 'ecclesia in Scutibure,' *Zeitschr. f archvkunde*, 1, 162. An ON saga (*Fornm sog* 11, 382) names a *blótlundr* (sacrificial grove) at Stræla, called Boku. *Helmold* 1, 1 says of the Slavs: *usque hodie profecto inter illos, cum cetera*

bark peeled off) quem venerabantur pro deo. Names given to particular trees are at the same time names of goddesses, *eg* ON Hlín, Gná. It is worthy of notice, that the heathen idea of divine figures on trees has crept into *christian* legends, so deeply rooted was tree worship among the people. I refer doubters to the story of the Tyrolese image of grace, which grew up in a forest tree (*Deutsche sagen*, no 348). In Carinthia you find Madonna figures fixed on the trees in gloomy groves (*Sartoris reise* 2, 165). Of like import seem to be the descriptions of wonderful maidens sitting inside hollow trees, or perched on the boughs (*Marienkind, haismarchen* no 3. *Romance de la infantina*, see ch XVI). Madonna in the wood, *Mar legend* 177. Many oaks with Madonnas in Normandy, *Bosquet* 196-7.

omnia communia sint cum nostris, solus prohibetur accessus *lucorum* ac fontium, quos autumant pollui christianorum accessu. A song in the Koniginhof MS p 72 speaks of the grove (*hain*, Boh *hai*, hag, Pol *gay*, Sloven *gaj*, conf *garius*, *gahajus*, Lex Roth 324, *kaheius*, Lex Bajuv 21, 6) from which the christians scared away the holy sparrow<sup>1</sup>. The Esth *sallo*, Finn *salo* means a holy wood, especially a meadow with thick underwood, the national god Tharapila is described by Henry the Letton (ad ann 1219) in confinio Wironiae erat *mons et silva pulcherrima*, in quo dicebant indigenae magnum deum Osiliensium natum qui Tharapila<sup>2</sup> vocatur, et de loco illo in Osiliam volasse,—in the form of a bird<sup>2</sup> (see Suppl.) To the Old Prussians, *Romove* was the most sacred spot in the land, and a seat of the gods, there stood their images on a *holy oak* hung with cloths. No unconsecrated person was allowed to set foot in the forest, no tree to be felled, not a bough to be injured, not a beast to be slain. There were many such sacred groves in other parts of Prussia and Lithuania<sup>3</sup>.

The Vita S Germani Autisiodorensis (b 378, d 448) written by Constantius as early as 473 contains a striking narrative of a *pear-tree* which stood in the middle of Auxerre and was honoured by the heathen<sup>4</sup>. As the Burgundians did not enter Gaul till the beginning of the 5th century, there is not likely to be a mixture in it of German tradition. But even if the story is purely Celtic, it deserves a place here, because it shows how widely the custom prevailed of hanging the heads of sacrificial beasts on trees<sup>5</sup>. *Eo tempore (before 400) territorium Autisiodorensis ubi visitatione propria gubernabat Germanus. Cui mos erat trunculorum potius industrius indulgere, quam christianae religioni operam dare. is ergo assidue venatui invigilans ferarum copiam insidus atque artis strenuitate frequentissime capiebat. Erat autem arbor prae in*

<sup>1</sup> Brzetislaw burnt down the heathen *groves* and *trees* of the Bohemians in 1093, Pelzel 1, 76. The Poles called a sacred grove *rok* and *uroczysko*, conf Russ *róshtcha*, grove [root *rok* = *far*, *fatum*, *róshtcha* is from *rosti*, *rasti* = *grow*]. On threat of hostile invasion, they cut rods (*wicie*) from the grove, and sent them round to summon their neighbours. Mickiewicz 1, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Conf *Turupid* in Forum. sog 11, 385, but on Slav nations conf. Schiefner on Castrén 329.

<sup>3</sup> Joh Voigts gesch Preussens 1, 595—597.

<sup>4</sup> Acta sanctor Bolland July 31, p 202, conf Legenda aurea, cap 102.

<sup>5</sup> Hinc (Marti) *paedae primordia vovebantur, hinc truncus suspendebantur exuviae*, Jornandes cap 5.

*urbe media*, amœnitate gratissima *ad* *cujus ramusculos ferarum* ab eo deprehensarum *capita* pro admiratione venationis nimiae *depen-  
debant* Quem celebris ejusdem civitatis Amator episcopus his frequens compellebat eloquii: ‘desine, quaeso, vii honoratorum splendidissime, haec jocularia, quae Christianis offensa, Paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere hoc opus *idololatry* cultura est, non christianæ elegantissimæ disciplinæ.’ Et licet hoc indesinenter vii deo dignus perageret, ille tamen nullo modo admonenti se adquiescere voluit aut obedire vii autem domini iterum atque iterum eum hortabatur, ut non solum a consuetudine male aripta discederet, verum etiam et ipsam *arbo-rem*, ne Christianis offendiculum esset, radicatus extirparet sed ille nullatenus auem placidam applicare voluit admonenti. In hujus ergo persuasionis tempore quodam die Germanus ex urbe in praedia sui iuris discessit. tunc beatus Amator opportunitatem oppeniens *sacrilegam arbo-rem* cum caudicibus abscidit, et ne aliqua ejus incredulus esset memoria igni concremandam illico deputavit *oscilla*<sup>1</sup>) vero, quae tanquam trophaea cujusdam certaminis umbram dependentia ostentabant, longius a civitatis terminis proci praecipit Protinus vero fama gressus suos ad aures Germani retorquens, dictis animum incendit, atque iram suis suasionibus exaggerans ferocem effecit, ita ut oblitus sanctae religionis, cujus jam fuerat iutu atque munere insignitus, mortem beatissimo viro mitteret.

A poem of Heiricus composed about 876 gives a fuller description of the idolatrous peartree -

altoque et lato stabat gratissima quondam  
urbe *pirus* media, populo spectabilis omni ;  
non quia pendentum flavebat honore pirorum,  
nec quia perpetuae vernabat munere frondis .

<sup>1</sup> Virg Georg 2, 388 tibiue (Bacche) *oscilla* ex alta suspendunt molha pinu In the story, however, it is not masks that are hung up, but real heads of beasts, are the ferarum images in Tac Hist 4, 22 necessarily images? Does *oscilla* mean capita oscillantia? It appears that when they hung up the heads, they propped open the mouth with a stick, conf Isengr 645 Reinardus 3, 293 (see Suppl) Nailing birds of prey to the gate of a burg or barn is well known, and is practised to this day Hanging up hoises heads was mentioned on p 47 The Grímnismál 10 tells us, in Odin's mansion there hung a *wolf* outside the door, and over that an *eagle*, were these mere simulacra and insignia? Witekind says, the Saxons, when sacrificing, set up an *eagle over the gate* Ad orientalem portam ponunt aquilam, aramque Victoriae constructes this eagle seems to have been her emblem A *dog* hung up over the threshold is also mentioned, Lex Alam. 102.

sed deprensarum passim *capita* alta *ferarum*  
*arboris obscoenae patulis haerentia ramis*  
 praebebant vano plausum spectacula vulgo  
 horrebant illic trepidi ramalia *cervi*  
 et dirum frendentis *apri*, fera spicula, dentes,  
 acribus exitium meditantes forte molossis  
 tunc quoque sic variis arbos induta tiopaeis  
 fundebat rudibus lascivi semina risus

It was not the laughter of the multitude that offended the christian priests, they saw in the practice a performance, however degenerate and dimmed, of heathen sacrifices<sup>1</sup>

Thus far we have dwelt on the evidences which go to prove that the oldest worship of our ancestors was connected with sacred forests and trees

At the same time it cannot be doubted, that even in the earliest times there were temples *built* for single deities, and perhaps rude images set up inside them. In the lapse of centuries the old forest worship may have declined and been superseded by the structure of temples, more with some populations and less with others. In fact, we come across a good many statements so indefinite or incomplete, that it is impossible to gather from them with any certainty whether the expressions used betoken the ancient cultus or one departing from it

The most weighty and significant passages relating to this part of the subject seem to be the following (see Suppl)

Tac Germ 40 describes the sacred grove and the worship of Mother Earth, when the priest in festival time has carried the goddess round among the people, he restores her to her sanctuary  
*satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddit*

Tac ann 1, 51 Cæsar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quatuor in cuneos disperitat, quinquaginta millium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat, non sexus, non aetas miserationem

<sup>1</sup> St Benedict found at Montecassino vetustissimum fanum, in quo ex antiquo more gentilium a stulto rusticano populo Apollo colebatur, *circumquaque* enim in cultum daemoniorum *luci succreverant*, in quibus adhuc eodem tempore infidelium insana multitudo sacrificis sacrilegis insudabat Greg Mág dialogi 2, 8. These were not German heathens, but it proves the custom to have been the more universal

attulit profana simul et *sacra*, et *celeberrimum* illis gentibus templum, quod *Tanfanae*<sup>1</sup> vocabant, solo aequantur The nation to which this temple belonged were the Marsi and perhaps some neighbouring ones (see Suppl)

Vita S Eugendi abbatis Jurensis († circ 510), auctore monacho Condatescensi ipsius discipulo (in Actis sanctor Bolland Jan 1, p 50, and in Mabillon, acta Ben sec 1, p 570) Sanctus igitur famulus Christi Eugendus, sicut beatorum patrum Romani et Lupicini in religione discipulus, ita etiam natalibus ac provincia extitit indigena atque concivis ortus nempe est haud longe a vico cui *vetusta paganitas* ob celebritatem clausuramque fortissimam *superstitiosissimi templi* Gallica lingua *Isarnodori*, id est, ferrei ostii indidit nomen quo nunc quoque in loco, *delubris* ex parte jam dirutis, sacratissime micant coelestis regni culmina dicata Christi- colis, atque inibi pater sanctissimae piolis iudicio pontificali plebisque testimonio extitit in presbyterii dignitate sacerdos If Eugendus was born about the middle of the 5th century, and his father already was a priest of the christian church which had been erected on the site of the heathen temple, heathenism can at the latest have lingered there only in the earlier half of that century, at whose commencement the West Goths passed through Italy into Gaul *Gallica* lingua here seems to be the German spoken by the invading nations, in contradistinction to the Romana, the name of the place is almost pure Gothic, *eisarnadauri*, still more exactly it might be Burgundian, *isarnodori*<sup>2</sup> Had either West Goths or Burgundians, or perhaps even some Alamanns that had penetrated so far, founded the temple in the fastnesses and defiles of the Jura<sup>28</sup> The name is well suited to the strength of the position and of the building, which the christians in part retained (see Suppl)

A Constitutio Childeberti I of about 554 (Pertz 3, 1) contains the following Praecipientes, ut quicumque admoniti de agro suo, ubicumque fuerint *simulacra constructa* vel *idola daemoni dedicata*

<sup>1</sup> An inscription found in Neapolitan territory, but supposed by Orelli 2053 to have been made by Ligorius, has '*Tanfanae sacrum*' (Gudi inscript antiq p lv 11, de Wal p 188), the word is certainly German, and formed like Hludana Sazara (Sequana), Lutana (Lugdunum), Rābana (Ravenna), &c

<sup>2</sup> Yet the Celtic forms also are not far removed, Ir iaran, Wel haarn, Armor uarn (ferrum), Ir doras, Wel dor (porta) haearnor = iron gate, quoted in Davies's Brit Mythol pp 120, 560

<sup>3</sup> Frontier mountains held sacred and made places of sacrifice by some nations, Ritters erdkunde 1, aufl. 2, 79 vol 2, p 903



ab hominibus, factum non statim abjeceunt vel sacerdotibus haec destruentibus prohibuerint, datis fidejussoribus non aliter discedant nisi in hostiis obtutibus praesententur

Vita S Radegundis († 587) the wife of Clotaire, composed by a contemporary nun Baudonivia (acta Bened sec 1, p 327): Dum iter ageret (Radegundis) seculari pompa se comitante, interjecta longinquitate terrae ac spatio, *fanum quod a Francos colebatur* in itinere beatae reginae quantum milario uno proximum erat hoc illa audiens jussit famulis *fanum* igne comburi, iniquum judicans Deum coeli contemni et diabolica machinamenta venerari Hoc audientes Franci universa multitudo cum gladiis et fustibus vel omni fremitu conabantur defendere sancta vero regina immobilis perseverans et Christum in pectore gestans, equum quem sedebat in antea (*ie* ulterius) non movit antequam et *fanum* perueretur et ipsa orante inter se populi pacem firmarent The situation of the temple she destroyed I do not venture to determine, Radegund was journeying from Thuringia to France, and somewhere on that line, not far from the Rhine, the fanum may be looked for

Greg Tur vitae patrum 6 Eunte rege (Theoderico) in Agrippinam urbem, et ipse (S Gallus) simul abut erat autem ibi *fanum* quoddam diversis ornamentis refertum, in quo barbaris (l Barbarus) opima *libamina* exhibens usque ad vomitum cibo potuque replebatur. ibi et *simulacra* ut *deum adorans*, membra, secundum quod unumquemque dolor attigisset, sculpebat in ligno quod ubi S Gallus audivit, statim illuc cum uno tantum clerico propeiat, accensoque igne, cum nullus ex stultis Paganis adesset, ad *fanum* applicat et succendit at illi videntes fumum *delubri* ad coelum usque conscendere, auctorem incendi quaerunt, inventumque evaginatis gladiis prosequuntur, ille vero in fugam versus aulae se regiae condidit verum postquam rex quae acta fuerant Paganis minantibus recognovit, blandis eos sermonibus lenivit This Gallus is distinct from the one who appears in Alamannia half a century later, he died about 553, and by the king is meant Theoderic I of Austrasia

Vita S Lupi Senonensis (Duchesne 1, 562 Bouquet 3, 491) Rex Chlotarius virum Dei Lupum episcopum retrusit in pago quodam Neustriae nuncupante Vinemaco (le Vimeu), traditum duci pagano (*ie* duci terrae), nomine Bosoni Landegisilo (no doubt a Frank) quem ille direxit in villa quae dicitur Andesagina super fluvium

Auciam, ubi erant *templa fanatica a decurionibus culta* (A D 614) Andesagina is Ansenne, Aucia was afterwards called la Biesle, Brissele

Beda, hist eccl 2, 13, relates how the Northumbrian king Eadwine, baptized 627, slain 633, resolved after mature consultation with men of understanding to adopt christianity, and was especially made to waver in his ancient faith by Coifi (Ccefi) his chief heathen priest himself Cumque a praefato pontifice sacrorum suorum quaereret, quis *aras et fana idolorum cum septis quibus erant circumdata* primus profanare deberet? respondit ego quis enim ea, quae per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo vero donatam destiuam?

Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu et ascendens emissarium regis (all three unlawful and improper things for a heathen priest), pergebat ad *idola* quod aspiciens vulgus aestimabat eum insanire nec distulit ille mox ut appropinquabat ad *fanum*, profanare illud, injecta in eo lancea quam tenebat, multumque gavisus de agnitione veri Dei cultus, iussit socius destruere ac succendere *fanum cum omnibus septis* suis ostenditur autem locus ille quondam *idolorum* non longe ab Eboraco ad orientem ultra amnem Dorowentionem et vocatur hodie Godmundinga hām, ubi pontifex ipse, inspirante Deo vero, polluit ac destruxit eas, quas ipse sacraverat, aras<sup>1</sup>

Vita S Bertuffi Bobbiensis († 640) in Acta Bened sec 2, p 164 Ad quandam villam Iriae fluvio adjacentem accessit, ubi *fanum* quoddam *arboribus consitum* videns allatum ignem ei admovit, congestis in modum pirae lignis Id vero cernentes *fani* cultores Meroveum apprehensum duque fustibus caesum et ictibus contusum in fluvium illud demergere conantui —The Iria runs into the Po, the event occurs among Lombards

Walafridi Strabonis vita S Galli († 640) in actis Bened sec 2 p 219, 220 Venerunt (S Columbanus et Gallus) infra partes Alemanniae ad fluvium, qui Lindimacus vocatur, juxta quem ad superiora tendentes pervenerunt Turicinum cumque per litus ambulantes venissent ad caput lacus ipsius, in locum qui Tucconia dicitur, placuit illis loci qualitas ad inhabitandum porro homines

<sup>1</sup> The A S translation renders *arae* by *wigbed* (see p 67), *fana* by *heargas*, *idola* by *deofolgyld*, *septa* once by *hegas* (hedges), and the other time by *getymbro*. The spear hurled at the *hearg* gave the signal for its demolition

ibidem commanentes crudeles eiant et impii, *simulacra colentes, idola sacrificans venerantes*, observantes auguria et divinationes et multa quae contraria sunt cultui divino superstitione sectantes Sancti igitur homines cum coepissent inter illos habitare, docebant eos adorare Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, et custodire fidei veritatem. Beatus quoque Gallus sancti viri discipulus zelo pietatis armatus *fana*, in quibus *daemonibus sacrificabant*, igni succendit et quaecumque invenit oblata demersit in lacum—Here follows an important passage which will be quoted further on, it says expressly *cumque ejusdem templi solemnitas ageretur*

Jonas Bobbiensis vita S. Columbani († 615) cap. 17 in act. Bened. 2, 12, 13. Cumque jam multorum monachorum societate densaretur, coepit cogitare, ut potiorē locum in eadem eremo (*ie* Vosago saltu) quaereret, quo monasterium construeret invenitque *castrum firmissimo munimine olim fuisse cultum*, a supra dicto loco distans plus minus octo millibus, quem prisca tempora Luxovium nuncupabant, ibique *aquae calidae* cultu eximio constructae habebantur ibi *imaginum lapidearum* densitas vicina saltus densabat,<sup>1</sup> quas *cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta Paganorum* tempora honorabant—This Burgundian place then (Luxeuil in Franche Comté, near Vesoul) contained old Roman thermae adorned with statues. Had the Burgundian settlers connected their own worship with these? The same castrum is spoken of in the

Vita S. Agili Resbacensis († 650), in Acta Ben. sec. 2, p. 317. *Castrum* namque intra vasta eiemi septa, quae Vosagus dicitur, fuerat *fanaticorum cultui* olim *dedicatum*, sed tunc ad solum usque dirutum, quod hujus saltus incolae, quamquam ignoto praesagio, Luxovium [quod lux ovium?] nominavere. A church is then built on the heathen site *ut, ubi olim profano ritu veteres coluerunt fana*, ibi Christi figerentur arae et erigerentur vexilla, habitaculum Deo militantium, quo adversus aëreas potestates dimicarent superni Regis tirones p. 319. Ingressique (Agilus cum Eustasio) hujus itineris viam, jurante Christo, Warascos praedicatori accelerant, qui *agrestium fanis* decepti, quos vulgi *faunos* vocant, gentiliū

<sup>1</sup> The multitude of statues made the adjoining wood thicker? Must we not supply an *acc. copiam* or *speciem* after *imag. lapid.*? [*vicina saltus densabat* evidently means 'crowded the adjoining part of the wood'. So in Ovid. *densabat folus buxi*.—TRANS.]

quoque errore seducti, in perfidiam devenerant, Fotini seu Bonosi viuis infecti, quos, errore depulso, matri ecclesiae reconciliatos viros Christi fecere seruos

Vita S Willibrodī († 789), in Acta Bened sec 3, p 609 Pervenit in confinio Fiesonum et Danorum ad quandam insulam, quae a quodam deo suo Fosite ab accolis terrae Fositesland appellatur, quia in ea ejusdem dei *fana* fuere constructa Qui locus a paganis tanta veneratione habebatur, ut nil in eo vel animalium ibi pascentium vel aliarum quarumlibet rerum gentilium quisquam tangere audebat, nec etiam a fonte qui ibi ebulliebat aquam haurire nisi tacens praesumebat

Vita S Willehadī († 793), in Pertz 2, 381: Unde contigit, ut quidam discipulorum ejus, divino compuncti ardore, *fana in morem gentilium cunctinque erecta* coepissent evertere et ad nihilum, prout poterant, redigere, quo facto barbari, qui adhuc forte perstiterant, furore nimio succensi, irruerunt super eos repente cum impetu, volentes eos funditus interimere, ibique Dei famulum fustibus caesum multis admodum plagis affecere—This happened in the Frisian pagus Thrianta (Diente) before 779

Vita Ludgeri (beginning of the 9th cent) 1,8 (In Frisia) Paganos asperissimos . . . mitigavit, ut sua illum *delubra* destruere coram oculis pateerentur Inventum in *fanis* aurum et argentum plurimum Albricus in aerarium regis intulit, accipiens et ipse praecipiente Carolo portionem ex illo—Conf the passage cited p 45 from the Lex Fisionum

Folcuū gesta abb Lobensium (circ 980), in Pertz 6, 55· Est locus intra terminos pagi, quem veteres, a loco ubi *superstitiosa gentilitas fanum Marti sacraverat, Fanum Martine* dixerunt—This is Famars in Hamault, not far from Valenciennes.

In all probability the sanctuary of Tanfana which Germanicus demolished in AD 14 was not a mere grove, but a real building, otherwise Tacitus would hardly have called the destruction of it a 'levelling to the ground'. During the next three or four centuries we are without any notices of heathen temples in Germany In the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, as I have shown, we come upon *costi ā, templo, fana* among Burgundians, Franks, Lombards, Alamanns, Anglo-Saxons, and Frisians By *fanum* (whence fanaticus) seems often to have been understood a building of smaller

extent, and by *templum* one of larger, the Indiculus superstit xxxi 4 has 'de *casulis* (huts), *ie fanis*' (see Suppl) I admit that some of the authorities cited leave it doubtful whether German heathen temples be intended, they might be Roman ones which had been left standing, in which case there is room for a twofold hypothesis that the dominant German nation had allowed certain communities in their midst to keep up the Roman-Gallic cultus, or that they themselves had taken possession of Roman buildings for the exercise of their own religion<sup>1</sup> (see Suppl) No thorough investigation has yet been made of the state of religion among the Gauls immediately before and after the irruption of the Germans, side by side with the converts there were still, no doubt, some heathen Gauls, it is difficult therefore to pronounce for either hypothesis, cases of both kinds may have co-existed So much for the doubtful authorities, but it is not *all* of them that leave us in any doubt If the Tanfana temple could be built by Germans, we can suppose the same of the Alamann, the Saxon and the Fisian temples, and what was done in the first century, is still more likely to have been done in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th

*Built Temples* must in early times have been named in a variety of ways (see Suppl) · OHG AS OS ON *hof*, aula, atrium,<sup>2</sup>—OHG *halla*, templum (Hymn 24, 8), AS *heal*, ON *holl* (conf hallr, lapis, Goth hallus),—OHG *sal*, ON *salr*, AS *sele*, OS *seln*, aula,—AS *reced*, domus, basilica (Cædm 145, 11 150, 16 219, 23), OS *rakud* (Hel 114, 17. 130, 20 144, 4 155, 20), an obscure word not found in the other dialects,—OHG *petaptr*, delubrum (Diet 1,

<sup>1</sup> As the vulgar took Roman fortifications for devil's dikes, it was natural to associate with Roman castella the notion of idolatry Rupertus Tutiensis († 1135) in his account of the fire of 1128 that levelled such a castellum at Deuz, which had been adapted to christian worship, informs us that some thought it was built by Julius Caesar, others by Constantius and Constantine In the emperor Otto's time St Mary appears by night to archbishop Heribert 'surge, et Tutinse castrum petens, locum in eodem mundani praecepto, ibique monasterium Deo mihiq; et omnibus sanctis constitue, ut, ubi quondam habitavit peccatum et *cultus daemonum*, ibi justitia regnet et memoria sanctorum,' with more of the like, in the Vita Heriberti cap 15 Cont. the fanum at Cologne above, p 81

<sup>2</sup> The asylum that atrium and temple offered within their precincts is in ON *grīðastuðr*, OHG *frīdhof*, OS *vrīthof*, Hel 151, 2, 9 .MHG *vrōne vrīthof*, Nib 1795, 2, not at all our *friedhof* [but conn with frei, free], conf Goth. *freidjan*, OS *frīdōn* (parcere) That the constitution of the Old German sanctuaries was still for the most part heathenish, is discussed in RA 886-92

195<sup>a</sup>)<sup>1</sup>,—to which were afterwards added *petahūs*, minores ecclesiae (Gl sletst 21, 32) and *churhhā*, AS *cyrice*. The MHG poets like to use *betehūs* of a heathen temple as opposed to a christian church (En 2695 Barl 339, 11 28 342,6 Athis D 93 Heib 952 Wigal 8308 Pass 356, 73 Tit 3329), so in M Nethl *bedehūs* (Maerl 1, 326 3, 125), much as the Catholics in their own countries do not allow to Protestants a church, but only a bethaus, praying-house (see Suppl.) O iv 33, 33 has the periphrase *gotes hūs*, and n 4, 52 *druhtines hūs*. Notker cap 17 makes no scruple of translating the Lat fane by *chilechon*, just as bishop does duty for heathen priest as well. In the earliest times *temple* was retained, Is 382 395 T 15,4 193,2 209,1 Diut 1, 195<sup>a</sup>.

The hut which we are to picture to ourselves under the term *fanum* or *pūr* (A S *būr*, *bowei*) was most likely constructed of logs and twigs round the sacred tree, a wooden temple of the goddess Zīsa will find a place in ch XIII. With *halla* and some other names we are compelled to think rather of a stone building.

We see all the christian teachers eager to lay the axe to the sacred trees of the heathen, and fire under their temples. It would almost seem that the poor people's consent was never asked, and the rising smoke was the first thing that announced to them the broken power of their gods. But on a closer study of the details in the less high-flown narratives, it comes out that the heathen were not so tame and simple, nor the christians so reckless. Boniface resolved on hewing down the Thunder-oak after taking counsel with the already converted Hessians, and in their presence. So too the Thuringian princess might not have dared to sit so immovable on her palfrey and give the order to fire the Frankish temple, had not her escort been numerous enough to make head against the heathen. That these did make an armed resistance, appears from Radegund's request, after the fane was burnt down, *ut inter se populi pacem firmarent*.

In most of the cases it is expressly stated that a church was erected on the site of the heathen tree or temple<sup>2</sup>. In this way the

<sup>1</sup> Actum in illo *betapdre* (the church at Fulda) publice, Trad Fuld ed Schannat no 193 in *bedebur*, Lacombl no 412 (A D 1162) in *bedebure*, Erhard p. 148 (A D 1121) *betbur*, Meyer Zurich orts. 917.

<sup>2</sup> Sulp Severus (ed Amst 1665), p 458. Nam ubi fana destruxerat (Martinus), statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construebat. Dietmar of Merseb. 7, 52, p 859 (speaking of Bishop Reimbern on Slav territory, A D 1015).

people's habits of thinking were consulted, and they could believe that the old sacredness had not departed from the place, but henceforth flowed from the presence of the true God (see Suppl.)

At the same time we here perceive the reason of the almost entire absence of heathen monuments or their remains, not only in Germany proper, but in the North, where certainly such temples existed, and more plentifully, conf in chaps VI X XVI the temple at Sigtûn, baer i Baldrshaga, and the Nornas' temple. Either these were levelled with the ground to make room for a christian church, or their walls and halls were worked into the new building. We may be slow to form any high opinion of the building art among the heathen Germans, yet they must have understood how to arrange considerable masses of stone, and bind them firmly together. We have evidence of this in the grave-mounds and places of sacrifice still preserved in Scandinavia, partly also in Friesland and Saxony, from which some important inferences might be drawn with regard to the old heathen services, but these I exclude from my present investigation.

The results are these: the earliest seat of heathen worship was in groves, whether on mountain or in pleasant mead, there the first temples were afterwards built, and there also were the tribunals of the nation.

*Fana idolorum destruens incendit, et mare daemonibus cultum, immissis quatuor lapidibus sacro chrismate perunctis, et aqua purgans benedicta, novam Domino plantationem eduxit*—On the conversion of the Pantheon into a church, see Massmann's *Etadus* 476

## CHAPTER V.

### PRIESTS

The most general term for one who is called to the immediate service of deity (minister deorum, Tac Germ 10) is one derived from the name of deity itself. From the Goth *guð* (deus) is formed the adj *gaguds* (godly, pious, *εὐσεβής*), then *gaguder* (pietas, *εὐσεβεία*). In OHG and MHG, I find pious translated *érhaft*, strictly reverens, but also used for venerandus, our *fromm* has only lately acquired this meaning, the MHG *vrum* being simply able, excellent. The God-serving, pious man is in Goth *gudja* (*ἱερεύς*, Matt 8, 4, 27, 1 63 Mk 10, 34 11, 27. 14, 61 Lu 1, 5 20, 1. Jo 18, 19 22 19, 6 *ufargudja* (*ἀρχιερεύς*) Mk 10, 33 *gudjindōn* (*ἱερατεύειν*), Lu. 1, 8 *gudjinnassus* (*ἱερατεία*) Lu 1, 9 (see Suppl.)

That these were heathen expressions follows from the accordance of the ON *goðr* (pontifex), *hofs goðr* (fam antistes), Egilss 754 Freys *goðr*, Nialss. cap 96 117 Fornm. sog 2, 206 *goðord* (sacerdotium). An additional argument is found in the disappearance of the word from the other dialects, just as our *alah* disappeared, though the Goths had found *alhs* unobjectionable. Only a faint vestige appears in the OHG *cotinc* by which *tribunus* is glossed, Diut 1, 187 (Goth *gudiggs*?)—Now as Ulphilas<sup>1</sup> associates *gudja* and *sinista* (*πρεσβύτερος*, elder, man of standing, priest), a remarkable sentence in Amm. Marcell 28, 5 informs us, that the high priest of the Burgundians was called *sinisto*. Nam *sacerdos omnium maximus* apud Burgundios vocatur *sinistus*, et est perpetuus,<sup>2</sup> obnoxius discriminibus nullis ut reges. The connexion of priests with the nobility I have discussed in RA 267-8 (see Suppl.)

More decidedly heathen are the OHG names for a priest *harugari*, Diut 1, 514<sup>b</sup>,<sup>3</sup> and *parawari*, Diut 1, 150<sup>a</sup>, (being derived from *haruc* and *paro*, the words for temple given on p. 68-9, and

<sup>1</sup> Strictly the Evangelist, the translator had no choice.—TRANS

<sup>2</sup> For the sense of perpetuity attaching to *sin-* in composition, see Gramm 2, 554-5.

<sup>3</sup> If *haruc* meant wood or rock, and *harugari* priest, they are very like the Ir and Gael. *carn*, *carrn*, and *carrneac* priest O'Brien 77<sup>a</sup>.



confirming what I have maintained, that these two terms were synonymous) They can hardly have been coined by the glossist to interpret the Lat. *aruspex*, they must have existed in our ancient speech — A priest who sacrificed was named *pluostrari* (see p 36)

The fact that *cotinc* could bear the sense of *tribunus* shows the close connexion between the offices of priest and judge, which comes out still more clearly in a term peculiar to the High Germ dialect *éwa*, *éu* signified not only the secular, but the divine law, these being closely connected in the olden times, and equally sacred, hence *éwart*, *éwart* law-ward, administrator of law, *νομικός*, AS *é-gleaw*, *é-láreow*, Goth *vitôdafasteis*, one learned in the law, K 55<sup>a</sup> 56<sup>a</sup>,<sup>b</sup> Gl Hrab 974<sup>a</sup> N ps 50, 9 *éwarto* of the weak decl in O I 4, 2. 18 72 *gotes éwarto* I 4, 23 and as late as the 12th century *éwarte*, Mar 21 and, without the least reference to the Jewish office, but quite synonymous with priest *der heilige éwarte*, Reinh 1705 *der bâruc und die éuarten sin*, Parz 13, 25 Wh 217, 23 of Saracen priests (see Suppl) The very similar *éosago*, *ésago* stood for *judex*, *legislator*, RA 781

The poet of the *Heland* uses the expression *wihes wârd* (*templi custos*) 150, 24, to avoid the heathen as well as a foreign term, he adopts periphrases — the *gêrôdo man* (*geehrte*, *honoured*), 3, 19 the *frôdo man* (*frôt*, *fruit*, *prudens*) 3, 21 7, 7 *frôdgumo* (*gumo*, *homo*) 5, 23 6, 2 *godcund gumo* 6, 12, which sounds like *gudja* above, but may convey the peculiar sense in which *Wolfram* uses ‘*der guote man*’<sup>1</sup> In the Romance expressions *prudens homo*, *bonus homo* (*prudhomme*, *bonhomme*) there lurks a reference to the ancient jurisprudence — Once *Ulphilas* renders *ἀρχιερεύς* by *aíhnumists verha*, John 18, 13, but never *ιερεύς* by *veiha*

With christianity there came in foreign words (see Suppl) The Anglo-Saxons adopted the Lat *sacerdos* in abbreviated form *sacerd*, pl *sacerdas*, and *Ælfred* translates *Beda*’s *pontifex* and *summus pontificum* (both of them heathen), 2, 13 by *biscop* and *ealdorbiscop*. T. and O use in the same sense *bisgof*, *bischof* (from

<sup>1</sup> Parz 457, 2 458, 25 460, 19 476, 23 487, 23. The *gôdo gumo*, Hel 4, 16 is said of John, the *guato man*, O II 12, 21 49 of *Nicodemus*, in *Ulrich’s Lanzelot*, an abbot is styled *der guote man*, 4613 4639 conf 3857, 4620 *éwarte*, 4626 *priester*. But with this is connected *duu guote frouwe* (v infra), i.e. originally *bona socia*, so that in the good man also there peeps out something heathenish, heretical. In the great Apologue, the cricket is a clergyman, and is called (Ren. 8125) *preudoms* and *Frobert* = *Fruotbert* (see Suppl)

episcopus), O I 4, 4 27 47, and the Hel 150, 24 *biscop*. Later on, *prester* (from presbyter, following the idea of elder and superior), and *pfaffe* (papa) came to be the names most generally used, AS *preost*, Engl *priest*, Fr *prestre*, prêtre, in Veldek, præster rhymes with mêster, En 9002

When Cæsar, bell Gall 6, 21, says of the Germans Neque druides habent qui rebus divinis præsent, neque sacrificus student, —the statement need not be set down as a mistake, or as contradicting what Tacitus tells us of the German priests and sacrifices. Cæsar is all along drawing a contrast between them and the Gauls. He had described the latter 6, 16 as excessively addicted to sacrifices, and his 'non studere sacrificiis' must in the connexion mean no more than to make a sparing use of sacrifices. As little did there prevail among the Germans the elaborately finished Druid-system of the Gauls, but they did not want for priests or sacrifices of their own.

The German *priests*, as we have already gathered from a cursory review of their titles, were employed in the worship of the gods and in judging the people. In campaigns, discipline is entrusted to them alone, not to the generals, the whole war being carried on as it were in the presence of the deity. Ceterum neque ammadvertere neque vincere nec verberare quidem nisi *sacerdotibus* permissum, non quasi in poenam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut *deo* imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt, Germ 7 (see Suppl.) The succeeding words must also refer to the priests, it is they that take the 'effigies et signa' from the sacred grove and carry them into battle. We learn from cap 10, that the *sacerdos civitatis* superintends the divination by rods, whenever it is done for the nation. If the occasion be not a public one, the *paterfamilias* himself can direct the matter, and the priest need not be called in — a remarkable limitation of the priestly power, and a sign how far the rights of the freeman extended in strictly private life, on the same principle, I suppose, that in very early times covenant transactions could be settled between the parties, without the intervention of the *judge* (RA 201). Again, when the divination was by the neighing of the white steeds maintained by the state, *priests* accompanied the sacred car, and accredited the transaction. The *priest* alone may touch the car of Nerthus, by him her approaching presence is perceived, he attends her full of reverence, and leads

her back at last to her sanctuary, cap 40 Segimund, the son of Segestes, whom Tac Ann 1, 57 calls sacerdos, had been not a German but a Roman priest (apud aram Ubiorum), and after tearing up the alien chaplet (vittas ruperat), had fled to his home

These few incidental notices of priests give us anything but a complete view of their functions (see Suppl) On them doubtless devolved also the performance of public prayers, the slaying of victims, the consecration of the kings and of corpses, perhaps of marriages too, the administering of oaths, and many other duties Of their attire, their insignia and gradations, we hear nothing at all, once Tacitus cap 43 speaks of a sacerdos *muliebris ornatu*, but gives no details No doubt the priests formed a separate, possibly a hereditary order, though not so powerful and influential as in Gaul Probably, beside that sacerdos civitatis, there were higher and lower ones Only one is cited by name, the Cattian, *ie* Hessian, Libes in Strabo (*Λίβης τῶν Χάττων ἱερεὺς*), who with other German prisoners was dragged to Rome in the pompa of Germanicus Of him Tacitus (so far as we still have him) is silent<sup>1</sup> Jornandes's statement is worthy of notice, that the Gothic priests were termed *pileati* in distinction from the rest of the people, the *capillati*, and that during sacrifice they had the head covered with a hat, conf RA 271 (see Suppl). Oðinn is called *Síðhottr*, broadhat

The succeeding period, down to the introduction of christianity, scarcely yields any information on the condition of the priesthood in continental Germany, then existence we infer from that of temples and sacrifices A fact of some importance has been preserved by Bede, Hist eccl 2, 13 a heathen priest of the Anglo-Saxons was forbidden to carry arms or to ride a male horse Non enim licuerat, pontificem sacrorum vel *arma ferre*, vel *praeterquam in equa equitare* Can this have any connexion with the regulation which, it is true, can be equally explained from the Bible, that christian clergymen, when riding about the country, should be mounted on *asses* and *colts*, not horses (RA 86-88)? Festus also remarks *Equo vehi flammī diali non licebat, ne, si longius digrederetur, sacra neglegerentur* (see Suppl.) The transmission of such customs, which have impressed themselves on the habits of

<sup>1</sup> Libes might be Leap, Léb, O N Leifr, Goth Láibs? A var lect has Λίβυς.

life, would seem to have been quite admissible. I shall try elsewhere to show in detail, how a good deal in the gestures and attitudes prescribed for certain legal transactions savours of priestly ceremony at sacrifice and prayer (see Suppl.) It is not unlikely, as heathen sacred places were turned into christian ones, that it was also thought desirable amongst a newly converted people to attract their former priests to the service of the new religion. They were the most cultivated portion of the people, the most capable of comprehending the christian doctrine and recommending it to their countrymen. From the ranks of the heathen priesthood would therefore proceed both the bitterest foes and the warmest partizans of innovation<sup>1</sup>. The collection of the Letters of Boniface has a passage lamenting the confusion of christian and heathen rites, into which foolish or reckless and guilty priests had suffered themselves to fall<sup>2</sup>. This might have been done in blameless ignorance or from deliberate purpose, but scarcely by any men except such as were previously familiar with heathenism.

Even the Norse priesthood is but very imperfectly delineated in the Eddas and sagas. A noteworthy passage in the *Ynglingasaga* cap 2 which regards the Ases altogether as colonists from Asia, and their residence Asgard as a great place of sacrifice, makes the twelve principal Ases *sacrificial priests* (*hofgoðar*) *skyldu þeir ráða fyrr blótum ok dómum manna í milli* (they had to advise about sacrifices and dooms), and it adds, that they had been named *díar* (*divi*) and *dróttnar* (*domini*). This representation, though it be but a conjecture of Snorri's, shows the high estimation in which the priestly order stood, so that gods themselves were placed at the head of sacrifices and judgments. But we need not therefore confound *díar* and *dróttnar* with real human priests.

<sup>1</sup> Just as the Catholic clergy furnished as well the props as the opponents of the Reformation. The notable example of a heathen priest abjuring his ancient faith, and even putting forth his hand to destroy the temple he had once held sacred, has been quoted from Bede on p 82. This priest was an English, not a British one, though Bede, evidently for the mere purpose of more exactly marking his station, designates him by a Gaelic word *Coifi* (*choibí, choibhuidh, cumhí*, see Jamieson, supplement sub *v* *coiríe, archdruid*). *Coifi* is not a proper name, even in Gaelic, and it is incredible that Eadwine king of Northumbria should have adopted the British religion, and maintained a British priest.

<sup>2</sup> Ed Würdtw. 82 Serr 140. Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificia mortuorum . . . modo vero incognitum esse, utrum baptizantes trinitatem dixissent an non, &c.—Connect with this the presbyter Jovi mactans, Ep 25.

I must draw attention to the fact, that certain men who stood nearer to the gods by services and veneration, and priests first of all, are entitled *friends of the gods*<sup>1</sup> (see Suppl.) Hence such names as *Freyssvinnr*, AS *Fredwine*, *Bregowine* for heroes and kings (see ch X, Fiðwin) According to Eyrbygg pp 6, 8, 16, 26, Rôlfr was a *Thôrs vinnr*, he had a hof of that god on a meadow, and was therefore named Thôrrôlfr, he dedicated to him his son Steinn and named him Thôrsteinn, who again dedicated his son Gûmr to the god and named him Thôrgrîmr, by this dedicating (gefa), was meant the appointing to the office of goði or priest And (according to Landn 2, 23) Hallstein gave his son as goði to Thôrr Here we see the priestly office running on through several generations (see Suppl.) However, Odysseus is also called *Διὶ φίλος*, Il 10, 527 Also *Ἄϊολος φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*, Od 10, 2, but then in Od 10, 21 he is *ταμίης ἀνέμων*, director of winds, therefore a priest

How deeply the priestly office in the North encroached on the administration of justice, need not be insisted on here, in their judicial character the priests seem to have exercised a good deal of control over the people, whereas little is said of their political influence at the courts of kings, on this point it is enough to read the Njalssaga In Iceland, even under christianity, the *judges* retained the name and several of the functions of heathen *goðar*, Grâgâs 1, 109-113 130 165 Convents, and at the same time state-farmers, especially occupiers of old sanctuaries (see p 85, note) apparently continue in the Mid Ages to have peculiar privileges, on which I shall enlarge in treating of *weisthumer* They have the keeping of the county *cauldron*, or *weights and measures*, and above all, the *brood-animals*, to which great favour is shown everywhere (see Suppl.)

The goði is also called a *blótmaðr* (sacrificulus), *blotr* (Egilssaga p 209), but all blótmenn need not be priests, the word denoted rather any participant in sacrifices, and afterwards, among christians, the heathen in general It tallies with the passage in Tacitus about the *paterfamilias*, that any iarl or hersir (baron) might perform sacrifice, though he was not a priest Saxo Gramm. p 176

<sup>1</sup> The MHG poets still bestow on hermits and monks the epithets *gotes frunt*, *gotes degen* (pegn, warrior) In the Renner 24587, St Jost is called *heiliger gotes kneht* (cniht, servant) [See however 'servus dei, famulus dei' passim in the lives of saints]

relates of Harald after his baptism *Delubra diruit, victimarios proscrispsit, flammium abiogavit* By victimarii he must mean blótmenn, by flamens the priests He tells us on p 104, that at the great Upsala sacrifices there were enacted effoeminati corporum motus, sceniciq[ue] mimorum plausus, ac mollia nolarum crepitacula, Greek antiquity has also something to tell of choruses and dances of priests

On the clothing of the Noise priests, I have not come across any information Was there a connexion between them and the poets? Biagi the god of song has nothing to do with sacrifices, yet the poetic art was thought a sacred hallowed thing Óðinn spoke in veise, he and his *hofgoðar* are styled *loðasmíðir* (song-smiths), Yngl saga cap 6 Can *skáld* (poeta, but neut) be the same as the rare OHG *sgalto* (sacer)? Diut 1, 183 Gl ker 69, *scaldo* Even of christian minstrels soon after the conversion one thing and another is told, that has also come down to us about heathen skálds

Poetry borders so closely on divination, the Roman vates is alike songster and soothsayer, and soothsaying was certainly a priestly function Amm Marcell 14, 9 mentions Alamannian *auspices*, and Agathias 2, 6 *μάντιες* or *χρησμολόγοι* Ἀλαμαννικοί

Ulphilas avoids using a Gothic word for the frequently occurring *προφήτης*, he invariably puts *praiufētus*, and for the fem *προφήτις* *praiufēteis*, Lu 2, 36, why not *vertaga* and *vertagō*? The OHG and AS versions are bolder for once, and give *wīzago*, *wītega*<sup>1</sup> Was the priest, when conducting auguries and auspices, a *vertaga*? conf inventan, p 29 The ON term is *spámaðr* (spae-man), and for prophetess *spákkona* (spae-woman, AS witegestre) Such diviners were Mímir and Grípir In old French poems they are *devin* (divini, divinatores), which occasionally comes to mean poets uns *devins*, qui de voir due est esprovez, Méon 4, 145 ce dient li *devin*, Ren 7383, so Tristr 1229 li contor dient (see Suppl.)

We have now to speak of the prophetesses and priestesses of antiquity—The mundium (wardship) in which a daughter, a sister, a wife stood, appears in the old heathen time not to have excluded

<sup>1</sup> The f is become ei in our weissager, MHG wissage for wizege, equally erroneous is our verb weissagen, MHG wissagen, Iw 3097 (OHG wīzagōn, AS witegian)

them from holy offices, such as sacrificing (see Suppl), or from a good deal of influence over the people Tacitus, after telling us how mightily the German women wrought upon the valour of their warriors, and that the Romans for greater security demanded noble maidens from particular nations, adds *Inesse quin etiam sanctum et providum (feminis) putant<sup>1</sup>, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt* And before that, Caesar 1 50 *Quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres fam eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne, eas ita dicere non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent* (see Suppl)

While history has not preserved the name of one German vates, it has those of several prophetesses Tac Germ 8 *Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam* (as a prisoner in his triumph) *diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam* Hist 4, 61 *Ea virgo nationis Bructerae, late imperabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas, et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas* Tuncque *Veledae* auctoritas adolevit, nam 'prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum' praedixerat In 4, 65, when the people of Cologne were making an alliance with the Tencteri they made the offer *Arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Veledam* apud quos pacta sancientur Sic lenitis Tencteris, legati ad Civilem et *Veledam* missi cum donis, cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere Sed coram adire, alloquiue *Veledam* negatum Arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset Ipsa edita in turre, delectus e propinquis *consulta responsaque* ut internuntius *numinis* portabat 5, 22 *Piaetoni*am triemem flumine Luppia donum *Veledae* traxere 5, 25, *Veledam* propinquosque monebat Her captivity was probably related in the lost chapters of the fifth book<sup>2</sup> This *Veleda* had been preceded by others Sed et olim *Aurumiam* (hardly a translation of any Teutonic name, such as the ON. Gullveig, gold-cup, some have guessed Alruna, Ölrûn, Albruna) et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent *deas*, Germ 8 A later one, named *Ganna*, is

<sup>1</sup> A wild force of phantasy, and the state called clairvoyance, have shown themselves preeminently in women

<sup>2</sup> Statius silv. I 4, 90 *Captivaeque preces Veledae*, he scans the first two syllables as short, which seems more correct than Dio's Βελῆδα Zeuss 436 thinks Βελῆδα, Βελῆδα = *Velada* Graff has a n prop *Walodu* 1, 800 I would suggest the Gothic fem name *Valadamarca* in Jornandes cap 48, and the Thuringian name of a place *Walada* in Pertz I 308

cited by Dio Cassius, 67, 5,<sup>1</sup> and in the year 577 Guntheramnus consulted a woman 'habentem spiritum phitonis, ut ei quae erant eventura narraret,' Greg Tur 5, 14 (in Aimoin 3, 22 she is *mulier phytomissa*, *ἡ πυθώνισσα*) One much later still, *Thiota*, who had come to Mentz out of Alamannia, is noticed in the Annals of Fulda, anno 847 (Pertz 1, 365)<sup>2</sup> As Cassandra foretold the fall of Troy, our prophetesses predict the end of the world (v infra), and Tacitus Ann 14, 32 speaks of British druidesses in these words *Feminae in furore turbatae adesse exitium canebant*, conf. 14, 30 But we have the sublimest example before us in the Voluspá (see Suppl.)

Those grayhaired, barefooted Cimbrian priestesses in Strabo (v supra, p 55) in white robe and linen doublet, begirt with brazen clasps, slaughtering the prisoners of war and prophesying from

<sup>1</sup> Γάννα (al Γαῦνα) παρθένος μετὰ τὴν Βελήδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα conf the masc name *Gannascus* in Ann 11, 18 19, the fem *Ganna*, dat *Gannane*, in a Lothr urk, as late as 709, Don Calmet, ed 1728, tom 1 preuves p 265

<sup>2</sup> Traditions, which Hubertus Thomas of Lutlich, private secretary to the Elector Palatine, according to his book *De Tungis et Eburonibus* 1541, professes to have received from an antiquary Joan Berger out of an old book (libello vetustissimis characteribus descripto), and which he gives in his treatise *De Heidelbergae antiquitatibus*, relate as follows Quo tempore Velleda virgo in Bruchteris imperitabat, *vetula* quaedam, cui nomen *Jettha*, eum collem, ubi nunc est arx Heidelbergensis et *Jetthae collis* etiam nunc nomen habet, inhabitabat, vetustissimumque *phanum* incolebat, cujus fragmenta adhuc nuper vidimus, dum comes palatinus Fridericus factus elector egregiam domum construxit, quam novam aulam appellant Haec mulier *vaticiniis* incluta, et quo venerabilior foret, raro in conspectum hominum prodians, volentibus *consilium* ab ea petere, *de fenestra, non prodeunte vultu, respondebat* Et inter cetera praedixit, ut inconditis versibus canebat, suo colli a fati esse datum, ut futuris temporibus regus viris, quos nominatum recensebat, inhabitaretur et templa celeberrimis ornaretur Sed ut tandem fabulosae antiquitati valedicamus, lubet adscribere quae is liber de infelici morte ipsius *Jetthae* continebat Egressa quondam amoenissimo tempore *phanum*, ut deambulatione recrearetur, progrediebatur juxta montes, donec pervenit in locum, quo montes intra convallem declinant et multis locis scaturiebant pulcherrimi fontes, quibus vehementer illa coepit delectari, et assidens ex illis bibeat, cum ecce lupa famelica cum catulis e silva prorupit, quae conspectam mulierem nequicquam divos invocantem dilaniat et frustatum discerpsit, quae casu suo fontem nomen dedit, vocaturque quippe in hodiernum diem *fons luporum* ob amoenitatem loci omnibus notus It is scarcely worth while trying to settle how much in this may be genuine tradition, and how much the erudition of the 16th century fostered in, to the glorification of the new palace at Heidelberg (= Heidberg), the very window on the hill would seem to have been copied from Velleda's tower, though Brynhild too resides upon her rock, and has a *high tower* (Vols saga, cap 20, 24, 25; conf *Menglob*, OHG *Maniklata*?) on the rock, with nine virgins at her knees (Sæm. 110 111) If the enchantress's name were *Heida* instead of *Jettha*, it would suit the locality better, and perhaps be an echo of the ON *Heidr*.



their blood in the sacrificial cauldron, appear as frightful witches by the side of the Bructerian Maid, together with divination they exercise the priestly office. Their minutely described apparel, we may suppose, resembled that of the priests.

While in Tac. Germ. 40 it is a *priest* that attends the goddess, and guides the team of kine in her car, in the North conversely, we have *handmaids* waiting upon gods. From a remarkable story in the Olaf Tryggv. saga (Fornm. sog. 2, 73 seq.), which the Christian composer evidently presents in an odious light, we at all events gather that in Sweden a *virgin* attended the car of Freyr on its travels among the people. Frey var fengin til þionosto konu ung ok frið (into Frey's service was taken a woman young and fair), and she is called *kona Freys*. Otherwise a priestess is called *gyðja*, *hofgyðja*, corresponding to *goði*, *hofgoði*,<sup>1</sup> see Turid, *hofgyðja*, *Island sog.* 1, 205. Þorlaug *gyðja*, *Landn.* 1, 21. Steinvor and Fludgerðr, *Sagabibl.* 1, 99. 3, 268.

But the Norse authorities likewise dwell less on the priestly functions of women, than on their higher gift, as it seems, of divination. *Perita auguru femina*, Saxo Gram. 121. Valdamari konungr átti móður miok gamla ok oivasa, svá at hun lá í rekkju, en þó var hun fíamstýn af *Fítons anda*, sem margir heiðnir menn (King V. had a mother very old and feeble, so that she lay in bed, and there was she seized by a spirit of Python, like many heathen folk), *Fornm. sog.* 1, 76.—Of like import seems to be a term which borders on the notion of a higher and supernatural being, as in the case of *Veleda*, and that is *dís* (nympha, numen). It may be not accidental, that the *spákona* in several instances bears the proper name *Thóðis* (*Vatnsd.* p. 186 seq. *Fornm. sog.* 1, 255. *Island sog.* 1, 140. *Kormakkss.* p. 204 seq.), *dís* however, a very early word, which I at one time connected with the Gothic *filudeisei* (astutia, dolus), appears to be no other than our OHG *utis*, OS *utis*, AS *utis* (femina, nympha).—As famous and as widely spread was the term *volva*,<sup>2</sup> which first denotes any magic-wielding soothsayeress (*Vatnsd.* p. 44. *Fornm. sog.* 3, 214. *Fornald sog.* 2, 165-6 506), and is afterwards attached to a particular mythic *Volva*, of whom one of the oldest Eddic songs, the *Voluspá*, treats. Either *volu*

<sup>1</sup> Can our *götte*, *gothe*, *goth* for godmother (taufpathin, suscepatrix e sacro fonte) be the survival of an old heathen term? Morolt 3184 has *godð* of the baptized virgin.

<sup>2</sup> The Slavic *volkhv* magus.—TRANS.

stands here for *volvu*, or the claim of the older form *Vala* may be asserted, to each of them would correspond an OHG *Walawa* or *Wala*, which suggests the *Walada* above, being only derived in a different way. In the saga *Eiríks rauða* we come upon *Thorborg*, the little *Vala* (*Edda Sæm Hafn* 3, 4)—*Heiðr* is the name not only of the *volva* in the *Edda* (*Sæm* 4<sup>b</sup>, conf 118<sup>b</sup>) but also of the one in the *Orvarodssaga* (conf *Sagabibl* 3, 155)—*Hyndla* (*canicula*) is a prophetess that rides on wolves, and dwells in a cave—I guess also that the virgins *Thorgeiðr* and *Irpa* (*Fornm sog* 2, 108 3, 100 11, 134-7 142 172), to whom all but divine honours were paid, and the title of *hoigabrúðr* (*nympha lucorum*) and even the name of *guð* (*numen*) was accorded, *Njalss* cap 89, are not to be excluded from this circle. So in the *valkyrs*, beside their godhood, there resides somewhat of the priestly, *eg* their virginity (see ch. XVI and Suppl.)

We shall return to these 'gleg' and 'wise' women (and they have other names besides), who, in accordance with a deeply marked feature of our mythology, trespass on the superhuman. Here we had to set forth their connexion with sacrifice, divination and the priesthood.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GODS

Now, I think, we are fully prepared for the inquiry, whether real gods can be claimed for Germany in the oldest time. All the branches of our language have the same general name for deity, and have retained it to the present day, all, or at any rate most of them, so far as the deficiency of documents allows the chain of evidence to be completed, show the same or but slightly varying terms for the heathen notions of worship, sacrifice, temples and priesthood. Above all there shines forth an unmistakable analogy between the Old Norse terminology and the remains, many centuries older, of the other dialects: the Norse *æsir*, *blôta*, *horgr*, *goði* were known long before, and with the same meanings, to the Goths, Alamanns, Franks and Saxons. And this identity or similarity extends beyond the words to the customs themselves: in sacred groves the earliest human and animal victims were offered, priests conducted sacrifices and divinations, 'wise women' enjoyed all but divine authority.

The proof furnished by the sameness of language is of itself sufficient and decisive. When the several divisions of a nation speak one and the same language, then, so long as they are left to their own nature and are not exposed to violent influences from without, they always have the same kind of belief and worship.

The Teutonic race lies midway between Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns, all of them populations that acknowledge gods, and practise a settled worship. The Slav nations, spread over widely distant regions, have their principal gods in common, how should it be otherwise in Teutondom?

As for demanding proofs of the *genuineness* of Norse mythology, we have really got past that now. All criticism cripples and annihilates itself, that sets out with denying or doubting what is treasured up in song and story, born alive and propagated amongst an entire people, and which lies before our eyes. Criticism can but collect and arrange it, and unfold the materials in their historical sequence.

Then the only question that can fairly be raised, is . Whether the gods of the North, no longer disputable, hold good for the rest of Teutondom? To say yea to the question as a whole, seems, from the foregoing results of our inquiry, altogether reasonable and almost necessary

A negative answer, if it knew what it was about, would try to maintain, that the circle of Norse gods, in substance, were formerly common to all Germany, but by the earlier conversion were extinguished and annihilated here . But a multitude of exceptions and surviving vestiges would greatly limit the assertion, and materially alter what might be made out of the remainder

In the meanwhile a denial has been attempted of quite another kind, and the opinion upheld, that those divinities have never existed at all in Germany proper, and that its earliest inhabitants knew nothing better than a gross *worship of nature without gods*

This view, drawing a fundamental distinction between German and Scandinavian heathenism, and misapprehending all the clues which discover themselves to unprejudiced inquiry as infallible evidence of the unity of two branches of a nation, lays special stress upon a few statements on the nature of the heathen faith, dating from about the sixth century and onwards . These for the most part proceed from the lips of zealous christians, who did not at all concern themselves to understand or faithfully portray the paganism they were assailing, whose purpose was rather to set up a warning against the grosser manifestations of its cultus as a detestable abomination . It will be desirable to glance over the principal passages in their uniformity and one-sidedness

Agathias († before 582), himself a newly converted Greek, who could only know from christianly coloured reports what he had heard about the distant Alamanns, thus exhibits the Alamannic worship as opposed to the Frankish . δένδρα τε γάρ τινα ἱλάσκονται καὶ ρεῖθρα ποταμῶν καὶ λόφους καὶ φάραγγας, καὶ τοῦτοις ὥσπερ ὅσια δρῶντες 28, 4 . Then follow the words quoted on p 47 about their equine sacrifices.

But his contrast to the Franks breaks down at once, when we hear almost exactly the same account of *them* from the lips of their first historian Gregory . Sed haec generatio fanaticis semper cultibus visa est obsequium praeuisse, nec prorsus agnovere Deum, sibi que silvarum atque aquarum, avium bestiarumque et aliorum

quoque elementorum finxere formas, ipsasque ut deum colere eisque sacrificia delibare consueti Greg. Tur 2, 10 — Similarly, Einhard (*Æginhard*) in *Vita Caroli* cap 7, about the Saxons *Sicut omnes fere Germaniam incolentes nationes et natura feroces et cultui daemonum dediti, nostraeque religioni contrarii* — Ruodolf of Fuld, after quoting Tacitus and Einhard, adds (*Pertz* 2, 676) *Nam et frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant*,<sup>1</sup> and then mentions the *Irmînsûl*, which I shall deal with hereafter (see *Suppl*) — Lastly, *Helmold* 1, 47 affirms of the *Holsteiners* *Nihil de religione nisi nomen tantum christianitatis habentes, nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque superstitionum multiplex error apud eos habetur . . . Vicelinus . . . lucos et omnes ritus sacrilegos destruens, &c*’

Conceived in exactly the same spirit are the prohibitions of heathenish and idolatrous rites in decrees of councils and in laws *Concil Autissiod* anno 586, can 3. *Non licet inter sentes aut ad arbores sacros vel ad fontes vota exsolvere*, *conf Concil Turon* II anno 566, can 22 — *Leges Liutpr* 6, 30 *Simili modo et qui ad arborem, quam rustici sanguinum (al. sanctivam, sacrivam) vocant, atque ad fontanas adoraverint* — *Capit de partibus Sax* 20 *Si quis ad fontes aut arbores vel lucos votum fecerit, aut aliquid more gentium obtulerit et ad honorem daemonum comederit* And the converters, the christian clergy, had for centuries to pour out their wrath against the almost ineradicable folly — It is sufficient merely to allude to the sermons of *Caesarius episcopus Arelatensis* († 542) ‘*Contra sacrilegos et aruspices, contra kalendarum quoque paganissimos ritus, contraque augures hgnicolas, fonticolas*,’ *Acta Bened* sec 1, p 668

All these passages contain, not an untruth, yet not the whole truth That German heathenism was destitute of gods, they cannot possibly prove, for one thing, because they all date from periods when heathenism no longer had free and undisturbed sway, but had been hotly assailed by the new doctrine, and was well-nigh overmastered The general exercise of it had ceased, isolated partizans cherished it timidly in usages kept up by stealth, at the same time there were christians who in simplicity or error continued to practise superstitious ceremonies by the side of christian ones. Such doings, not yet extinct here and there among the

<sup>1</sup> Adam of Bremen again copies Ruodolf, *Pertz* 9, 286.

common people, but withdrawn from all regulating guidance by heathen priests, could not fail soon to become vulgarized, and to appear as the mere dregs of an older faith, which faith we have no right to measure by them. As we do not fail to recognise in the devils and witches of more modern times the higher pure fancies of antiquity disguised, just as little ought we to feel any scruple about tracing back the pagan practices in question to the untroubled fountainhead of the olden time. Prohibitions and preachings kept strictly to the practical side of the matter, and their very purpose was to put down these last hateful remnants of the false religion. A sentence in Cnut's AS laws (Schmid 1, 50) shows, that fountain and tree worship does not exclude adoration of the gods themselves. Hæðenscipe bið, þæt man deofolgild weorðige, þæt is, þæt man weorðige hæðene godas, and sunnan oððe mōnan, fyre oððe flōðwæter, wyllas oððe stānas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa, conf Homl 1, 366. Just so it is said of Olaf the Saint, Fornm sog 5, 239, that he abolished the heathen sacrifices and gods. Ok morg onnur (many other) blótskapar skrímsl, bæði hamra ok horga, skōga, votn ok tiē ok oll onnur blót, bæði meiri ok minni.

But we can conceive of another reason too, why on such occasions the heathen gods, perhaps still unforgetten, are passed over in silence. Christian priests avoided uttering their names or describing their worship minutely. It was thought advisable to include them all under the general title of demons or devils, and utterly uproot their influence by laying an interdict on whatever yet remained of their worship. The Merseburg poems show how, by way of exception, the names of certain gods were still able to transmit themselves in formulas of conjuring.

Pictures of heathenism in its debasement and decay have no right to be placed on a level with the report of it given by Tacitus from five to eight centuries before, when it was yet in the fulness of its strength. If the adoration of trees and rivers still lingering in the habits of the people no longer bears witness to the existence of gods, is it not loudly enough proclaimed in those imperfect and defective sketches by a Roman stranger? When he expressly tells us of a *deus terra editus*, of heroes and descendants of the god (plures *deo ortos*), of the god who rules in war (velut *deo imperante*), of the names of gods (*deorum nominibus*) which the people transferred to sacred groves, of the priest who cannot begin a divination

without invoking the gods (*precatus deos*) and who regards himself as a servant of the gods (*ministrios deorum*), of a *regnator omnium deus*, of the gods of Germany (*Germaniae deos in aspectu*, Hist 5, 17), of the *divs patrus* to whom the captured *signa Romana* were hung up (Ann 1, 59), when he distinguishes between *penetrales Germaniae deos* or *divs penates* (Ann 2, 10 11, 16), *communes divs* (Hist 4, 64), and *conjugales divs* (Germ 18), when he even distinguishes individual gods, and tries to suit them with Roman names, and actually names (interpretatione Romana) a Mars, Mercurius, Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Isis, nay, has preserved the German appellations of the *deus terra editus* and of his son, and of a goddess, the *tertia mater*, how is it possible to deny that at that time the Germans worshipped veritable gods? How is it possible, when we take into account all the rest that we know of the language, the liberty, the manners, and virtues of the Germani, to maintain the notion that, sunk in a stolid fetishism, they cast themselves down before logs and puddles, and paid to them their simple adoration?

The opinion of Cæsar,<sup>1</sup> who knew the Germans more superficially than Tacitus a hundred and fifty years later, cannot be allowed to derogate from the truth. He wants to contrast our ancestors with the Gauls, with whom he had had more familiar converse; but the personifications of the sun, fire, and the moon, to which he limits the sum total of their gods, will hardly bear even a forced 'interpretatio Romana'. If in the place of sun and moon we put Apollo and Diana, they at once contradict that deeply rooted peculiarity of the Teutonic way of thinking, which conceives of the sun as a female, and of the moon as a male being, which could not have escaped the observation of the Roman, if it had penetrated deeper. And Vulcan, similar to the Norse Loki, but one of those divinities of whom there is least trace to be found in the rest of Teutondom, had certainly less foundation than the equally visible and helpful deities of the nourishing earth, and of the quickening, fish-teeming, ship-sustaining water. I can only look upon Cæsar's statements as a half-true and roughcast opinion, which, in the face of the more detailed testimony of Tacitus, hardly avails to cast a

<sup>1</sup> *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam*, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt B G 6, 21. Compare with this B G 4, 7 where the Usipetes and Tenctheri say to Cæsar: *Sese unus Suevis concedere, quibus ne divs quidem immortales pares esse possint.*

doubt on other gods, much less to prove a bare worship of elements among the Germani

All the accounts that vouch for the early existence of individual gods, necessarily testify at the same time to their great *number* and their mutual relationship. When Procopius ascribes a *πολὺς θεῶν ὄμιλος* to the Heruli, this 'great host' must also be good for the Goths, just those of whom we know the fewest particulars, and for all the Germans together. Jornandes would have us believe that Dicoeneus was the first to make the Goths acquainted with gods, cap. 11. Elegit ex eis tunc nobilissimos prudentiores viros, quos theologiā instruens *numina quaedam et sacella* venerari suasit, here evidently we see the ruler who promoted the service of particular gods. But that Jornandes himself credited his Goths with unmistakably native gods, is plain from cap. 10. Unde et sacerdotes Gothorum aliqui, illi qui prius vocabantur, subito patefactis portis cum citharis et vestibis candidis obviam sunt egressi *paternis deis*, ut sibi propitii Macedones repellerent voce supplicii modulantes. The fact here mentioned may even have been totally alien to the real Goths, but anyhow we gather from it the opinion of Jornandes. And if we also want evidence about a race lying quite at the opposite extremity of Germany, one that clung with great fidelity to their old-established faith, we have it in the Lex Frisionum, addit tit. 13, where the subject is the penalty on temple-breakers. Immolatur *deus* quorum templa violavit.

We have now arrived at the following result. In the first century of our era the religion of the Germans rested mainly upon gods, a thousand or twelve hundred years later, among the northern section of the race, which was the last to exchange the faith of its fathers for a new one, the old system of gods is preserved the most perfectly. Linked by language and unbroken tradition to either extremity of heathenism, both its first appearance in history and its fall, stands central Germany from the fifth to the ninth century. During this period the figures of the heathen gods, in the feeble and hostile light thrown upon them by the reports of recent converts, come before us faded and indistinct, but still always as gods.

I must here repeat, that Tacitus knows no *simulacrum* of German gods, no image<sup>1</sup> moulded in human shape, what he had

<sup>1</sup> Grk. *ἄγαλμα*, signum, statue, Goth. *manleika*, OHG. *manaliho*, ON. *lílneskr* (see Suppl.), can the Sloven. *malik*, idol, have sprung from *manleika*?



stated generally in cap 9, he asserts of a particular case in cap 43, and we have no ground for disbelieving his assertion. The existence of real statues at that time in Germany, at least in the parts best known to them, would hardly have escaped the researches of the Romans. He knows of nothing but *signa* and *formas*, apparently carved and coloured, which were used in worship as symbols, and on certain occasions carried about, probably they contained some reference to the nature and attributes of the several deities. The model of a boat, *signum* in modum liburnae figuratum (cap 9), betokened the god of sailing, the *formae* apiorum (cap 45) the god to whom the boar was consecrated, and in the like sense are to be taken the *ferarum* imagines on trees and at certain sacrifices (see Suppl.) The *vehiculum veste contextum* of the goddess Earth will be discussed further on.

The absence of statues and temples, considering the impotence of all artistic skill at the period, is a favourable feature of the German cultus, and pleasing to contemplate. But it by no means follows that in the people's fancy the gods were destitute of a form like the human, without this, gods invested with all human attributes, and brought into daily contact with man, would be simply inconceivable. If there was any German poetry then in existence, which I would sooner assert than deny, how should the poets have depicted their god but with a human aspect?

Attempts to fashion images of gods, and if not to carve them out of wood or stone, at least to draw and paint them, or quite roughly to bake them of dough (p 63), might nevertheless be made at any period, even the earliest, it is possible too, that the interior parts of Germany, less accessible to the Romans, concealed here and there temples, statues and pictures. In the succeeding centuries, however, when temples were multiplied, images also, to fill their spaces, may with the greatest probability be assumed.

The terminology, except where the words *simulacra*, *imagines*, which leave no room for doubt, are employed, makes use of several

Bohem *malik*, the little finger, also Thumbkin, Tom Thumb? which may have to do with idol. [In the Slavic languages, *mál* = little, s-mall] Other OHG terms are *avarâ*, *piladr*, *piladr* (*bild*) effigies or imago in general, in the Mid Ages they said, for making or forming (p 23), ein *bilde giesen*, eine schöne juncfrouwen *ergiesen*, Cod Vindob 428, num 211, without any reference to metal-casting; ein *bilde mezzen*, Troj 19626, *mezzen*, M-c 2, 186. On the Lith *balvonas*, idolum, statua, conf Pott de ling Litth 2, 51. Russ *bolván*, Hung *balvány*, Russ *kumír*, idol, both lit and fig (object of affection).

terms whose meaning varies, passing from that of temple to that of image, just as we saw the meaning of grove mixed up with that of numen. If, as is possible, that word *alah* originally meant rock or stone (p. 67), it might easily, like *haruc* and *wih*, melt into the sense of altar and statue, of ara, fanum, idolum. In this way the OHG *about*, *abcutr* (Abgott, false god) does signify both fana and idola or statuæ, Diut. 1, 497<sup>b</sup> 513<sup>a</sup> 515<sup>a</sup> 533<sup>b</sup>, just as our *gotze* is at once the false god and his image and his temple (see above, p. 15 Gramm. 3, 694). *Idolum* must have had a similar ambiguity, where it is not expressly distinguished from delubrum, fanum and templum. In general phrases such as idola colere, idola adorare, idola destruere, we cannot be sure that images are meant, for just as often and with the same meaning we have adorare fana, destruere fana. Look at the following phrases taken from OHG glosses: *abcutr* wihero stetio, fana excelsorum, Diut. 1, 515<sup>a</sup> *about* in heilagê stetim, fana in excelsis, Diut. 1, 213<sup>a</sup> *steinînu* zehhan intî *abcutr*, titulos et statuas, Diut. 1, 497<sup>b</sup> *altara* intî *manalkkun* intî haruga, aras et statuas et lucos, Diut. 1, 513<sup>b</sup> *afgoda* began-gana, Lacombl. arch. 1, 11.—Saxo Gram often uses *simulacra* for idols, pp. 249, 320-1-5-7. The statement in Arnonis vita S. Emmerammî (Acta sanct. Sept. 6, 483) ‘tradidero te genti Saxonum, quæ tot idolorum cultor existit’ is undeniable evidence that the heathen Saxons in the 8th century served many false gods (Arno, bishop of Freisingen in the years 764-783). The vita Leubum, written by Hucbald between 918-976, says of the ancient Saxons (Pertz. 2, 361-2) *Inservire idolorum cultibus . . . numinibus suis vota solvens ac sacrificia . . . simulacra quæ deos esse putatis, quosque venerando colitis*. Here, no doubt, statues must be meant (see Suppl.).

In a few instances we find the nobler designation *deus* still employed, as it had been by Tacitus. Cumque idem rex (Eadwine in 625) gratias ageret *dns suis* pio nata sibi filia, Bede. 2, 9.

The following passages testify to visible representations of gods, they do not condescend to describe them, and we are content to pick up hints by the way.

The very earliest evidence takes us already into the latter half of the 4th century, but it is one of the most remarkable. Sozomen, Hist. eccl. 6, 37, mentions the manifold dangers that beset Ulphilas among the heathen Goths. While the barbarians were yet heathens

(ἔτι τῶν βαρβάρων ἑλληνικῶς θρησκευόντων)—ἑλληνικῶς here means in heathen fashion, and θρησκεύειν (to worship) is presently described more minutely, when the persecution of the Christians by Athanasius is related—Athanasius, having set the *statue* (evidently of the Gothic deity) *on a waggon* (ξόανον ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης ἐστῶς), ordered it to be carried round to the dwellings of those suspected of christianity, if they refused to fall down and sacrifice (προσκυνεῖν καὶ θύειν), then houses were to be fired over their heads. By ἁρμαμάξα is understood a covered carriage, is not this exactly the *vehiculum veste contectum*, in which the goddess, herself unseen, was carried about (Tac. Germ. 40)? Is it not the *vagn* in which Freyr and his priestess sat, when in holy days he journeyed round among the Swedish people (Fornm. sog. 2, 74-5)? The people used to carry about *covered images of gods* over the fields, by which fertility was bestowed upon them<sup>1</sup>. Even the *karráschen* in our poems of the Mid Ages, with Saxon gods in them, and the *carroccio* of the Lombard cities (RA. 263-5) seem to be nothing but a late reminiscence of these primitive gods'-waggons of heathenism. The Roman, Greek and Indian gods too were not without such carriages.

What Gregory of Tours tells us (2, 29-31) of the baptism of Chlodovich (Clovis) and the events that preceded it, is evidently touched up, and the speeches of the queen especially I take to be fictitious, yet he would hardly have put them in her mouth, if it were generally known that the Franks had no gods or statues at all. Chrothild (Clotilda) speaks thus to her husband, whom she is trying to prepossess in favour of baptism. *Nihil sunt dii quos colitis, qui neque sibi neque aliis poterunt subvenire, sunt enim aut ex lapide aut ex ligno aut ex metallo aliquo sculpti, nomina vero, quae eis indidistis, homines fuere, non dii*. Here she brings up *Saturnus* and *Jupiter*, with arguments drawn from classical mythology, and then *Quid Mars Mercuriusque potuere? qui potius sunt magicis artibus praediti quam divini numinis potentiam habuere*. Sed ille magis coli debet qui coelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, verbo ex non extantibus procreavit, &c. Sed cum haec regina diceret, nullatenus ad credendum regis animus movebatur, sed dicebat *Deorum nostrorum* jussione cuncta creantur ac pro-

<sup>1</sup> De *simulacro* quod per campos portant (Indic. superst. cap. 28), one vita S. Martini cap. 9 (Surius 6, 252). Quia esset haec Gallorum rusticis consuetudo, *simulacra daemonum, candido tecta velamine*, misera per agros suos circumferre dementia.

deunt; deus vero vester nihil posse manifestatur, et quod magis est, nec *de deorum genere esse probatur* (that sounds German enough!) When their little boy dies soon after receiving christian baptism, Chlodovich remarks *Si in nomine deorum meorum puer fuisset dicatus, vixisset utique, nunc autem, quia in nomine dei vestri baptizatus est, vivere omnino non potuit*—So detailed a report of Chlodovich's heathenism, scarcely a hundred years after the event, and from the mouth of a well instructed priest, would be absurd, if there were no truth at the bottom of it. When once Gregory had put his Latin names of gods in the place of the Frankish (in which he simply followed the views and fashion of his time), he would as a matter of course go on to surround those names with the appropriate Latin myths, and it is not to be overlooked, that the four deities named are all gods of the days of the week, the very kind which it was quite customary to identify with native gods. I think myself entitled therefore, to quote the passage as proving at least the existence of images of gods among the Franks (see Suppl.)

The narrative of an incident from the early part of the 7th century concerns Alamannia. Columban and St Gallus in 612 came upon a seat of idolatry at Bregenz on the Lake of Constance. *Hec ergo imagines aereas et deauratas superstitiosa gentilitas ibi colebat, quibus magis quam Creatori mundi vota reddenda credebatur*. So says the *Vita S. Galli* (Peitz 2, 7) written in the course of the next (8th) century. A more detailed account is given by Walafrid Strabo in his *Vita S. Galli* (acta Bened. sec. 2 p. 233). *Egressi de navicula oratorium in honore S. Aureliae constructum adierunt . . . Post orationem, cum per gyrum oculis cuncta lustrassent, placuit illis qualitas et situs locorum, deinde oratione praemissa circa oratorium mansiunculas sibi fecerunt. Repereunt autem in templo tres imagines aereas deauratas parieti affixas,<sup>1</sup> quas populus, dimisso altaris sacri cultu, adorabat, et oblati sacrificii dicere consuevit: isti sunt dei veteres et antiqui huius loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant usque in praesens . . . Cumque ejusdem templi solemnitas ageretur, venit multitudo non minima promiscui sexus et aetatis, non tantum propter festivitatis honorem, verum etiam ad videndos peregrinos, quos cognoverant*

<sup>1</sup> So then, in a church really christian, these old heathen gods' images had been let into the wall, probably to conciliate the people, who were still attached to them? There are several later instances of this practice, conf. Ledebur's archiv 14, 363-378. Thür. mttth. VI 2, 13 (see Suppl.)

advenisse . . . Jussu venerandi abbatis (Columbani) Gallus coepit viam veritatis ostendere populo . . et in conspectu omnium arripiens *simulacra*, et lapidibus *in frusta comminuens proiecit in lacum* His visis nonnulli conuersi sunt ad dominum —Here is a strange jumble of heathen and christian worship In an oratory built in honour of St Aurelia, three heathen statues still stand against the wall, to which the people continue to sacrifice, without going near the christian altar to them, these are still their old tutelary deities After the evangelist has knocked the images to pieces and thrown them into Lake Constance, a part of these heathen turn to christianity Probably in more places than one the earliest christian communities degenerated in like manner, owing to the preponderance of the heathen multitude and the supineness of the clergy A doubt may be raised, however, as to whether by these heathen gods are to be understood Alamannish, or possibly Roman gods? Roman paganism in a district of the old Helvetia is quite conceivable, and du tutoies loci sounds almost like the very thing On the other hand it must be remembered, that Alamanns had been settled here for three centuries, and any other worship than theirs could hardly be at that time the popular one That sacrifice to Woden on the neighbouring Lake of Zurich<sup>1</sup> (supra, p. 50) mentioned by Jonas in his older biography of the two saints, was altogether German Lastly, the association of *three* divinities to be jointly worshipped stands out a prominent feature in our domestic heathenism, when the Romans dedicated a temple to several deities, their images were not placed side by side, but in separate cellae (chapels)—Ratpert (Caus S Galli, Pertz 2, 61) seems to have confounded the two events, that on L Zurich, and the subsequent one at Biegenz Tucconiam (to Tuggen) aduenerunt, quae est ad caput lacus Turicini, ubi cum consistere vellent, populumque ab errore demonum reuocare (nam adhuc *idolis immolabant*), Gallo *idola vana confringente et in lacum vicinum demergente*, populus in iram conuersus. . . . sanctos exinde pepulerunt Inde iter agentes pervenerunt ad castrum quod Arbona nuncupatur, iuxta

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, Mone (Gesch. des heid. 1, 171-5) tries to put this Woden-worship at Tuggen upon the Heruh, who had never been heard of there, instead of the Alamanns, because Jonas says *Sunt mihi vicinae nationes Suevorum* But this means simply those settled thereabouts, there was no occasion to speak of distant ones Columban was staying in a place not agreeable to himself, in order to convert the heathen inhabitants, and by Walafrid's description too, the district lies *infra* partes Alamanniae, where *infra* would do just as well

lacum potamicum, ibique a Willimaro presbytero honorifice suscepti, septem dies cum gaudio permanserunt. Qui a sanctis interrogatus, si sciret locum in solitudine illorum proposito congruum, ostendit eis locum jocundissimum ad inhabitandum nomine Bugantium. Ibique reperientes *templum* olim christianae religioni dedicatum, nunc autem *demonum imaginibus* pollutum, mundando et consecrando in pristinum restituerunt statum, atque pro statu quo eiecerunt, sanctae Aureliae reliquias ibidem collocaverunt. — By this account also the temple is first of all christian, and afterwards occupied by the heathen (Alamanns), therefore not an old Roman one. That *Woden's* statue was one of those *idola vana* that were broken to pieces, may almost be inferred from Jonas's account of the beer-sacrifice offered to him. Ratpert's cantilena *S. Galli* has only the vague words

Castra de Turegum adnavigant Tucconium,

Docent fidem gentem, *Jovem* linquunt *ardentem*.

This Jupiter on fire, from whom the people apostatized, may very well be *Donar* (Thunar, Thor), but his statue is not alluded to. According to Arx (on Pertz 2, 61), Eckehardus IV. quotes '*Jovis et Neptuni* idola,' but I cannot find the passage, conf. p. 122. Ermoldus Nigellus on Neptune. It is plain that the three statues have to do with the idolatry on L. Constance, not with that on L. Zurich, and if Mercury, Jupiter and Neptune stood there together, the first two at all events may be easily applied to German deities. In ch. VII, I will impart my conjecture about Neptune. But I think we may conclude from all this, that our *tres imagines* have a better claim to a German origin, than those *imagines lapideae* of the Luxovian forest, cited on p. 83<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Two narratives by Gregory of Tours on statues of Diana in the Treves country, and of Mercury and Mars in the south of Gaul, though they exclude all thought of German deities, yet offer striking comparisons. Hist. 8, 15. Deinde territorium Trevericarum urbis expeti, et in quo nunc estis monte habitaculum, quod cernitis, proprio labore construxi, reperi tamen hic *Dianae simulacrum*, quod populus hic incredulus quasi *deum adorabat columnam* etiam statui, in qua cum grandi cruciatu sine ullo pedum stabam tegmine. Verum ubi ad me multitudo vicinarum civitatum confluere coepit, praedicabam jugiter, nihil esse *Dianam*, nihil *simulacra*, nihilque quae eis videbatur exerceri cultura indigna etiam esse ipsa, quae inter pocula luxuriasque profluas cantica proferebant, sed potius deo omnipotenti, qui coelum fecit ac terram, dignum sit sacrificium laudis impendere. orabam etiam saepius, ut *simulacro* dominus diruto dignaretur populum ab hoc errore discutere. Flexit domini misericordia mentem rusticam, ut inclinaret aurem suam in verba oris mei, ut scilicet relictis idolis dominum sequeretur, (et) tunc convocatis quibusdam ex eis *simulacrum* hoc *immensum*, quod elidere propria virtute non poteram, cum

The chief authority for images of gods among the Saxons is the famous passage in Widekind of Corvei (1, 12), where he relates their victory over the Thuringians on the R Unstrut (circ 530), 'ut majorum memoria prodit' Mane autem facto, ad orientalem portam (of castle Schidungen) ponunt aquilam, *anamque victoriae* construentes, secundum errorem paternum, sacra sua propria veneratione venerati sunt, nomine *Martem*, *effigie columnarum* imitantes *Herculem*, loco Solem quem Graeci appellant *Apollinem*—This important witness will have to be called up again in more than one connexion

To the Corvei annals, at year 1145, where the Eresburg is spoken of, the following is added by a 12th century hand (Pertz 5, 8 note) Hec eadem Eresburg est corrupto vocabulo dicta, quam et Julius Cesar Romano imperio subegit, quando et Arispolis nomen habuit ab eo qui *Aris* Greca designatione ac *Mars* ipse dictus est Latino famine *Duobus* siquidem *idols* hec dedita fuit, id est *Aris*, qui *urbis mœnis insertus*, quasi dominator dominantium, et *Erms*, qui et *Mercurius* mercimonius insistentibus colebatur in forensibus—According to this, a statue of Mars seems to have stood on the town-wall

That the Frisian temples contained images of gods, there seems to be sufficient evidence It is true, the passage about Fosite (p 84) mentions only fana dei, we are told that Wilibrord laid violent hands on the sacred fountain, not that he demolished any image

eorum adjutorio possem eruere, jam enim reliqua *sigillorum* (the smaller figures) quae faciliora erant, ipse confregeram Convenientibus autem multis ad hanc *Dianae statuum*, missis funibus trahere coeperunt, sed nihil labor eorum proficere poterat Then came prayers, egressusque post orationem ad operamos veni, adprehensumque funem ut primo ictu trahere coepimus, protinus *simulacrum ruit in terram, confractumque cum malleis ferreis in pulverem redegit* So images went to the ground, whose contemplation we should think very instructive now This Diana was probably a mixture of Roman and Gallic worship, there are inscriptions of a *Diana arduinna* (Bouquet 2, 319)—The second passage stands in Mirac 2, 5 Erat autem haud procul a cellula, quam sepulchrum, martyris (Juliani Arvernensis) haec matrona construxerat (in vico Brivatensi), *grande delubrum*, ubi in *columna altissima simulacrum Martis Mercurique colebatur* Cumque delubri illius festa a gentilibus agerentur ac mortui mortuis thura deferrent, medio e vulgo commoventur pueri duo in scandalum, nudatoque unus gladio alterum appetit trucidandum The boy runs to the saint's cell, and is saved Quarta autem die, cum gentilitas vellet iterum diis exhibere libamina, the christian priests offer a fervent prayer to the martyr, a violent thunderstorm arises, the heathens are terrified Recedente autem tempestate, gentiles baptizati, *statuas* quas coluerant *confringentes*, in *lacum* vico amnique proximum *proiecerunt*—Soon after this, the Burgundians settled in the district The statues broken down, crushed to powder, and flung into the lake, every bit the same as in that story of Ratpert's

On the other hand, the *Vita Bonifacii* (Pertz 2, 339), in describing the heathen reaction under King Rêdbod (c. 716), uses this language *Jam pais ecclesiarum Christi, quae Francorum prius subjecta erat imperio, vastata erat ac destructa, idolorum quoque cultura exstructis delubrorum fanis lugubriter renovata*. And if it should be thought that *idolorum* here is equivalent to *deorum*, the *Vita Willehadi* (Pertz 2, 380) says more definitely *Insanum esse et vanum a lapidibus auxilium petere et a simulacris mutis et surdis subsidii sperare solatium*. Quo audito, gens fera et idololatris nimium dedita stridebant dentibus in eum, dicentes, non debere profanum longius vivere, imo reum esse mortis, qui tam sacrilegia contra *deos suos invictissimos* proferre praesumsisset eloquia—The event belongs to the middle of the 8th century, and the narrator Anskar († 865) comes a hundred years later, still we are not warranted in looking upon his words as mere flourishes. And I am not sure that we have a right to take for empty phrases, what is said in a *Vita S. Goari* († 649), which was not written till 839 *Coepit gentilibus per cucutum (i.e. in Ripuaria), simulacrorum cultui deditis et vana idolorum superstitionis deceptis, verbum salutis annuntiare* (*Acta Bened.* sec 2, p. 282). Such biographies are usually based on older memorials.

The Frisians are in every sense the point of transition to the Scandinavians, considering the multifarious intercourse between these two adjoining nations, nothing can be more natural than to suppose that the Frisians also had in common with their neighbours the habit of temple and image worship. Even Fosete's temple in Heligoland I can hardly imagine destitute of images.

Some facility in carving figures out of wood or chiselling them out of stone is no more than we should have expected from those signs and effigies in Tacitus, and the art might go on improving up to a certain stage. Stone weapons and other implements that we find in barrows testify to a not unskilful handling of difficult materials. That not a single image of a Teutonic god has escaped the destructive hand of time and the zeal of the Christians, need surprise us less than the total disappearance of the heathen temples. Why, even in the North, where the number of images was greater, and their destruction occurred much later, there is not one preserved, all the Lethrian, all the Upsahan idols are clean gone. The technical term in the Norse was *skuldgod* (*Fornm. sog.* 2, 73-5), from *skera*



(sculpere), skurd (sculptura), in the two passages referred to, it is likneski af Freyr. Biorn gives *skûr goð*, idolum, sculptile, from skûr, subgrundium (penthouse), because it had to be placed under cover, in sheds as it were, with which the OHG skûrguta (Graff 6, 536) seems to agree. But there is no distinct proof of an ON skûr goð.

Dietmar's account is silent about the gods' images at Lethra<sup>1</sup>, in Adam of Bremen's description of those at Upsal (cap 233), the most remarkable thing is, that *three statues* are specified, as they were in that temple of the Alamanns. Nunc de superstitione Sveonum pauca dicemus. *Nobilissimum illa gens templum habet, quod Ubsola dicitur, non longe positum a Sictona civitate (Sigtûn) vel Birka. In hoc templo, quod totum ex auro paratum est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solum habeat triclino. Hinc et inde locum possident Wodan et Fricco.* The further description we have nothing to do with here, but there occurs in it also the term *sculpere*, as the whole temple was ex auro paratum, *ie*, decorated with gold, he might doubtless have described the figures of the gods above all as *gilded*, just as those in Alamannia were aereae et *deauratae*—Saxo p 13 tells of a golden statue of Othin, Cujus numen Septentrionis reges propensiore cultu prosequi cupientes, effigiem ipsius *aureo complexi simulacro, statuum* suae dignationis indicem maxima cum religionis simulatione Byzantium transmiserunt, *cujus etiam brachiorum lineamenta confertissimo armillarum pondere perstinebant.* The whole passage, with its continuation, is not only unhistorical, but contrary to the genuine myths, we can only see in it the view of the gods taken by Saxo and his period, and inasmuch as golden and bedizened images of gods were consonant with such view, we may infer that there still lived in his time a recollection of such figures (see Suppl.) Ermoldus Nigellus, in describing Herold's (Harald's) interview with King Charles, mentions 4, 444 seq (Pertz 2, 509-10) the *gods' images* (sculpta) of the heathen, and that he was said to have had ploughshares, kettles and water-buckets forged of that metal. According to the Njalssaga cap 89, in a Norwegian temple (goðahûs) there were to be seen *three figures* again, those of Thor and the two half-goddesses Thorgerðr and Irpa, of human size, and adorned with armlets,

<sup>1</sup> On recently discovered figures of 'Odin,' v infra, Wôdan

probably Thor sat *in the middle* on his car. Altogether the portraitures of Thor seem to have been those most in vogue, at least in Norway<sup>1</sup>. One temple in which many skurdgoð were worshipped, but Thor most of all, is described in Fornm sog 2, 153 and 159, and his *statue* 1 295 302-6, in 2, 44 we read Thórr sat í miðju ok var mæst tignaðr, hann var mikill ok allr gullr búinn ok silfrn (ex auro et argento confectus), conf Olafs helga saga, ed Holm cap 118-9, where a large standing figure of Thor is described, and Fornm sog 4, 245, ed Christ p 26 Freyr *gíorr af silfrn*, Isl sog 1, 134 Landn 3, 2 One man carried a *statuette* of Thor carved in whalebone (líkneski Thôrs af tonn gert) in his pocket, so as to worship him secretly, when living among christians, Fornm sog 2, 57 Thôl's *figure* was carved on the ondvegis-pillars, Eyrbygg p 8 Landnamab 2, 12, and on the prows of ships, Fornm sog 2, 324 A figure of Thorgerðr holgabruðr, with rings of gold round the arm, to which people kneel, Fornm sog 2, 108<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Finn Magnusen, *bídrag til nordísk archaeologie*, pp 113-159

<sup>2</sup> There is another thing to notice in this passage. The figure of Thorgerðr bent *its hand up*, when some one tried to snatch a ring off its arm, and the goddess was not disposed to let him have it. The same man then brought a lot of money, laid it at the figure's feet, fell on his knees and shed tears, then rose up and once more grasped at the ring, which now *the figure let go*. The same is told in the Fœreyingasaga, cap 23, p 103. I regard it as a genuine trait of heathen antiquity, like others which afterwards passed into christian folk-tales of the Mid Ages (see Suppl.). Of more than one image of grace we are told that it dropt a *ring off its finger* or a *shoe off its foot* as a gift to those who prayed before it. A figure of Christ gave its shoes to a poor man (Nicolai abbatis peregrinatio, ed Werlauff p 20), and a saint's image its gold slippers (Mones anz 7, 584 Archiv des Henneb vereins, pp 70, 71). A figure of Mary accepts a ring that is presented to it, and bends her finger as a sign that she will keep it (Meon nouv recueil 2, 296-7 Maerl 2, 214). The two Virgin-stories in Méon and Maerlant, though one at bottom, have very different turns given them. In the latter, a young man at a game of ball pulls the ring off his finger, and puts it on the hand of a Madonna, in the former, the youth is boxing in the Colosseum at Rome, and puts his ring on the finger of a heathen statue, which bends the finger. Both figures now hold the man to his engagement. But the O French poem makes the afflicted youth bring an image of Mary to bear on the heathen one, the Mary takes the ring off the other figure, and restores it to the youth. Conf Kaiserchi 13142 13265 13323 Foidumi Scoti chronicon 1, 407 (W Scott's minstr 2, 136), relates this fable as an event of the 11th century: a nobleman playing at ball slips his ring on the finger of a broken statue of Venus, and only gets it back with the help of a priest Palumbus who understands magic. We see the story had spread at an early time, but it is old Teutonic in its origin [*unddeutsch*, evid a slip for *urdeutsch*]. Even in a painting of Mary, the infant in her lap hands her a casket to give to a suppliant, Cod pal 341 fol 63. Similarly, statues *turn the face away, stretch out the arm to protect, they speak, laugh, weep, eat and walk*, thus a figure of Christ turns itself away (Ls 3, 78 262), another begins to eat and grow bigger (Kinderm legenden no 9), to weep, to beckon, to run away

Frey's *statue of silver*, (Freyr markaðr af silfri), Vatnsd p 44 50, carried about in a waggon in Sweden, Fornm sog 2, 73-7 The Jomsvikingsaga tells of a temple on Gautland (I of Gothland), in which were *a hundred gods*, Fornm sog 11, 40, truly a 'densitas imaginum,' as Jonas has it (see p 83) Saxo Gram 327 mentions a simulacrum *quercu factum*, carved in oak<sup>2</sup> or an oaktree worshipped as divine<sup>2</sup> (see Suppl)

Not only *three*, but occasionally *two figures* side by side are mentioned, particularly those of *Wuotan and Donar* or of *Mars and Mercurius*, as we see from the passages cited Figures of Freyr and Thor together, and of Frigg and Freyja, occur in Muller's sagabibl 1, 92 Names of places also often indicate such joint worship of two divinities, *eg* in Hesse the Donnerseiche (Thor's oak) stood close by the Wodansberg, and explorers would do well to attend to the point

But neither the alleged number of the statues, nor their descriptions in the sagas can pass for historical, what they do prove is, that statues there were They appear mostly to have been hewn out of wood, some perhaps were painted, clothed, and overlaid with silver or gold, but no doubt stone images were also to be met with, and smaller ones of copper or ivory<sup>1</sup>

I have put off until now the mention of a peculiar term for statue, with which some striking accounts of heathen idols connect themselves

OHG glosses have the word *irmansûl*, pyramides, Mons 360 *avarûn*, *irmansûl*, pyramides, Doc 203<sup>b</sup> *irmansûl*, colossus, altissima columna, Florent 987<sup>a</sup>, Blas 86 colossus est *irmansûl*, Gl Schletst 18, 1 28, 1 The literal meaning seems to be statue, to judge by the synonym *avarû*, which in Gl. Jun 226 is used for

(Deutsche sagen, no 347 Tetra's preuss sagen, pp 211-5-8) In Reinbot's Georg the idol Apollo ἰδωλὸν ἐκ ἰνδρὸν by a child, and forced to walk away (3258-69), which reminds one of the god Perûn, whom, according to monk Nestor, Vladimir the Apostolic caused to be scourged with rods In an Indian story I find a statue that eats the food set before it, Polier 2, 302-3 Antiquity then did not regard these images altogether as lumps of dead matter, but as penetrated by the life of the divinity. •The Greeks too have stories of statues that move, shake the lance, fall on their knees, close their eyes (καταμύσσει), bleed and sweat, which may have been suggested by the attitudes of ancient images, but of a statue making a movement of the hand, bending a finger, I have nowhere read, significant as the position of the arms in images of gods was held to be That the gods themselves χεῖρα ὑπερέχουσιν over those whom they wish to protect, occurs as early as in Homer

<sup>1</sup> Finn Magnusen *ibid* 132-7

statua and imago It was not yet extinct in the 12th century, as appears from two places in the Kaiserchronik, near the beginning of the poem, and very likely there are more of them, it is said of Mercury (Massmann 129) —

ûf einr <i>yrmensûle</i>	Upon an yrmensûl
stuont ein abgot ungehiure,	Stood an idol huge,
den hiezen sie ir koufman	Him they called their merchant

Again of Julius Cæsar (Massm 624) —

Rômere in ungetrûweliche	Romans him untruly slew,
sluogen,	On an yrm they buried him

ûf einr *yrmensûl* sie in begruoben

And of Simon Magus 24<sup>e</sup> (Massm 4432) —

ûf eine <i>yrmensûl</i> er steic,	On an yrmensul he climbed,
daz lantvolc im allesamt neic	The land-folk to him all bowed

That is, worshipped him as a god Nay, in Wolfram's Titarel, last chapter, where the great pillars of the (christian) temple of the Grail are described, instead of 'inneren seil' of the printed text (Hahn 6151), the Hanover MS more correctly reads *irmensûl*

Further, in the Frankish annals ad ann 772 it is repeatedly stated, that Charles the Great in his conquest of the Saxons destroyed a chief seat of their heathen superstition, not far from Heresburg<sup>1</sup> in Westphalia, and that it was called *Irmensûl* Ann Petav Domnus rex Karolus peirexit in Saxoniam et conquisivit Erisburgo, et pervenit ad locum qui dicitur *Ermensul*, et succendit ea loca (Pertz 1, 16) Ann Lauresh Fuit rex Cailus hostiliter in Saxonia, et destruxit *fanum* eorum quod vocatur *Irmensul* (Pertz 1, 30) The same in the Chion Moissiac, except the spelling *Hir-mensul* (Pertz 1, 295), and in Ann Quedlinb, &c (Pertz 5, 37) Ann Juvavenses Karolus *idolum* Saxonorum combussit, quod dicebant *Irmensul* (Pertz 1, 88) Einhardi Fuld annales Karolus Saxoniam bello aggressus, Eresburgum castrum cepit, et *idolum* Saxonum quod vocabatur *Irmensul* destruit (Pertz 1, 348) Ann Ratisbon Carolus in Saxonia conquesivit Eresburg et *Irmensul* (Pertz 1, 92) Ann Lauuss Karlus in Saxonia castrum Aeresburg expugnat, *fanum* et *lucum* eorum *famosum Irmensul* subvertit (Pertz 1, 117)

<sup>1</sup> Now Stadtbergen, conf the extract from Dietmar, but strong reasons incline us to push the pillar (seule) some 15 miles deeper into the Osming forest, Clostermeier Eggerstein, pp 26-7 Eresburg, Horohus in pago Hessi Saxonico Saracho 735-350 Conf Massmann's Eggerstein p. 34

Ann Lauriss Et inde perrexit partibus Saxoniae prima vice, Aeresburgum castrum cepit, ad *Ermensul* usque pervenit, et ipsum *fanum* destruxit, et aurum et argentum quod ibi repperit abstulit Et fuit siccitas magna, ita ut aqua deficeret in supradicto loco ubi *Ermensul* stabat, &c (Pertz 1, 150) Einhardi Ann Ferro et igni cuncta depopulatus, Aeresburgum castrum cepit, *idolum* quod *Irmensul* a Saxonibus vocabatur evertit (Pertz 1, 151), repeated in Ann Tilian, and Chron Regin, with spelling *Ormensul* (Pertz 1, 220, 557)<sup>1</sup> And Dietmai of Merseburg (Pertz 5, 744) further tells us, in connexion with later events Sed exercitus capta urbe (Eresburch) ingressus, juvenem praefatum usque in ecclesiam S Petri, *ubi prius ab antiquis Irmensul colebatur*, bello defatigatum depulit—Taking all these passages together, Irmensûl passes through the very same gradations of meaning we unfolded in ch IV, and signifies now *fanum*, now *lucus*, now *idolum* itself It can scarcely be doubted, that vast woodlands extended over that region what if *Osmung*,<sup>2</sup> the name of the mountain-forest in which the pillar stood, betokened a *holy-wood*? The gold and silver hoard, which Charles was supposed to have seized there, may well be legendary embellishment<sup>3</sup> Ruodolf of Fuld goes more into detail about the Irmensûl, after his general statement on the heathen Saxons, that ‘fiondosus arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant’ (p 101), he goes on *Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria eum lingua Irmensul appellantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia* (Pertz 2, 676),

<sup>1</sup> Poeta Saxo 1, 65 (Bouquet 5, 137)

Gens eadem coluit simulacrum quod vocitabant

*Irmensul*, cujus factura simulque *columna*

Non operis parvi fuerat, pariterque decoris

<sup>2</sup> *Os* is the Sax form for *ans* (p 25), which denoted a god, and also a mountain, in High G the name would be Ansmine, Ensmine But, beside this mons *Osmengi* near Theotmelli, *ie* Detmold (Pertz 2, 447), there stood also a *silva Osmung* not far from Osnabruck (Moser urk no 2), and a *thord* in Ripuaria on the Lower Rhine (Lacomblet no 310 343 354), which seems to have extended towards the Ardennes as far as Aachen (Aix la Chap), mentioned in Vilkinasaga cap 40, and according to Barsch on Schannat's Eiflia, illustr 1, 110, and Hattmer 3, 602<sup>a</sup>, the Ardennes itself was called *Osmunka*, *Osmunich* By the Osnabruck charter above, the forest there appears even to have been modelled on the Osmung of Aachen (ad similitudinem foresti Aquisgranum pertinentis) That Osmung is met with in several places, speaks for a more general meaning [than that of a mere proper name], like *âs*, *ans*, and *fairguni*, it is the sacred mountain and forest. Ledebur takes the Teutoburgensis saltus to be Osmung Osnabruck, *Asnebruggi* (bridge of the *âses*) seems nearly related

<sup>3</sup> Is this Ermen-pillar hoard an allusion to the legend of Ermenrich's hoard? (Saxo Gram 156 Reinh fuchs CLII.)

(see Suppl.) Here was a great wooden pillar erected, and worshipped under the open sky, its name signifies universal all-sustaining pillar. This interpretation appears faultless, when we take with it other words in which the meaning is intensified by composition with *irmin*. In the Hildebrands lied, *irringot* is the supreme god, the god of all, not a peculiar one, agreeing in sense with *throdgod*, the (whole) people's god, formed by another strengthening prefix, Hel 33, 18 52, 12 99, 6 *irminman*, an elevated expression for man, Hel 38, 24 107, 13 152, 11 *irminthrod*, the human race, Hel 87, 13 and in Hildebr<sup>1</sup>. In the same way I explain proper names compounded with *irman*, *irmin* (Gramm 2, 448). And *irmansúl*, *irminsúl* is the great, high, divinely honoured statue, that it was dedicated to any one god, is not to be found in the term itself—In like manner the AS has *eormencyn* (genus humanum), Beow 309 Cod Exon 333, 3 *eormengrund* (terra), Beow 1711 (and singularly in an adj form ofer ealne *yrmenne* grund, Cod Exon 243, 13) *eormenstýnd* (progenies)—ON *ioimungrund* (terra), *ioimungandr* (anguis maximus), *ioimunrekr* (taurus maximus). From all this may be gathered the high mythic antiquity of these appellations, and their diffusion among all branches of the Teutonic race, for neither to the Goths can they have been strange, as their famous king's name *Ermanaricus* (Aírmánareiks, ON Ioimunrekr) shows, and beyond a doubt the *Hermunduri* are properly *Ermunduri* (Gramm 2, 175), the H being often prefixed to all such forms.

Now whatever may be the probable meaning of the word *irman*, *ioimun*, *eormen*, to which I shall return in due time, one thing is evident, that the *Irman-pillar* had some connexion, which continued to be felt down to a late period (p 116), with Mercury or Hermes, to whom Greek antiquity raised similar posts and pillars, which were themselves called *Hermæ*, a name which suggests our Teutonic one.

The Saxons may have known more about this, the Franks, in Upper Germany, from the 8th to the 13th century, connected with *irmansúl*, *irminsúl* the general notion of a heathen image set up on a pillar. Probably Ruodolf associated with his *truncus ligni* the

<sup>1</sup> The Slav ramo, Bohem ramenso, is with transposition the Lat armus, OHG. aram, and means both arm and shoulder, in the Sloven compound ramen-velik, valde magnus, it intensifies exactly like *irman*, does this point to an affinity between *irman* and arm? Arminius too is worth considering, conf. Schaffarik 1, 427.

thought of a choice and hallowed tree-stem (with, or without, a god's image?), rather than of a pillar hewn into shape by the hand of man, this fits in too with the worshipping sub divo, with the word *lucus* used by some of the chroniclers, and with the simplicity of the earliest forest-worship. As the image melts into the notion of tree, so does the tree pass into that of image, and our Westphalian Irmen-pillar most naturally suggests the idea of that Thor's-oak in Hesse, the evangelists converted both of them into churches of St Peter. I suspect an intimate connexion between the Irman-pillars and the *Roland-pillars* erected in the later Middle Ages, especially in North Germany, there were in Sweden *Thor's-pillars*, and among the Anglo-Saxons *Æthelstân-pillars* (Lapenberg 1, 376). There yet remains to be given an account of a sacred post in Neustria, as contained in the *Vita Walarici abbatis Leuconensis* (†622), said to have been composed in the 8th century. *Et juxta ripam ipsius fluminis stipes erat magnus, diversis imaginibus figuratus, atque ibi in terram magna virtute immissus, qui nimio cultu morem gentium a rusticis colebatur.* Walaricus causes the log to be thrown down *et his quidem rusticis habitantibus in locis non parvum tam moerorem quam et stuporem omnibus praebeuit.* Sed undique illis certatim concurrentibus cum armis et fustibus, indigne hoc ferentes invicem, ut injuriam *dei sui* vindicarent (Acta Bened. sec. 2, pp. 84-5). The place was called Augusta (bourg d' Augst, near the town of Eu), and a church was built on the spot.

I think I have now shown, that in ancient Germany there were gods and statues. It will further be needful to consider, how antiquity went to work in identifying foreign names of gods with German, and conversely German with foreign.

The Romans in their descriptions cared a great deal more to make themselves partially understood by a free translation, than, by preserving barbarous vocables, to do a service to posterity. At the same time they did not go arbitrarily to work, but evidently with care.

Caesar's *Sol*, *Luna* and *Vulcan* are perhaps what satisfies us least, but Tacitus seems never to use the names of Roman deities, except advisedly and with reflection. Of the gods, he names only *Mercury* and *Mars* (Germ. 9 Ann. 13, 57 Hist. 4, 64), of deified heroes, *Hercules*, *Castor* and *Pollux* (Germ. 9, 43), of goddesses,

*Isis* (Germ 9), the *terra mater* by her German name (Germ 40), and the *mater deum* (Germ 45) Incompatible deities, such as Apollo or Bacchus, are never compared What strikes us most, is the absence of Jupiter, and the distinction given to *Mercury*, who was but a deity of the second rank with the Romans, a mere god of merchants, but here stands out the foremost of all *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt* to him alone do human sacrifices fall, while *Mars* and *Hercules* content themselves with beasts This prominence of Mercury is probably to be explained by the fact, that this god was worshipped by the Gauls likewise as their chief divinity, and was the most frequently portrayed (*deum maxime Mercurium colunt, hujus sunt plurima simulacra*, Caes B Gall 6, 17),<sup>1</sup> and that the looks of the Romans, when directed towards Germany, still saw Gaul in the foreground, besides, it may have been Gallic informants that set the German divinity before them in this light Observe too the Gaulish juxtaposition of *Mars* and *Mercurius* in statues (p 111), precisely as Tacitus names the German ones together (Ann 13, 57) The omission of Jupiter is obviously accounted for, by his worship yielding the precedence to that of Mercury in those nations which Tacitus knew best we shall see, as we go on, that the northern and remoter branches on the contrary reserved their highest veneration for the thunder-god On *Isis* and *Hercules* I shall express my views further on Whom we are to understand by the *Dioscuri*, is hard to guess, most likely two sons of Woden, and if we go by the statements of the Edda, the brothers Baldr and Hermôðr would be the most fitting

This adaptation of classical names to German gods became universally spread, and is preserved with strict unanimity by the Latin writers of the succeeding centuries, once set in circulation, it remained current and intelligible for long ages

The Gothic historian names but one god after the Roman fashion, and that is *Mars* Quem Gothi semper asperrima placare cultura (Jornandes cap 5), with which the Scythian Ares, so early as in Herodotus 4, 62-3, may be compared

Paulus Diaconus winds up his account of Woden with the express announcement (1, 9) Woden sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos *Mercurius* dicitur, et

<sup>1</sup> Schöpflin, Als il 1, 435-60, esp on a fanum of Mercury at Ebermunster 1, 58 Conf Hummel, bibl deutsch alterth p 229 Creuzer, altrom cultur am Oberrhein, pp 48, 98.



ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoiatur Just so his older countryman Jonas of Bobbio, in that account of the sacrificing Alamanns, declares Illi aiunt, deo suo Vodano, quem *Mercurium* vocant alii, se velle litare, upon which, a gloss inserted by another hand says less correctly Qui apud eos Vuotant vocatur, Latini autem *Martem* illum appellant, though otherwise Woden greatly resembles Mars (v infra)

Gregory of Tours (supra, p 107) makes *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, and again *Mors Mercuriusque* the gods whom the heathen Chlodovich adored In 1, 34 he expresses himself in more general terms Privatus, Gabalitanae urbis episcopus . . . *daemones* immolare compellitur a Chroco Alamannorum rege (in the third cent) Widekind of Corvei names *Mars* and *Hercules* as gods of the Saxons (see p 111), and that little addition to the Corvei Annals (see p 111) couples together the Greek and Latin denominations *Aris* and *Mars*, *Ermis* and *Mercurius*

The Indiculus paganarum reckons up, under 8. De sacris *Mercurii* vel *Jovis*<sup>1</sup>, under 20 De ferns quae faciunt *Jovi* vel *Mercurio* So that the thunder-god, of whom Tacitus is silent, is in other quarters unforgotten, and now we can understand Wihbald's narrative of the robur *Jovis* (see p 72), and in Boniface epist 25 (A.D. 723) the presbyter *Jovi* mactans (see Suppl.)

In the Additamenta operum Matthaei Paris ed W Watts, Paris 1644, pp 25-6, there is an old account of some books which are said to have been discovered in laying the foundation of a church at Verlamacestre (St Albans) in the tenth century, and to have been burnt One of them contained 'invocationes et ritus idololatrarum civium Varlamacestreusium, in quibus comperit, quod specialiter *Phoebum deum solis* invocarunt et coluerunt, secundario vero *Mercurium*, *Voden* anglice appellatum, deum videlicet mercatorum, quia cives et compatriotae . . . fere omnes negotiatores et institores fuerunt' Evidently the narrator has added somewhat out of his own erudition, the invocations and rites themselves would have given us far more welcome information

Passages which appear to speak of a German goddess by the name of *Drana*, will be given later *Neptune* is mentioned a few times (supra, p 110)

<sup>1</sup> Had these been Roman gods, Jupiter would certainly have been named first, and Mercury after

Saxo Grammaticus, though he writes in Latin, avoids applying the Roman names of gods, he uses Othinus or Othin, never Mercurius instead, yet once, instead of his usual Thor (pp 41, 103), he has *Jupiter*, p 236, and malleus *Jovialis*, *Mars* on p 36 seems to stand for Othin, not for Tyr, who is never alluded to in Saxo. Ernoldus Nigellus, citing the idols of the Normanni, says 4, 9 (Pertz 2, 501), that for God (the Father) they worshipped *Neptune*, and for Christ *Jupiter*, I suppose Neptune must here mean Oðin, and Jupiter Thor, the same names recur 4, 69 100 453-5

Melis-Stoke, as late as the beginning of the 14th century, still remembers that the heathen Frisians worshipped *Mercury* (1, 16 17), I cannot indicate the Latin authority from which no doubt he drew this<sup>1</sup>

If the supposition be allowed, and it seems both a justifiable and almost a necessary one, that, from the first century and during the six or eight succeeding ones, there went on an uninterrupted transfer of the above-mentioned and a few similar Latin names of gods to domestic deities of Gaul and Germany, and was familiar to all the educated, we obtain by this alone the solution of a remarkable phenomenon that has never yet been satisfactorily explained the early diffusion over half Europe of the heathen nomenclature of the *days of the week*

These names are a piece of evidence favourable to German heathenism, and not to be disregarded

The matter seems to me to stand thus<sup>2</sup>—From Egypt, through the Alexandrians, the week of seven days (ἑβδομάς), which in Western Asia was very ancient, came into vogue among the Romans, but the planetary nomenclature of the days of the week apparently not till later. Under Julius Caesar occurs the earliest mention of 'dies *Saturni*' in connection with the Jewish sabbath, Tibull 1, 3, 18. Then ἡλίου ἡμέρα in Justin Mart apolog 1, 67 Ἐρμού and Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρα in Clem Alex Strom 7, 12. The institution fully carried out, not long before Dio Cassius 37, 18, about the close

<sup>1</sup> Our MHG poets impart no such information, they only trouble their heads about Saracen gods, among whom it is true Jupiter and Apollo make their appearance too. In Rol 97, 7 are named *Mars*, *Jovinus*, *Saturnus*

<sup>2</sup> I can here use only the beginning, not the conclusion, which would be more useful for my investigation, of a learned paper by Julius Hare on the names of the days of the week (Philolog Mus, Nov 1831). Conf Idelers handb der chronol 2, 177-180, and Letronne, observations sur les représentations zodiacales, p 99

of the 2nd century<sup>1</sup> The Romans had previously had a week of nine days, *nundinae*=*novendinae* Christianity had adopted from the Jews the *hebdomas*, and now it could not easily guard the church against the idolatrous names of days either (see Suppl.)

But these names, together with the institution of the week, had passed on from Rome to Gaul and Germany, sooner than the christian religion did In all the Romance countries the planetary names have lasted to this day (mostly in a very abridged form), except for the first day and the seventh instead of *dies solis* they chose *dies dominica* (Lord's day), It *domenica*, Sp *domingo*, Fr *dimanche*, and for *dies Saturni* they kept the Jewish *sabbatum*, It *sabbato*, Sp *sabado*, Fr *samedi* (= *sabdedi*, *sabbati dies*) But the heathen names of even these two days continued in popular use long after Ecce enim *dies solis* adest, sic enim barbaries vocitare diem dominicum consueta est, Greg Tur 3, 15

Unhappily a knowledge of the Gothic names of days is denied us The *sabbatê* dags, *sabbatô* dags, which alone occurs in Ulphilas, proves nothing, as we have just seen, against a planetary designation of the remaining six or five days A *sunnôns* dags, a *mênins* dags may be guessed, the other four, for us the most important, I do not venture to suggest Their preservation would have been of the very highest value to our inquiry

OLD HIGH GERM—I *sunnân* dag, O v 5, 22 Gl blas 76<sup>a</sup> Lacombl arch 1, 6—II *mânin* tac (without authority, for *mânitag*, *mânotag* in Graff 2,795 5, 358 have no reference, *mânetag* in Notker, ps 47, 1)—III *dies Martis*, prob *Ziuwes* tac among Alamanns, in the 11th cent *Cres* dac, Gl blas 76<sup>a</sup>,<sup>2</sup> prob different among Bavarians and Lombards—IV *dies Mercurii*, perhaps still *Wuotanes* tac<sup>2</sup> our abstract term, diu *mittawecha* already in N ps 93, and *mittwocha*, Gl blas 76<sup>b</sup>—V *dies Jovis*, *Donares* tac, *Tonurs* tac, N ps 80, 1 *donnestac*, Gl blas 76<sup>a</sup> Burcard von Worms 195<sup>b</sup> *quantam feriam in honorem Jovis honorati*—VI *dies Veneris*, *Fra* dag, O v 4, 6 *Frye* tag, T 211, 1—VII at last, like the Romance and Gothic, avoiding the heathenish *dies Saturni*, *sambaztag*, T 68, 1 N 91, 1<sup>3</sup> *samztag*, N 88, 40 *sunnân âband*, our *sonnabend*,

<sup>1</sup> An old hexameter at the end of the editions of Ausonius *Ungues Mercurio*, *barbam Jove*, *Cypride crines* (nails on Wednesday, beard on Thursday, hair on Friday)

<sup>2</sup> *Cies* for *Zies*, as the same glossist 86<sup>a</sup> writes *gicimbere* and *cinum*

<sup>3</sup> *Sambazolus* n prop in Karajan.

already in O v 4, 9, prob abbreviation of sunnûndages âband, feria ante dominicam, for vespera solis cannot have been meant [conf Engl Whitsun-eve], and occasionally, corresponding to the Romance dies dominica, *frôntag*, N ps 23

MID HIGH GERM—Would any one believe, that the names of the days of the week are not easily to be picked out of the abundant remains of our MHG literature? It is true, *sunnen tac* (suntac in Berth 118) and *mântac* (Parz 452, 16 mcentac 498, 22 Amis 1648)<sup>1</sup> admit of no doubt. Neither do *Donrestac* (Donerstag, Uolrich 73<sup>a</sup> Dumerstac, Berth 128), spelt *Duristag* in a Semi-Low Germ urk of 1300 in Hofer p 57), and *Doirstag* in one of 1495, Useners femgerichten p 131, nor *Frîtac* (Parz 448, 7 470, 1 Walth 36, 31 Berth 134), *Vriegtag*, Uolrich 73<sup>a</sup>, nor yet *samztac* (Parz 439, 2 Berth 138), *sunnen âbent* (Trist 3880)—But uncertainty hangs about the third and fourth days. The former, by a remarkable variation, was in Bavaria named *Ertac*, *Ertac* (the true form not quite certain, eritag in Adelung's vat hss 2, 189 ergetag in Berth 122, see examples collected from urkunden, Schm 1, 96-7), in Swabia on the contrary *Ziestac*, for Ziewestac. Both of these forms, which have nothing to do with each other, live to this day in the speech of the common people. Bav *iente*, Austr *ianta*, *inta*, Vicentino-Germ *eonta*, *onta*, Alem *ziestag*, *zinstag*, *ziestig*, *zistig*, *zienstig*, *zeinstig*, *zinstag*. The insertion of the liquid has corrupted the word, and brought in quite irrelevant notions. In central Germany the form *drestag*, *trestag* seems to predominate (*drestik* in the Rhon), whence our *dienstag* (less correctly *dmstag*, there is good reason for the *re*), the spelling *dingstag*, as if from *ding*, thing, *judicium*, is false, *dmstag* occurs in Gaupps magdeb recht p 272—The fourth day I have never seen named after the god, either in MHG or in our modern dialects, unless indeed the *gwontag* cited in the note can be justified as standing for Gwuotenstag, Wuotenstag, everywhere that abstraction 'midweek' has carried all before it, but it has itself become

<sup>1</sup> *Zuemtig* for Monday, Stald 2, 470 ought perhaps to be *zue mentig*, *ze mântage*, yet 1, 490 he has *guenti*, *guenti*, Tobler 248<sup>b</sup> has *gwontig*, *guenting*, and Zellwegers urk 1<sup>b</sup>, 19 *guonti*, for which Uik no 146 has 'an gutem tag,' which seems to be supported by Haltaus *jahrzeitb*. Or is 'only this particular Monday after Lent called so? In the Cod pal 372, 103 (ann 1382) we have 'guotem tag'. The resemblance of this good day to the Westphalian Gudensdag (Woden's day) is purely accidental.

almost unintelligible by being changed into a masculine *mittwoch*, *mittich*, Berth 24, *maktag*, Stald 2, 194, conf the Gothl majkadam, Almqr 442<sup>a</sup>), 'an der *mitkun*,' fem, is found in the Cod zaringobad no 140 (A D 1261) So even for the fifth day, the numeric name *phinztae* (Berth 128 Ottoc 144<sup>a</sup> Gratzler urk of 1338 Schwabenspiegel, p 196 Schm 1, 322), or *phingstag*, has made its way into some districts of Upper Germany through Græco-Slavic influences, πέμπτη, petek, platek, patek, though by these the Slavs mean Friday (see Suppl.)

NEW HIGH GERM—I *sonntag* II *montag* III *Dienstag*  
IV *mittwoch* V. *Donnerstag* VI *Freitag* VII *samstag*,  
*sonnabend*

OLD SAXON—The OS names are wanting, but must have differed in some essential points from the OHG, as the derived dialects prove We may pretty safely assume *Wóðanes dag* for the fourth day of the week, for in Westphalia it is still called *Godenstag*, *Gonstag*, *Gaunstag*, *Gunstag*, at Aix *Gouesdag*, in Lower Rhen urkunden *Gudestag*, Gunther, 3, 585 611 (A D 1380-7), *Gudenstag*, Kindlinger horngk p 577-8 (A D 1448)—The third day was probably *Twesdag*, the fifth *Thunaresdag*, the sixth *Fríundag* The most unlike would doubtless be the seventh, was it formed after dies Saturni, *Sáteresdag*? conf the Westph *Saterstag*, *Santerstarg*, Gunter 3, 502 (A D 1365) In Sachsensp 2, 66 one MS reads for sunavend *Sater sdach* (see Suppl.)

MID DUTCH—I *sondach*, Maerl 2, 159 II *manendach*, Huyd op St 3, 389 *maendach*, Maerl 2, 139 III *Dicendach*, Maerl 2, 140 al *Dicendach*, *Dissendach*, Cannaert strafrecht, pp 124, 481 apparently corrupted from *Tisdach* IV *Woensdach*, Maerl 2, 143 V. *Donresdach*, Maerl 2, 144 VI *Vrídach*, Maerl 2, 159 gen *Vrindaghes*, Maerl 2, 143 157 VII *Saterdach*, Maerl 2, 114 120-3 157-9. 276 3, 197 343 also *sonnacht*, Maerl 2, 164. 3, 240 (see Suppl.)

NEW DUTCH—I *zondag* II *mándag* III *dingsdag*, formerly *dinsdag*, *Dissendag* IV. *Woensdag*, Belg *Goensdag* V *Donderdag* VI *Vrídag* VII *Zaterdag*

OLD FRISIAN—I. *sonnader* II. *monader* III *Tysder* IV *Weinsder* V. *Thunresder*, *Tornsdei*. VI. *Frigender*, *Freder* VII *Saterdei* (references for all these forms in Richthofen)

NEW FRISIAN—I *sneym*, abbrev. from *sinnedey*, *sendei*, *senned*

(conf Frêd), the final *n* in sneyn, no doubt, as in OFris Fugendei, a relic of the old gen sing in the weak decl II *moandey* III *Tyesdey* IV *Wânsdey* V. *Tongersdey* VI *Frêd*, abbrev<sup>\*</sup> from Frêdey VII *snuun*, *snuoun*, abbrev from sinnejuwn = Sun(day)-even Conf tegenwoordige staat van Friesland 1, 121 Was- senbergh's bidraghen 2, 56. Halbertsma naoogst p 281-2 (see Suppl)

NORTH FRISIAN—I *sennender* II *monnender* III *Tursder* IV. *Winsder* V. *Tursder* VI *Frider* VII *sennin* (*in*=even)

ANGLO-SAXON—I *sonnan* dæg II *monan* dæg III *Tiwes* dæg IV. *Wódenes* or *Wóðnes* dæg V *Thunores* dæg VI *Frige* dæg VII *Sætres* or *Sæternes* dæg

OLD NORSE—I *sunnudagr*<sup>1</sup> II *mánadagr* III *Týrsdagr*, *Tysdagr* IV *Óðinsdagr* V *Thórsdagr* VI *Fríadagr*, *Freyjudagr*. VII *laugardagr*.

SWEDISH—I *sondag*. II *måndag*. III *Tisdag*, whence even Finn tystai IV. *Onsdag* V. *Thorsdag* VI. *Fredag* VII *lordag*

DANISH—I *sondag* II. *mandag* III *Tirsdag* IV *Ons- dag* V. *Torsdag*. VI *Fredag* VII *loverdag* (see Suppl).

We see, it is only in the seventh day that the Scandinavian names depart from the Saxon, Frisian and Dutch. *laugardagr* means bath-day because people bathed at the end of the week Yet even here there may be some connexion, a Latin poem of the 9th century on the battle of Fontenay (Bouquet 7, 304) has the singular verse. *Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolium*, a devil's bath? conf ch XII, Saturn. [The Germ for carnage is blutbad, blood-bath]

Even if the Germans from the earliest times knew the week of seven days from the four phases of the lunar change,<sup>2</sup> yet the

<sup>1</sup> This ON *sunnudagr* is noticeable, as in other cases *sól* is used rather than *sunna*, *sunnudagr* seems to have been formed by the christian teachers in imitation of the other Teutonic languages The Swed and Dan *sondag* (instead of *soldag*) must have been taken bodily from a Plattdeutsch form

<sup>2</sup> To the Lat word *vix*, gen *vici* (change, turn) corresponds, without the usual consonant-change, the Gothic *vilô*, OHG *wechâ* and *wehsal*, both referable to the verb *æika*, *vâik*, OHG *wichu* (I give way), because change is a giving way [in German, 'der wechsel ist ein weichen'] Ulph has *vikô* only once, Lu 1, 8, where *ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας* is translated 'in *vikôn* kunys'; it is evidently something more than *táxis* here, it expresses at the same time a part of the gen *ἐφημερίας*, therefore lit 'in *vice* generis', which the Vulg renders

naming of the days and the order in which they stand is manifestly an importation from abroad. On the contrary supposition, there would have been variation in details, and Saturn, for whom no Teutonic god seems prepared to stand sponsor, would have been left out in the cold.

But it would be no less absurd to attribute the introduction of the week and the names of the days to the Christians. As they came into vogue among the heathen Romans, they could just as well among heathen Gauls and Germans, nay, considering the lively intercourse between the three nations, a rapid diffusion is altogether natural.<sup>1</sup> Christianity had the Jewish week, and it tolerated names which were a frequent offence to it, but were already too deeply rooted, and could only be partially dislodged. Those words of Gregory reveal the utter aversion of the clergy, which comes out still more plainly in the language (publ in Syn-tagma de baptismo, p 190) of an Icelandic bishop in 1107, who actually did away with them in Iceland, and replaced them by mere numeric names. How should the christian teachers ever have suffered hateful names of idols to be handed over to their recent converts for daily use, unless they had already been long established among the people? And in Germany, how should the Latin gods have been allowed to get translated into German ones, as if on purpose to put them within easy reach of the people, had they not already been familiar with them for centuries?

Again, the high antiquity of these translations is fully established by their exact accordance with the terminology used in the first centuries, as soon as people came to turn German gods into Roman. In my opinion, the introduction of the seven days' names

by 'in ordine vicis'. Now whether *vikð* expressed to the Goths the alternation of the moon's quarters, we do not know for certain, I incline to believe it, as the OHG *wehâ, wochâ*, AS *wice, wuce*, ON *vika*, Swed *vecka*, Dan *uge*, are all limited to the one meaning of *septimana*. The very absence of consonant-change points to a high antiquity in the word. It is remarkable that the Javanese *vuku* means a section of time, the year falling into 30 *vukus* (Humb Kawispr 1, 196). The Finn *wykkö* is more likely to have been borrowed from the Norse than from so far back as the Gothic. I remark further, that an observance by the Germans of sections of time must be inferred from the mere fact that *certain dies* were fixed for the sacrifices to Mercury, Tac Germ 9.

<sup>1</sup> Jos Fuchs, *gesch von Mainz* 2, 27 seq (Kupfert 4, no 7) describes a Roman round altar, prob of the 3rd or 4th century, on which are carved the seven gods of the week (1 Saturn, 2 Apollo, 3 Diana, 4 Mars, 5 Mercury, 6 Jupiter, 7 Venus), and in an 8th place a genius.

amongst us must be placed at latest in the fourth or fifth century, it may not have taken place simultaneously in all parts of Teutondom.

Our forefathers, caught in a natural delusion, began early to ascribe the origin of the seven days' names to the native gods of their fatherland—William of Malmesbury, relating the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, says of Hengist and Horsa, that they were sprung from the noblest ancestry *Erant enim abnepotes illius antiquissimi Voden, de quo omnium pene barbararum gentium regum genus lineam trahit, quemque gentes Anglorum deum esse delirantes, ei quantum diem septimanae, et sextum uxori ejus Freae perpetuo ad hoc tempus consecraverunt sacrilegio* (Savile 1601 p 9)—More circumstantially, Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib 6 ed 1587, p 43) makes Hengist say to Vortigern *Ingressi sumus maria, regnum tuum duce Mercurio petivimus. Ad nomen itaque Mercurii erecto vultu rex inquit cujusmodi religionem haberent? cui Hengistus deos patrios Saturnum, atque ceteros, qui mundum gubernant, colimus, maxime Mercurium* (as in Tac 9), quem *Woden* lingua nostra appellamus. Huic veteres nostri dicaverunt *quartam* septimanae feriam, quae usque in hodiernum diem nomen *Wodenesday* de nomine ipsius sortita est. Post illum colimus *deam* inter ceteras potentissimam, cui et dicaverunt *sextam* feriam, quam de nomine ejus *Freda* vocamus.—As Matthew of Westminster (Flores, ed 1601, p 82) varies in some details, his words may also be inserted here. Cumque tandem in praesentia regis (Vortigerni) essent constituti, quaesivit ab eis, quam fidem, quam religionem patres eorum coluissent? cui Hengistus *deos patrios, scilicet Saturnum, Jovem* atque ceteros, qui mundum gubernant, colimus, *maxime autem Mercurium*, quem lingua nostra *Voden* appellamus. Huic patres nostri veteres dedicaverunt quartam feriam septimanae, quae in hunc hodiernum diem *Wodenesday* appellatur. Post illum colimus *deam* inter ceteras potentissimam, vocabulo *Fream*, cujus vocabulo *Friday* appellamus. Frea ut volunt quidam idem est quod *Venus*, et dicitur Frea, quasi Froa a frodos [A-frod-ite = from froth?] quod est spuma maris, de qua nata est Venus secundum fabulas, unde idem dies appellatur *dies Veneris*—Anglo-Saxon legend then, unconcerned at the jumbling of foreign and homespun fable, has no doubt at all about the high antiquity of the names among its people.



Saxo Grammaticus, more critical, expresses his opinion (p 103) of the Norse nomenclature, that it is derived from the native gods, but that these are not the same as the Latin. This he proves by Othin and Thor, after whom the fourth and fifth days of the week are named, as in Latin after Mercury and Jupiter. For Thor, being Othin's son, cannot possibly be identified with Jupiter, who is Mercury's father, consequently, neither can the Norse Othin, Thor's father, with the Roman Mercury, who is Jupiter's son. The discrepancy is certainly strong, but all that it can prove is, that at the time when Othin and Mercury began to be placed on the same pedestal, Mercury was thought of as a Celtic divinity, probably with attributes differing widely from his classical namesake. Saxo is quite right in what he means, and his remark confirms the early heathen origin of these names of days,<sup>1</sup> yet upon occasion, as we saw on p 122, he lets himself be carried away after all by the overpowering identity of Thor and Jupiter (see Suppl.)

The variations too in the names of the seven days among the various Teutonic races deserve all attention, we perceive that they were not adopted altogether cut-and-dry, nor so retained, but that national ideas still exercised some control over them. The later heathenism of Friesland and Saxony caused the old names of Wednesday and Saturday to live on, while in Upper Germany they soon sank into oblivion. But what is especially significant to us, is the deviation of the Alamanns and Bavarians when we come to the third day, how could it have arisen at a later (christian) time, when the idea of the heathen god that does duty for Mars had already become indistinct? how came the christian clergy, supposing that from them the naming had proceeded, ever to sanction such a divergence?

The nations that lie behind us, the Slavs, the Lithuanians, do not know the planetary names of days, they simply count like the Greeks,<sup>2</sup> not because they were converted later, but because they became acquainted with Latin culture later. The Finns and Lapps

<sup>1</sup> Conf Pet Er Muller om Saxo, p 79

<sup>2</sup> The Indian nations also name their days of the week after planets, and it seems worth remarking here, that Wednesday is in Sanskrit *Budhuvaras*, Tamil *Budhunkur amer*, because some have identified Buddha with Woden. In reality *Budhas*, the ruler of Mercury and son of the moon, is quite distinct from the prophet *Buddhas* (Schlegel's ind bibl 2 177)

do not count, while the Esthonians again mostly do (see Suppl.) Even the christianizing influence of Byzantium decided nothing on this point, Byzantium had no influence over Lithuanians and Finns, and had it over a part only of the Slavs. These in their counting begin with Monday, as the first day after rest, consequently Tuesday is their second, and Thursday their fourth,<sup>1</sup> altogether deviating from the Latin and Icelandic reckoning, which makes Monday second and Thursday fifth. Hence the Slavic *piatek* (fifth) means Friday, and that Up Germ *pfinztag* (fifth) Thursday. Wednesday they call *middle*, *sreda*, *seieda*, *sřida* (whence Lith *serrada*), which may have acted upon our High German nomenclature, the Finns too have *keskviikko* (half-week, from *keski* medium). It would be well worth finding out, when and for what reason the High German and the Slav first introduced the abstract names *mittewoche* and *sreda* (Boh *středa*), while the Low German and the Romance have kept to Woden and Mercury. Alone of Slavs, the Wends in Luneburg show a trace of naming after a god, *dies Jovis* was with them *Perendan*, from *Peren*, *Perun*, thunder-god apparently a mere imitation of the German, as in all the other days they agree with the rest of the Slavs.<sup>2</sup>

The nett result of these considerations is, that, in Latin records dealing with Germany and her gods, we are warranted in interpreting, with the greatest probability, *Mercurius* as Wuotan, *Jupiter* as Donar, and *Mars* as Ziu. The gods of the days of the week translated into German are an experiment on Tacitus's 'interpretatio Romana'.

<sup>1</sup> Eg in Russian: 1, *voskresenie*, resurrection (but O Sl *ne-děha*, no-doing) 2, *po-nedel'nik*, day after-no-work 3, *vtórník*, second day 4, *seredá*, middle 5, *chetvérg*, fourth day 6, *piátmitsa*, fifth day 7, *subbóta*, sabbath.—TRANS

<sup>2</sup> It is striking, that in O Bohem glossaries (Hanka 54 165) Mercury, Venus and Saturn are quoted in the order of their days of the week, and that any Slav deities that have been identified with Latin ones are almost sure to be of the number of those that preside over the week. And whilst of the Slav gods, *Svatovit* answers to Mars (Ziu), *Radigast* to Mercury (Wuotan), *Perun* to Jupiter (Donar), *Lada* (golden dame, *zolota baba*, in Hanusch 241, 35<sup>b</sup>) to Venus (Fria), and perhaps *Situvrat* to Saturn, the names of the planets are construed quite otherwise, Mars by *Smrto nos* (*letifera*), Mercury by *Dobro-pán* (good lord, or rather *bonorum dator*), Jupiter by *K' 't' -t' -t' potens*), Venus by *Čistěl* (cupitor? venerandus?), Saturn by *Hlado-let* (famelicus, or *annonae caritatem afferens*). Respecting *Situvrat* I give details at the end of ch. XII.

## CHAPTER VII

### WUOTAN, WODAN (ODINN)

THE highest, the supreme divinity, universally honoured, as we have a right to assume, among all Teutonic races, would in the Gothic dialect have been called *Vódans*, he was called in OHG *Wuotan*, a word which also appears, though rarely, as the name of a man *Wuotan*, Trad Fuld 1, 149 2, 101-5-8 128 158 161 *Woatan* 2, 146, 152 The Longobards spelt it *Wóðan* or *Guóðan*, the Old Saxons *Wuodan*, *Wóðan*, but in Westphalia again with the *g* prefixed, *Guóðan*, *Gudan*, the Anglo-Saxons *Wóðen*, the Frisians *Wéda* from the propensity of their dialect to drop a final *n*, and to modify *ð* even when not followed by an *i*<sup>1</sup> The Norse form is *Odinn*, in Saxo *Othimus*, in the Faroe isles *Ouvn*, gen *Ouvans*, acc *Ouvan* Up in the Grisons country—and from this we may infer the extent to which the name was diffused in Upper Germany—the Romance dialect has caught the term *Vut* from Alamanns or Burgundians of a very early time, and retained it to this day in the sense of idol, false god, 1 Cor 8, 4<sup>2</sup> (see Suppl)

It can scarcely be doubted that the word is immediately derived from the verb OHG *watan* *wuot*, ON *vaða*, *ðð*, signifying meare, tiansmeare, cum impetu ferri, but not identical with Lat *vadere*, as the latter has the *a* long, and is more likely connected with OS *gavitan*, AS *gewitan*. From *watan* comes the subst *wuot* (our wuth, fury), as *μένος* and *animus* properly mean *mens*, *ingenium*, and then also impetuosity, wildness, the ON *oðr* has kept to the

<sup>1</sup> A Frisian god *Wains* has simply been invented from the gen in the compound *Warnsdei*, *Wernsdei* (Richth p 1142), where *Werns* plainly stands for *Wedens*, *Wodens*, an *r* being put for *d* to avoid collision with the succeeding *sd*, it will be hard to find anywhere a nom *Wern*. And the present West Frisians say *Wansdey*, the North Frisians *Winsdei*, without such *r*

<sup>2</sup> Conradus wörterb 263 Christmann, pp. 30—32.

one meaning of mens or sensus<sup>1</sup> According to this, *Wuotan*, *Oðinn* would be the all-powerful, all-penetrating being, qui omnia permeat, as Lucan says of Jupiter Est quodcunque vidēs, quocunque moveris, the spirit-god<sup>2</sup>, conf Virg. Georg 4, 221 Deum ire per omnes terras, and Ecl 3, 60 Jovis omnia plena In the popular language of Bavaria, *wueteln* is to bestir oneself, to swarm, grow luxuriantly, thrive, Schm 4, 203 (see Suppl.)

How early this original meaning may have got obscured or extinguished, it is impossible to say Together with the meaning of wise and mighty god, that of the wild, restless, vehement, must also have prevailed, even in the heathen time The christians were the better pleased, that they could bring the bad sense into prominence out of the name itself In the oldest glosses, *wōtan* is put for tyiannus, herus malus, Diut 1, 276<sup>b</sup> gl Ker 270, so *wueterich*, *wutereich* (Gramm 2, 516) is used later on, and down to the present day, conf ein ungestuemer wueterich, Ben 431, as in Mar 217 Herod's messengers of murder are wueteriche, O 1 19, 18 names the king himself *gotewuoto* The form *wuotunc* seems not to differ in sense, an unprinted poem of the 13th century says 'Wutunges her' apparently for the 'wutende heer,'<sup>3</sup> the host led as it were by Wuotan, and *Wuotunc* is likewise a man's name in OHG, *Wōdunc*, Trad patav no 19 The former divinity was degraded into an evil, fiendish, bloodthirsty being, and appears to live yet as a form of protestation or cursing in exclamations of the Low German people, as in Westphalia O Woudan, Woudan! Firmenich 1, 257, 260, and in Mecklenburg Wod, Wod! (see Suppl.)

Proofs of the general extension of Woden's worship present themselves, for one thing, in the passages collected in the preceding chapter on *Mercurius*, and again in the testimonies of Jonas of Bobbio (pp 56 and 121) and Paulus Diaconus, and in the Abrenuntiatio, which deserves to be studied more closely, and lastly in the concurrence of a number of isolated facts, which I believe have hitherto been overlooked

If we are to sum up in brief the attributes of this god, he is the

<sup>1</sup> A word that has never been fully explained, Goth *wōþis dulcis*, 2 Cor 2, 15, OHG *wuodn*, Diut 2, 304<sup>a</sup>, OS *wuodn*, Hel 36, 3 140, 7, AS *wēðe*, must either be regarded as wholly unconnected, or its meaning be harmonized.

<sup>2</sup> Finn Magnusen comes to the same conclusion, Lex. myth 621 636

<sup>3</sup> The belief, so common in the Mid Ages, in a 'furious host' or 'wild hunt', is described in ch XXXI—TRANS

*all-pervading creative and formative power*, who bestows shape and beauty on men and all things, from whom proceeds the gift of song and the management of war and victory, on whom at the same time depends the fertility of the soil, nay wishing, and all highest gifts and blessings, Sæm 113<sup>a</sup><sup>b</sup>.

To the heathen fancy Wuotan is not only the world-ruling, wise, ingenious god, he is above all the *arranger of wars* and battles<sup>1</sup> Adam of Bremen cap. 233, ed 1595 says of the Norse god Wôdan, id est fortior, bella gert, hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos Wôdanem sculpunt (Sveones) *armatum*, sicut nostri Martem sculpere solent To the fortior, fortis, would answer his ON name of *Sviðr*, i.e. the strong, masterful, swift (OS *suith*) but fortior is, no doubt, a false reading, all the MSS (conf Pertz 3, 379) read 'Wôdan, id est *furor*,' which agrees with the conclusion arrived at above To him, says the Edda, belong all the nobles who *fall* in battle (Sæm. 77<sup>b</sup>) and to Thôr the common folk, but this seems added merely to depreciate the latter, in another passage (Sæm 42<sup>a</sup>), Freya shares the *fallen* with Oðinn, he is named *valfaðir* and *herfaðir* (val, choice, her, host). Oðinn vildi þiggja mann at hlutfalli at hânga or herinom, Fornald sog 3, 31 Eidem prostratorum *manes muneris loco dedicaturum se pollicetur* (Haraldus), Saxo p 146 Othinus *armipotens*, p 37, auctor aciei corniculatae, ordinandi agminis disciplinae traditor et repertor, pp 138-9, 146 When old, he teaches arraying of battle, p 17, the *hamalt at fylkja, svînfylkja*, Fornald sog 1, 380, he teaches how to bring down with pebbles those whom sword will not wound, *ibid* p 157 (see Suppl)

We need not be surprised then to find him confounded with Ziu or Týr, the special god of war, or *Mercurius* coupled with *Mars* (pp 107, 111), or a gloss on Jonas of Bobbio, who had rightly identified him with Mercury (p 121), correcting him thus Qui apud eos (Alamannos) *Vuotant* (part. pres of wuotan) vocatur, Latini autem *Martem* illum appellant Are Adam's words also, 'sicut nostri *Martem* sculpere solent,' to be so taken that nostri

<sup>1</sup> Got waldes an der *sige kur* ! Wh 425, 24 *sigehafte henda fuege in got* ! Dietr 84<sup>a</sup> Oðinn, when he sent the people forth to war, laid his *hands* on their heads and blessed, acc. to Yngl cap 2, gaf þeim *bianac*, Ir beannaect, beannugad, beandacht, Gael beannachd, Wel. bianoch (Villemarque, *essai* LIX) = benedictio, prob all from the Lat. word ? conf Fr *bénir*, Ir *beannaigim*

should mean Saxones? He, it is true, may have meant those acquainted with Roman mythology

Especially does the remarkable legend preserved by Paulus Diaconus 1, 8 show that it is Wodan who *dispenses victory*, to whom therefore, above all other gods, that antique name *sihora* (p. 27) rightfully belongs, as well as in the Eddas the epithets *Sigtýr* (god of victory), Sæm 248<sup>a</sup>, Sn 94, *Sigfoðr* (father of victory), Sæm 68<sup>a</sup>, AS *vígsigor* (victor in battle), Beow 3107, *sigmetod* (creator of victory), Beow 3554 (see Suppl) — Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam, quod accedentes Wandal ad Wodan, *victoriam* de Winilis *postulaverunt*, illeque responderit, se illis *victoriam daturum*, quos primum *oriens sole* conspexisset Tunc accessisse Gambaram ad *Fream*, uxorem Wodan, et Winilis *victoriam postulasse*, *Fream*-que consilium dedisse, Winilorum mulieres solutos crines erga faciem ad barbae similitudinem componerent *manequ* primo cum viris adessent, seseque a Wodan videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus erat solitus adspicere, collocarent, atque ita factum fuisse Quas cum Wodan conspiceret oriente sole, dixisse qui sunt isti Langobardi? tunc *Fream* subjunxisse, ut quibus nomen tribuerat, *victoriam condonaret*, sicque Winilis Wodan *victoriam concessisse* Here deacon Paul, as a good christian, drops the remark Haec usu digna sunt, et pro nihilo habenda victoria enim non potestati est adtributa hominum, sed e coelo potius ministratur, and then adds a more exact interpretation of the name Longobard Certum tamen est Longobardos ab intactae ferro barbae longitudine, cum primitus Winili dicti fuerint, ita postmodum appellatos Nam juxta illorum linguam lang longam, bart barbam significat Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera *Gwodan* dixerunt, et *ab universis Germaniae gentibus* ut deus adoratur, qui non circa haec tempora, sed longe antea, nec in Germania, sed in Graecia fuisse perhibetur<sup>1</sup>

The whole fable bears the stamp of high antiquity, it has even been related by others before Paul, and with variations, as in the Hist Francor epitomata, which has for its author, though not Fredegar, yet some writer of the seventh century Here Chuni

<sup>1</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo (in Pistorius, ed Struve 2, 305) has the legend out of Paul Diac with the names corrupted, *Godam* for Wodan, *Feria* for Frea Godam or Votam sets him thinking of the Germ word got (deus) The unheard-of '*Toclacus* historiographus' has evidently sprung out of '*hoc loco*' in Paul

(Huns) are named instead of Vandals — Cum a Chunis (Lombardi) Danubium transeuntes fuissent comperiti, eis bellum conati sunt inferre Interrogati a Chunis, quare gens eorum terminos introire praesumeret? At illi mulieribus suis praecipunt, comam capitis ad maxillas et mentum ligare, quo potius virorum habitum simulantes plurimam multitudinem hostium ostenderent, eo quod erant mulierum comae circa maxillas et mentum ad instar barbae valde longae fertur desuper utraeque phalangae vox dixisse 'hi sunt Langobardi!' quod ab his gentibus fertur eorum *deum* fuisse locutum, quem fanatici nominant *Wodanum* (al Wisodano, a mere copyist's or reader's error for Wuodan) Tunc Langobardi cum clamassent, qui instituerat nomen, *concederet victoriam*, in hoc praelio Chunos superant (Bouquet 2, 406, according to Pertz, all the MSS read *Wodano*) In this account, Frea and her advice are nowhere, the voice of the god, giving the name, is heard up in the air

It was the custom for any one who bestowed a name, to follow it up with a gift<sup>1</sup> Wodan felt himself bound to confer the victory on those for whom he had found a new national name In this consisted the favour of fortune, for the people, in dressing up their wives as men, had thought of nothing but swelling the apparent numbers of their warriors I need scarcely remind the reader, that this mythical interpretation of the Lombard name is a false one, for all the credit it found in the Mid Ages<sup>2</sup>

There is one more feature in the legend that must not escape our notice Wodan from his heavenly dwelling *looks down on the earth through a window*, which exactly agrees with ON descriptions Óðinn has a throne named *Hliðskjálf*, sitting on which he can survey the whole world, and hear all that goes on among men þar er emn staðr er Hliðskjálf heitir, oc þær Óðinn settur þar i hásæti, oc þá sá hann of alla herma, oc vissi alla luti, þá er hann sá (there is a stead that H hight, and when Ó sat there on high-seat, then saw he over all countries, and wist, &c), Sn. 10 oc þá er Allfoðr sitr i því sæti, þá ser hann of allan herm, Sn. 21 hlustar (listens) Óðinn Hliðskjálfu í, Sæm 89<sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Låta fylgja nafni, Sæm. 142<sup>a</sup> 150<sup>a</sup> Fornm sog 3, 182 203 gefa at nafnfesti (name-feast), Sn 151 Fornm sog 2, 51 3, 133 203 Islend sog 2, 143 194. Vocabuli largitionem muneris additione commendare, Saxo Gram 71

<sup>2</sup> Longobardi a longis barbis vocitati, Otto frs de gest Frid 2, 13 But Óðinn himself was named *Långbarðr*

When Loki wanted to hide, it was from this seat that Óðinn espied his whereabouts, Sn 69 Sometimes also Frigg, his consort, is imagined sitting by his side, and then she enjoys the same prospect Óðinn ok Frigg *sáto í Hliðskialfo*, ok *sá um herma alla*, Sæm 39 The proem to the Grímnismál bears a strong resemblance to the legend in Paul, for, just as Frea pulls her favourites the Winli through, in opposition to Wodan's own resolve, so Frigg brings to grief Gerroðr, whom Óðinn favoured—Sensuous paganism, however, makes the god-like attribute of overseeing all things depend on the position or structure of a particular chair, and as the gift forsakes the god when he does not occupy the seat, others can enjoy the privilege by taking his place This was the case when Freyr spied the beautiful Gerðr away down in Iotunheim, Freyr *hafðr setsc í Hliðskialf*, ok *sá um herma alla*, Sæm 81 Sn 39 The word *hliðskialf* seems to mean literally door-bench, from *hlið* (ostium, conf Engl lid), and *skialf* (scamnum), AS *scylfe*, Cædm 79, 4. Engl shelf (see Suppl) Mark the language in which the OS poet describes the Ascension of Christ *sôhta imo thena hêlagon stôl*, *sitat imo thar an thea suîdron* (right) half Godes, *endi thanan all gisêht* (seeth) *waldandeo Crist*, *sô huat sô* (whatso) *thus werold behabêt*, Hel 176, 4—7, conf Cædm 265, 16

This idea of a seat in the sky, from which God looks on the earth, is not yet extinct among our people The sitting on the right hand is in the Bible, but not the looking down The formulas 'qui haut siet et de loing mire, qui haut siet et loins voit' (supra, p 23) are not cases in point, for men everywhere have thought of the Deity as throned on high and seeing far around Zeus also sits on Ida, and looks on at mortal men, he rules from Ida's top, *Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων*, even as Helios, the eye of the sun, surveys and discerns all things, Il. 3, 277 But a widely-circulated marchen tells us of a mortal man, whom St Peter admitted into heaven, and who, led on by curiosity, ended by climbing into the *chair of the Lord, from which one can look down and see all that is done on the whole earth* He sees a washerwoman steal two lady's veils, and in his anger seizes the *footstool of the Lord*, which stands before the chair (al a *chair's leg*), and hurls it down at the thief.<sup>1</sup> To such lengths has the ancient fable travelled.

<sup>1</sup> Kufdermarchen no 35 First in Bebel, ed 1, Tub 1506, p 6 Frey's gartengesellschaft cap 109, ed 1556 p 106, ed 1590 p 85 Rollwagenbuchlein 1590, pp. 98-9 (here a golden settle) Mosers vermischte schriften 1, 332 2,



Can it be alluded to in the MHG poem, Amgb 3<sup>a</sup> 2

Der nû den himel hat erkorn,  
der geiselt uns bî unser habe,  
ich vûhte sêre, unt wirt im zoin,  
den *slegel* wirft er uns her abe<sup>1</sup>

In a Servian song (Vuk 4, 9) the angels descend to earth *out of God's window* (od Bózhieg prozóra, pro-zor (out-look, hence window) reminds one of zora (dawn), prozorie (morning twilight), and of Wodan at early morn looking toward the sunrise. The *dawn* is, so to speak, the opening in heaven, through which God looks into the world

Also, what Paulus Diac 1, 20 tells of the *anger of the Lord* (supra, p 18), whereby the Herulian warriors were smitten before their enemies, I am inclined to trace up to Wuotan. Tanta super eos *coelitus ira respexit*, and again Vae tibi, miseria Herulia, quae *coelestis Domini flecteris ira*! Conf Egilssaga p 365. *reiðr sê rogn ok Oðinn*! wrathful see the gods and O, and Fornald sog 1, 501 *gramr er yðr Oðinn*, angry is O with you.

Victory was in the eyes of our forefathers the first and highest of gifts, but they regarded Wuotan not merely as dispenser of victory, I have to show next, that in the widest sense he represented to them the god to whose bounty man has to look for every other distinction, who has the giving of all superior blessings, and in this sense also Hermes (Mercury) was to the Greeks pre-eminently δῶτωρ ἐάων, giver of good things, and I have ventured to guess that the name *Gibika*, *Kyriko* originally signified the same to us<sup>2</sup>

235 ed 1842, 4, 5, 39 H Sachs (1563) v 381 According to Greek and O Norse notions, the gods have a *throne* or *chair* thâ gengengo regin oll â rokstôla ginheilog goð, Sæm 1<sup>b</sup> Compare in the Bible heaven is God's throne, the earth his footstool, Matt 5, 34-5, and Hel 45, 11 12 (see Suppl.)

<sup>1</sup> Also MS 2, 254<sup>b</sup> ze hûs wirf ich den *slegel* dir MS 2, 6<sup>b</sup> mit einem *slegel* er zuo dem kinde warf This *cudgel-throwing* resembles, what meant so much to our ancestors, the hammer's throw, and the OHG *slaga* is malleus, *sledge-hammer* (Graft 6, 773) The cudgel thrown from heaven can hardly be other than a thunderbolt, and the obscure proverb, 'swer irre rite daz der den *slegel* funde,' whose astray should ride, that he the s might find, Parz 180, 10, may refer to a thunder-stone (see ch VIII, Donar) which points to hidden treasure and brings deliverance, and which only those can light upon, who have accidentally lost their way in a wood, for which reason Wolfram calls trunks of trees, from under which peeps out the stone of luck, 'slegels urkunde und zil,' *slegel's* document and mark (am)

<sup>2</sup> Haupts zeitschr 1, 573 Lasicz 47 names a *Datanus* donator bonorum

The sum total of well-being and blessedness, the fulness of all graces, seems in our ancient language to have been expressed by a single word, whose meaning has since been narrowed down, it was named *wunsch* (wish). This word is probably derived from *wunja*, *wunnja*, our *wonne*, bliss, *wunisc*, *wunsc*, perfection in whatever kind, what we should call the Ideal. Thus, *Er* 1699 'der *wunsch* was an ir *garwe*,' wish was in her complete, *Iw* 3991 'daz mir des *wunsches* niht gebrast,' nought of wish was wanting, *Iw* 6468 'der *rât*, des der *wunsch* an wibe gert,' such store as wish can crave in wife, *Gerh* 1754 'an der got *wunsches* niht vergaz,' in whom God nought of wish forgot (left out), *Parz* 742, 15 'der *wunsch* wirt in beiden', *Trist* 3710 'dir ist der *wunsch* gegeben', *Fiauent* 87 'der *wunsch* von edlem obze,' the pick of noble fruit, *Parz* 250, 25 'erden *wunsches* rîche,' rich in all gifts of the earth, 235, 24, 'erden *wunsches* uberwal', *Trist* 4696. 4746 'der *wunsch* von worten, von bluomen', *Trist* 1374 'in dem *wunsche* sweben,' *ie*, in perfect satisfaction. And the magic wand, by whose impact treasures are acquired, was a *wunschuligerta*, wishing-rod, conf. *Parz* 235, 22 'wurzel unde rîs des *wunsches*,' root and spray of wish. The (secondary) meaning of 'desiring and longing for' these perfections would seem to have but accidentally attached itself to the *wunsc*, ON *ôsk* (see Suppl.)

Among other Eddic names of *Oðinn*, appears *Osci*, *Sæm* 46<sup>b</sup> *Sn* 3, 24, *ie* he who makes men partakers of *wunsch*, of the highest gift. *Osk*, gen *Oskar*, a woman's name, *Formn. sog* 1, 246 *Eyrbyggja saga* cap 7. *Laxd* p 12

Another thing seems to me to be connected with this, and therefore to be a relic of the heathen religion: the fact that our poets of the 13th century personify *wunsch*, and represent it as a mighty creative being. Instances in proof of this are found chiefly in *Hartmann*, *Rudolf* and *Conrad*

Got erloubte dem <i>Wunsche</i> uber	About him, God gave to Wish
in,	full leave,
daz er lîb unde sin	that he body and mind
<i>meistert</i> nach sin werde	fashioned according to his worth
swâ von ouch ûf der erde	Of whatsoever upon earth,
deheinem man ze loben geschiht,	to any man, praiseworthy falls,
desn gebrast im niht,	thereof lacked him nought,
der <i>Wunsch</i> het in <i>gemeistert</i> sô	Wish had him fashioned so,

daz er *sîn was ze kinde vrô*, that he was glad of him for child,  
 wande ei nihts an im vergaz : for he nought in him forgot  
 er het *geschaffet*, kunder, baz he had him shapen, if he could,  
 Greg 1091-1100 better

man sagt daz nie kint gewan They say that never a child won  
 ein lîp sô gar dem *Wunsche* glich a body so wholly equal to Wish  
 Ex 330 (or, exactly like Wish)

alsô was ez (daz phert) gestalt, So was it wrought (the horse),  
 und ob er (der werltwise man) that if he (the wright) had had  
 danne den *gewalt*  
 von dem *Wunsche* hæte, the command from Wish,  
 daz ez belibe stæte that (his work) should be left  
 unaltered,

swes er darzuo gedæhte, whatever he attempted thereon,  
 und swenne erz volbræhte, and when he had completed it,  
 daz erz fur sich stalte that he should set it before Him,  
 und er von *sînem gwalte* and He at his discretion  
 dar abe næme therefrom should take away  
 swaz daran im missezæme, whatever therein mishked him,—  
 alsô was ez volkomen so perfect was it  
 daz er dar abe niht hete geno- that he therefrom nought would  
 men have taken  
 also grôz als umb ein hâr so great as a hair.

Er. 7375-87.

als ez der *Wunsch gebôt* (bade) Er 8213  
 was ein *wunschkind* (was a child of wish) Ex 8277  
 Enîte was des *Wunsches* kint,  
 der an ir nihtes vergaz Er 8934  
 dâ was ir hâr und ir lîch (lyke, lich, body)  
 so gar dem *Wunsche* gelîch (like) Iw 1333  
 dîz was an ir (zuht, schoene, jugent) und gar der rât (all the store)  
 des der *Wunsch* (or *wunsch* ?) an wibe gert (desires) Iw. 6468.  
 wande sie nie gesâhen (for they never had seen)  
 zwêne riter gestalt (two knights fashioned)  
 sô gar in *Wunsches gewalt*  
 an dem lîbe und an den sîten (manners). Iw 6913.  
 der *Wunsch vluochet* (curses) im sô. Iw 7066.

mir hât der *Wunsch* gevluochet Hartm buch 2, 113.  
 er was schœne und wol gevar (for gefarwet, coloured),  
 rehte, als in der *Wunsch erlôs* (chose) Gerh 771  
 mîn herze in (ihnen, to them) des begunde jehen (acknowledge),  
 in wære des *Wunsches flîz* (zeal, care) bereit Gerh 1599  
 an der der *Wunsch* mit kiusche *bar*  
*sîne sueze lebende frucht* Gerh. 1660.  
 daz ich ir schœne kiœne  
 ob allen frouwen schône  
 mit des *Wunsches krône* Gerh 1668  
 ein regen ûz dem wolken vlôz  
 der ûf des *Wunsches ouwe gôz*  
 sô heizen regen (?) Gerh 2307  
 an lobe (praise) des *Wunsches krône* Gerh 2526  
 swes ich begunde daz geschach (was accomplished),  
 der *Wunsch* ie mînen werken jach (even to my works said yea)  
 des wunsches als ich wolte  
 und als ich wunschen solte Gerh 2945  
 nach des *Wunsches lère* (lore). Gerh. 4500  
 der *Wunsch mit sîner hende*  
 vor wandel (change, fault) hete sî getwagen (cleansed) Troj 1212  
 der *Wunsch* hât âne loughen (without lying, undeniably)  
 erzeiget an ir sîne *kraft*,  
 und sîner *kunste* meisterschaft  
 mit *vlîze* an ir bewert (carefully evinced in her) Troj 7569  
 der *Wunsch* hât in *gemachet* wandels vrî (free of fault) Troj 3154  
 der *Wunsch* der hete an sî geleit (gelegt, laid out, spent)  
 mâ *flîzes* denne ûf elliu wip (more pains than on any woman)  
 Troj 19620.  
 sô daz er niemer wîbes leben  
 fur sie *geschepfen* wolde baz (better),  
 dô *sîn gewalt* ir bilde *maz* (measured),  
 dô leit (legte) er an sie manec model Troj 19627  
 und hæte sîn der *Wunsch* gesworn,  
 er wolde bilden ein schœner wîp,  
 und *schepfen* alsô klâren lîp  
 als Hêlenâ mîn frouwe treit (tragt, bears)  
 er mueste brechen sînen eit (eid, oath)  
 wan er kunde niemer (for he could never),

und solte *bilden* iemer (were he to shape for ever),  
*gescheffen* wunneclicher fruht Troj 19526-32  
 ez hât ze sinem teile der *Wunsch* vergezzen niender Engelh 579  
 daz haete an si der *Wunsch* geleit Engelh 4703  
 der *Wunsch* der hete niht gespart  
 an ir die sine *meisterschaft*,  
 er hete sine beste *kraft*  
 mit ganzem *flîz* an sie geleit Der werlde lôn 84

Other poets personify too (not, however, Wolfram nor Gotfried)  
 der zweier kurtêsie  
 sich ze dem *Wunsche* het geweten,  
 si wâre niender ûz getreten Wigal 9246.  
 an ir schoene was wol schîn,  
 daz ir dei *Wunsch* gedâhte Wigal 9281  
 der *Wunsch* het sich *generget* in ir gewalt ibid 904.  
 in was der *Wunsch* bereit ib 10592.  
 des *Wunsches* *amîe* ib 7906 8735.  
 wen mohte dâ erlangen,  
 dâ der *Wunsch* *inne was* ib 10612  
 der *Wunsch* het si *gemachet sô*,  
 und ist ir ze *kinde vrô* Amûr 1338 (Pf 1343).  
 des *Wunsches* *ougenwerde* (food for the eye)  
 sit ir und mîner sâlden spil (are ye, and the play of my delight)  
 Wigal 8760 Amûr 1068 (Pf 1072)  
 si schepfet ûz des *Wunsches* *herlawdige* (holy water) Martina, 259  
 (diu hant) ist im grôz, lanc unde wîz,  
 zuo der het sich der *Wunsch* *gesellet* Turl Wh. 38<sup>a</sup>.  
 hie *stuont* (here stood) der *Wunsch* ib 137<sup>b</sup>  
 dar an lît (therein lieth) wol des *Wunsches* *vlîz* Tyrol E, 3  
 si ist des *Wunsches* hôtez *zûl* (highest mark or aim) Ms 1, 84<sup>a</sup>  
 sie ist der *Wunsch* ûf erde Ms 2, 100<sup>b</sup>  
 sie ist des *Wunsches* *ingesinde* (one of W's household) Ms 1, 6<sup>a</sup>  
 von ir scheitel ûf ir zêhen (from her crown to her toes)  
 sô ist niht an minneclichen wîden wan (save, but) des *Wunsches*  
*blûc* MsH. 3, 493<sup>a</sup>.  
 des *Wunsches* *bluete* sint entsprungen in mîne herzen. Fragm 45<sup>b</sup>  
 si trage des *Wunsches* *bîlde*. Ms 1, 191<sup>a</sup>  
 des *Wunsches* *krône* tragen. Docen misc. 2, 186.

sie hât des *Wunsches gewalt*. Amgb 31<sup>b</sup>  
 er was sô gai des *Wunsches kint*,  
 daz alle man gem (against, before) siner schoene wâren blint,  
 und doch menlich gestalt bi clârem velle (complexion) ;  
 der *Wunsch* im niht gebrechen liez (let nought be lacking)  
 dâ von man 's *Wunsches kint* den stolzen hiez (should call the  
 stately one) Lohengr ed Ruckert str 625.

The following is outside the bounds of MHG ·

an yr yst *Wensches* vlyt geleit Haupts zeitschr 3, 221

Mid Dutch poems have no personification *Wensch*, nor is there a *Wunsch* in the Nibelungen or Gudrun, but in Wolfdietrich 970 des *Wunsches* ein amfe' There must be many more instances, but the earliest one I know of is found in the Entekrist from the 12th century (Hoffm fundgr 2, 107)

mit Wunschis gewalte  
 segniti sie der alte.

With Wish's might  
 The old man blessed her

We see Wish provided with hands, power, looks, diligence, art, blossom, fruit, he creates, shapes, produces master-pieces, thinks, bows, swears, curses, is glad and angry, adopts as child, handmaid, friend · all such pretty-well stock phrases would scarcely have sprung up and lived in a poetry, in a language, if they did not unconsciously relate to a higher being, of whom earlier times had a livelier image, on such a basis indeed nearly all the personifications made use of by MHG poets seem to me to rest In the majority of our examples we might fairly put the name of God in the place of Wish, or that of Wish in the phrases quoted on pp 17-8, which describe the joyous or the angry God freudenvoll hât sie *Got* gegozzen, MS 1, 226<sup>b</sup>, der *Wunsch* maz ir bilde, as mezzen is said of God, p 23, and gebieten, to command, is just as technically applied to the one as to the other, p 24 The 'gramr er yör Oðinn,' p 137, might be rendered in MHG 'der Wunsch zurnet ir, fluochet ir,' meaning, the world is sick of you At times the poet seems to be in doubt, whether to say God or Wish · in the first passage from Gregor, Wish is subordinated, as a being of the second rank, so to speak, as a servant or messenger, to the superior god, the latter has to give him leave to assume his creative function, which in other cases he does of his own might. Again, when body, figure, hair are said to be 'like Wish,' it exactly reminds us of Homer's *κόμαι*

*Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι*, Π 17, 51, and *Χάριτες*, the Gratiae, creatresses of grace and beauty, play precisely the part of our Wish, even down to the circumstance, that in addition to the personal meaning, there is an abstract *χάρις*, gratia, as there is a wish<sup>1</sup> Puterich of Reicherzhausen (Haupts zeitschr. 6, 48) speaks of 'die wunsches fuesse' of a princess, the older phrase would have been 'ir fueze wâren dem Wunsche gelich'. It is a genuine bit of German heathenism to make this creative faculty reside in a god, and not, after the Greek fashion, in a female personage. And there are other features too, that point back to our native heathen eld. Wish's *auwe* and *herlwâc* can be matched by Phol's *ouwa* and *brunno*, or the meads and holywells of other gods, Wish's *crown* by that worn by gods and kings. And, most remarkable of all, Wish rejoices in his creature as in a *child*, here Woden's self comes upon the scene as patriarch or paterfamilias, before whom created men make their appearance like children, friends, domestics, and 'wunschint' is also used in the sense of an adopted, *ie* wished for, child<sup>2</sup>. Heribort 13330 makes Hecuba exclaim *ich hân einen sun verlorn*, er *gezæme gote ze kinde* (would suit God as a child), which does not mean in a christian sense, 'God has doubtless been pleased to take him to Himself,' but in a heathen sense, 'he was so lovely, he might be called Wish's child'. For the Noise Oðinn too has these marvellous children and wish-maidens in his train (see Suppl)<sup>3</sup>.

To the ON. *Osker* ought by rights to correspond an OHG *Wunsko*, *Wunsgo*, (weak decl), which I am not able to produce even as a man's name (see Suppl)<sup>4</sup>. A MHG *Wunsche* cannot be proved

<sup>1</sup> In many places it is doubtful, whether the poet meant *wish* or *Wish*. In Wolfram and Gotfried, who abstain from distinct personification, I always prefer the abstract interpretation, while Hartmann admits of both by turns. When we read in Parz 102, 30 *sî was gar ob dem wunsches zîl* (over wish's goal, beyond all that one could wish), the phrase borders close upon the above-quoted, '*sî ist des Wunsches hôstet zîl* (the highest that Wish ever created)', and it is but a step from 'mines wunsches paradis,' MS 2, 126<sup>a</sup>, to 'des Wunsches paradis' or 'ouwe'. So, 'dâ ist wunsch, und niender breste (here is one's wish, and nothing wanting),' MS 1, 88<sup>a</sup> = 'der Wunsch liez im niht gebrechen,' W left him nothing lacking (see Suppl).

<sup>2</sup> The Germ an-wunschen verbally translates the Lat ad-opto —TRANS

<sup>3</sup> That Wish was personified, and very boldly, by the christian poets, is abundantly proved. That he was ever believed in as a person, even in heathen times, is, to my thinking, far from clear. I believe some German scholars regard the notion as little better than a mare's nest —TRANS

<sup>4</sup> The name does occur later. Johannes dictus de (= der) *Wunsch*, Ch ann 1324 (Neue mitth des thur vereins I 4, 65). In the Oberhess' wochenblatt, Marburg 1830, p. 420, I read of a Joh *Wunsch* who is probably alive at this moment.

from Troj 3154 7569 19620 19726 (Strasz MS), both the metre and the strong gen in -es forbidding. But the whole idea may in the earliest times have taken far stronger root in South Germany than in Scandinavia, since the Edda tells next to nothing of Oski, while our poetry as late as the 15th century has so much to say of Wunsch. That it was not foreign to the North either, is plainly proved by the *Oskmeyjar* = *Wunschelfrauen*, wish-women, by the *Oskastenn*, a philosopher's stone connected with our *Wunschelrute*, wishing-rod, and Mercury's staff, by *Oskabyrr*, MHG *Wunschwinnt*, fair wind, by *Oskabiorn*, wish-bear, a sea-monster, all of which will be discussed more fully by and by. A fem proper name *Osk* occurs in a few places, what if the unaccountable *Oskopnir*, Sæm 188\*, were really to be explained as Osk-opnir? *Opnir*, *Ofnir*, we know, are epithets of Óðinn. Both word and meaning seem to grow in relevancy to our mythology, it is a stumbling-block indeed, that the AS remains furnish no contribution, even the simple *wûsc* (*optio*, *votum*) seeming to be rare, and only *wýscan* (*optare*) in common use, yet among the mythic heroes of Deira we meet with a *Wûscfred*, lord of Wish as it were, and to the Anglo-Saxons too this being may have merely become extinct, though previously well known (see Suppl.)

But to make up for it, their oldest poetry is still dimly conscious of another name of Wuotan, which again the Edda only mentions cursorily, though in Sæm 46<sup>b</sup> it speaks of *Oski* and *Omi* in a breath, and in 91<sup>b</sup> uses *Omi* once more for Óðinn. Now this *Omi* stands related to *ômr*, sonus, fragor, as the AS *wôma* to *wôm*, clamor, sonitus, I have quoted instances in Andr and El. pp xxx, xxxi, to which may now be added from the Cod exon *heofonwôma* 52, 18 62, 10, *dægiedwôma* 179, 24, *hildewôma* 250, 32 282, 15, *wiges wôma* 277, 5, *wintres wôma* 292, 22 in this last, the meaning of *hiemis impetus*, *fragor*, *furor*, is self-evident, and we see ourselves led up to the thought which antiquity connected with Wuotan himself out of this living god were evolved the abstractions *wuot* (*furor*), *wunsch* (*ideal*), *wôma* (*impetus*, *fragor*). The gracious and grace-bestowing god was at other times called the stormful, the terror-striking, who sends a thrill through nature, even so the ON has both an *Yggr* standing for Óðinn, and an *ygg* for terror. The AS *wôma* is no longer found as *Wôma*, in OHG. *wuomo* and *Wuomo* are alike unknown. Thorpe renders the



'heofonwôman' above in a local sense by 'heaven's corners,' I doubt if correctly, in both the passages *coeli fiagores* are meant. We may however imagine *Omi*, *Wôma* as an au-god, like the Hindu *Indras*, whose rush is heard in the sky at break of day, in the din of battle, and the tramp of the 'furious host' (see Suppl.)

Precisely as the souls of slain warriors arrive at *Indra's* heaven,<sup>1</sup> the victory-dispensing god of our ancestors takes up the heroes that fall in fight, into his fellowship, into his army, into his heavenly dwelling. Probably it has been the belief of all good men, that after death they would be admitted to a closer communion with deity. Dying is therefore, even according to the christian view, called *going to God*, turning home to God in AS *metodsceaft seon*, *Beow* 2360 *Cædm* 104,31. Or *seeking, visiting God*. OS *god suokran*, *Hel* 174,26, *fadar suokron*, *Hel* 143, 23, *upôdashêm, loht ôdar, smlîf, godes rîki suokran*, *Hel* 85, 21 17, 17 63, 14 137, 16 176, 5. In a like sense the Thracians, acc to *Herodotus* 4, 94, said *iévai παρὰ Ζάλμοξι (Τεβελείξι) δαίμονα*, which *Zalmoxis* or *Zamolxes* is held by *Jornandes* to be a deified king of the *Goths* (*Getae*). In the North, *faring to Oðinn, being guest with Oðinn, visiting Oðinn*, meant simply to die, *Fornald* sog 1, 118. 422-3 2, 366 and was synonymous with *faring to Valholl*, being guest at *Valholl*, *ib* 1, 106. Among the christians, these were turned into curses *far þú til Oðins! Oðins eign þik!* may *Oðin's* have thee (see Suppl.) Here is shown the inversion of the kindly being, with whom one fain would dwell, into an evil one,<sup>2</sup> whose abode inspires fear and dread. Further on, we shall exhibit more in detail the way in which *Wuotan* was pictured driving through the air at the head of the 'furious (wutende) host' named after him. *Valholl* (aula optionis) and *Valkyrja* obviously express the notion of wish and choice (*Germ* wahl, *Scotch* wale).

Of the peculiarities of figure and outward appearance of this god, which are brought out in such bold relief in the northern

<sup>1</sup> Bopp's *Nalas*, p 264

<sup>2</sup> So *Wuotan's* name of itself degenerates into the sense of fury (wut) and anger, the *Edda* has instances of it. In revenge he pricked *Brynhild* with the sleeping-thorn, *Sæm*. 194<sup>a</sup>, and she says *Oðinn því veldr, er ek eigi mattak bregða blunnstofom*. He breeds enmity and strife *einn veldr Oðinn ollu bolvi, þvíat með sífjungom sakrúnar bar*, *Sæm* 165<sup>b</sup>. inimicitias *Othinus* sent, *Saxo* gram p 142, as christians say of the devil, that he sows the seeds of discord *gíemr Oðins*, *Sæm* 151<sup>a</sup> (see Suppl.)

myths, I have found but few traces left among us in Germany. The Norse Óðinn is *one-eyed*, he wears a *broad hat* and *wide mantle* Grímnir í *feldr blám*, blue cloak, Sæm 40. í *hekklu grænnr ok blám brókum*, green cloak and blue breeks, Fornald sog 1, 324 *heklumaðr*, cloaked man, 1, 325 When he desired to drink of Mimi's fountain, he was obliged to leave one of his eyes in pawn, Sæm 4<sup>a</sup>, Sn 15<sup>1</sup> In Saxo, p 12, he appears as *grandaevus, altero orbus oculo*, p 37, *armipotens, uno semper contentus oculo*, p 138, *senex orbus oculis, hispidus amictu* So in the Sagas kom þar maðr *gamall*, miok orðspakr, *evnsýnn ok augdapi*, ok hafði hatt *síðan*, there came an old man, very word-wise, one-eyed and sad-eyed, and had a wide hat, Fornm sog 2, 138 hann hafir *hekklu flekkötta* yfir ser, sâ maðr var berfœttr ok hafði knýtt linbiðkum at beini, hann var hâr miok (very high), ok eldiligr ok *evnsýnn*, Fornald sog 1, 120 þa kom maðr í bardagann með *síðan hatt* ok *hekklu blâ*,<sup>2</sup> hann hafði *ett auga*, ok geir (spear) í hendi, ib 1, 145 þetta mun Óðinn *gamli* verit hafa, ok at visu var maðrinn *evnsýnn*, ib 1, 95. sâ hann mann mikinn með *síðun hetti*, ib 5, 250 með *hetti Hångatýss gânga*, cum cidari Odini incedere, Vígagl. saga, p 168. Othimus, *os pileo*, ne cultu proderetur, *obnubens*, Saxo Gram 44 An Eddic song already names him *Síðhotttr*, broad-hatted, Sæm 46<sup>b</sup>, and one saga merely *Hotttr*, hatted, Fornald sog 2, 25-6, conf Mülleis sagabibl 3, 142. Were it not for the name given him in the Grínnismâl, I should have supposed it was the intention of the christians to degrade the old god by mean clothing, or else that, wiapt in his mantle, he was trying to conceal himself from christians Have we a right here to bring in the *pileatr* of Jornandes? A saga in Saxo, p 12, tells prettily, how the *blind old* god takes up a protégé *in his cloak*, and carries him through the air, but Hading, peeping through a hole in the garment, observes that the horse is stepping over the sea-waves As for that *heklumaðr* of the hat with its rim turned up, he is our *Hakolberend* at the head of the wild host, who can at once be turned into a Gothic

<sup>1</sup> Conf Tritas in the fountain, Kuhn in Hofer 1, 290 Acc to the popular religion, you must not look into running water, because you look *into God's eye*, Tobler's Appenzel p 369<sup>b</sup>, neither must you point at the stars with your fingers, for fear of sticking them into the angels' eyes

<sup>2</sup> There is a Swed marchen of *Greymantle* (grakappan), Molbech 14, who, like Mary in German tales, *takes one up to heaven* and forbids the opening of a lock, Kinderm. 3, 407

*Hakulabatrands*, now that *hakuls* for *φελόνης* is found in 2 Tim iv 13—Swedish folk-tales picture Odin as *bald-headed*, Iduna 10, 231 In the ancient poetry he is *Harbarðr*, *Stögrani*, *Stöðskeggr*, all in allusion to his thick growth of hair and beard The name Redbeard I have elsewhere understood of Thor, but in Fornaldr sog 2, 239—257 the *Grani* and *Rauðgrani* are expressly Óðinn (see Suppl.)

The Noise myth arms Óðinn with a wonderful *spear* (*geir*), *Gúngnir* by name, Sæm 196 Sn 72, which I put on a par with the lance or sword of Mars, not the staff of Mercury. Sigmund's sword breaks, when he hacks at Óðinn's spear, Vols saga cap 11. He lends this spear to heroes to win victories with, Sæm 165 A remarkable passage in the Fornm sog 5, 250 says *seldi honum reyrsþjóta* (gave him the reeden spear) *í hond, ok bað hann skjóta honum yfir lið Styliarnar, ok þat skyldi hann mæla* Óðin á yðr alla' All the enemies over whom the spear he shoots shall fly, are doomed to death, and the shooter obtains the victory So too the Eyrbyggja saga p 228 þá skaut Steinþórr spjóti at *fornom síð til heilla* ser yfir flokk Snorra, where, it is true, nothing is said of the spear launched over the enemy being the god's Sæm 5\*, of Óðinn himself *fléigði ok í fólk um skaut* (see Suppl.)

To the god of victory are attached *two wolves* and *two ravens*, which, as combative courageous animals, follow the fight, and pounce upon the fallen corpses, Andr and El xxvi xxvii. The wolves are named *Geru* and *Freki*, Sn 42, and so late as in Hans Sachs (i 5, 499), we read in a schwank, that the Lord God has chosen *wolves* for his hounds, that they are his cattle The two ravens are *Huginn* and *Muninn*, from *hugr* (*animus, cogitatio*) and *munnr* (*mens*), they are not only brave, but cunning and wise, they *sit on the shoulders* of Óðinn, and whisper in his ear whatever they see and hear, Sæm 42<sup>b</sup> 88\* Sn 42 56 322 To the Greek Apollo too the *wolf* and *raven* were sacred,<sup>1</sup> his messenger the *raven* informed him when Korônís was unfaithful, and Aristeas accompanied him as a *raven*, Herod 4, 15, a *raven* is perched aloft on the mantle of Mithras the sun-god. The Gospels represent the Holy Ghost as a

<sup>1</sup> In Marc Cap. 1, 11, the words 'augurales vero alites ante currum Delio constiterunt,' are transl by Notker 37 *tô wâren garo ze Apollinîs reito sine wizegfogela, rabena unde albîsze* To Óðinn hawks are sometimes given instead of ravens Óðinn *hawkar* Sæm 167<sup>b</sup>

*dove* descending upon Christ at his baptism, Lu 3, 22, and resting upon him, *ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν*, *mansit super eum*, John 1, 32 'in Krist er síh gísaldaltá,' says O 1 25, 24, but Hel 30, 1 of the dove *sat in uppan* úses drohtines *ahslu* (our Lord's shoulder) Is this an echo of heathen thoughts? None of the Fathers have this circumstance, but in the Mid Ages there is talk enough about doves resting on shoulders,<sup>1</sup> and the dove, though frequently contrasted with the raven (which, like the wolf, the christians applied to the Evil one), may nevertheless be put in the place of it Oswald's *raven* flies to his *shoulder* and *arm*, 749 942 Oswald talks to it, 95-6, and kneels before it, 854 Conf Zingerle, Oswalt p 67 (see Suppl)<sup>2</sup>

Now under that figure of the bearded old man, Wuotan is apparently to be regarded as a water-sprite or water-god, answering well to the Latin name of *Neptunus* which some of the earlier writers put upon him (p 122) In ON he is *Hnikar*, *Hnikuðr*, *Nikarr*, *Nikuz*, and the hesitation between the two forms which in Sn 3 are expressly made optional—'Nikarr *eða* (or) *Nikuz*'—may arise from the diversity of old dialects *Nikarr* corresponds to the AS *Nīcor*, and *Nikuz* to OHG *Nichus*, the initial *Hn* seems to be ON alone On these I shall have more to say, when treating of water-sprites (see Suppl)—Another epithet of Óðinn is equally

<sup>1</sup> Gregor Nyssen encom Ephraemi relates, that when Basil the Great was preaching, Ephraem saw on his *right shoulder* a *white dove*, which put words of wisdom in his mouth Of Gregory the Great we read in Paul Diac, vita p 14, that when he was expounding the last vision of Ezekiel, a *white dove* sat upon his head, and now and then put its beak in his mouth, at which times he, the writer, got nothing for his stylus to put down, conf the narrative of a poet of the 12th cent, Hoffm. fundgr 2, 229, also Mvst 1 p 226-7 Augustine and Thomas Aquinas are portrayed with a *white dove* perched on their shoulders or hovering over their heads A nursery-tale (Kinderm no 33) makes *two doves* settle on the pope's shoulder, and tell him in his ear all that he has to do A *white dove* descends singing on the head of St Devy, and instructs him, Buhez santez Nonn Paris 1837, p 117 And on other occasions the dove flies down to make known the will of heaven No one will trace the story of Wuotan's ravens to these doves, still the coincidence is striking (see Suppl)

<sup>2</sup> There are said to have been found lately, in Denmark and Sweden, representations of Odín, which, if some rather strange reports are well-founded, ought to be made known without delay A ploughman at Boeslund in Zealand turned up two golden urns filled with ashes, on the lids is carved *Odín*, standing up, with two *ravens* on his shoulders, and the two *wolves* at his feet, Kunstbl 1843, no 19, p 80<sup>b</sup> Gold coins also were discovered near the village of Gomminga in Oeland, one of which represents Odín with the *ravens* on his shoulder, the reverse has runes; Kunstbl 1844, no 13, p 52<sup>a</sup>.

noticeable for its double form *Byflōðr* eða *Byflindi*, Sn 3, Sæm 46<sup>b</sup> has *Biblindi*. As *bif* (Germ *beben*) signifies motus, aer, aqua, the qualifying element, and the AS *liðe* is *lenis*, OHG *lindi*, ON *lindr* (for *lindr*), an AS *Bifliðe*, *Beofliðe*, OHG *Pepalindi*, might be suggested by the soft movement of the air, a very apt name for the all-penetrating god, but these forms, if they gave rise to the Norse term, are no longer found in AS or OHG. Wuotan's dominion both over the air and over the water explains, how it is that he walks on the waves, and comes rushing on the gale—It is Óðinn that sends wind to the ships, Fornm sog 2, 16, hence a good sailing wind is called *Óskabyrr*, Sæm 165<sup>b</sup>, *ie*, *Oskabyrr*, *byrr* is from *byrja*, OHG *purran*, to rise, be lifted up. It is in striking accord with this, that the MHG. poets use *wunschwind* in the same sense, Hartmann says, Greg 615

Dô sande in (to them) der sueze Krist  
den vil rehten wunschwind (see Suppl.)

But other attributes of Wuotan point more to *Hermes* and *Apollo*. He resembles the latter, in as much as from him proceed contagious diseases and their cure, any severe illness is the stroke of God, and Apollo's arrows scatter pestilence. The Gauls also imagined that Apollo drove away diseases (*Apollinem morbos depellere*, Caes. B. G. 6, 17), and Wôdan's magic alone can cure Balder's lamed horse. The raven on the god's shoulder exactly fits Apollo, and still more plainly the circumstance that Óðinn invented the poetic art, and Saga is his divine daughter, just as the Greek Muses, though daughters of Zeus, are under Apollo's protection, and in his train—On the other hand, writing and the alphabet were not invented by Apollo, but by *Hermes*. The Egyptian priests placed Hermes at the head of all inventions (*Iamblich de myst Aegypt* 8, 1), and *Theuth* or *Thoth* is said to have first discovered letters (*Plato's Phaedr.* 1, 96, Bekker), while, acc to Hygin fab 143, Hermes learnt them by watching the flight of cranes. In the AS dialogue between Saturn and Solomon, we read (Thorpe's anal. p. 100) 'saga me, hwâ ærôst bôcstafas sette?' 'ic the secge, *Mercurius se gygand*.' Another dialogue, entitled *Adrian and Epictus* (MS Brit. mus. Arund. no. 351 fol. 39) asks 'quis primus fecit literas?' and answers 'Seith, which is either a corruption of *Theuth*, or the *Seth* of the Bible. Just so the Eddic *Rûnatals þáttur* seems to ascribe the first teaching of runes to Óðinn, if we may so

interpret the words *nam ec upp rúnar*, Sæm 28<sup>a</sup> þær ofrêð, þær ofreist, þær ofhugði Hropr, *ie*, them Oðinn read out, cut out, thought out, Sæm 195<sup>b</sup> Also Snorri, Yngl cap 7 allar þessar ídróttir kendi hann með *rúnum ok liððum* Hincmar of Rheims attributes to Mercury the invention of dice-playing *sicut isti qui de denarius quasi joculari dicuntur, quod omnino diabolicum est, et, sicut legimus, primum diabolus hoc per Mercurium prodidit, unde et Mercurius inventor illius dicitur*, 1, 656 Conf Schol to Odyss 23, 198, and MS 2, 124<sup>b</sup> *der truvel schuof das wurfespil* Our folk-tales know something about this, they always make the devil play at cards, and entice others to play (see Suppl.)<sup>1</sup> When to this we add, that the wishing-rod, *ie*, Wish's staff, recalls Mercury's caducæus, and the wish-wives, *ie*, oskmeýjar, valkyrior, the occupation of the Psychopompos, we may fairly recognise an echo of the Gallic<sup>2</sup> or Germanic Mercury in the epithet *Trismegistos* (Lactantius 1 6, 3 vi 25, 10 *ter maximus Hermes* in Ausonius), which later poets, Romance and German, in the 12th and 13th centuries<sup>3</sup> transferred to a Sarracen deity *Termagan*,<sup>4</sup> *Tervagan*, *Tervigant*, *Terviant*. Moreover, when Hermes and Mercury are described as dator bonorum, and the Slavs again call the same god Dobro-pán (p 130, note), as if mercis dominus, it is worth noticing, that the Misnere Amgb 42<sup>a</sup>, in enumerating all the planets, singles out Mercury to invoke in the words *Nu hálfr mör, daz mör sælde wache! schin er mör ze gelucke, noch sô kum ich wider ûf der sælden phat (pfad)* Just so I find Odin invoked in Swedish popular songs. *Hjelp nu, Oden Asagrim!* Svenska fornsånger 1, 11 *hjelp mig Othin!* 1, 69 To this god first and foremost the people turned when in distress, I suppose he is called Asagrim, because among the Ases he bore the name of Grímnir?

<sup>1</sup> Reusch, sagen des preuss Samlands, no 11 29

<sup>2</sup> In the Old British mythology there appears a *Gwydion ab Don*, G son of Don, whom Davies (Celtic researches pp 168, 174 Brit myth p 118, 204, 263-4, 353, 429, 504, 541) identifies with Hermes, he invented writing, practised magic, and built the rainbow, the milky way was named caer Gwydion, G's castle (Owen, sub v) The British antiquaries say nothing of Woden, yet *Gwydion* seems near of kin to the above *Gwoden* = Woden So the Irish name for dies Mercurii, dia *Geden*, whether modelled on the Engl Wednesday or not, leads us to the form Goden, Gwoden (see Suppl.)

<sup>3</sup> Even nursery-tales of the present time speak of a *groszmachtige Mercurius*, Kinderm no 99 2, 86

<sup>4</sup> This *Termagan*, *Termagant* occurs especially in O Engl poems, and may have to do with the Irish tormac augmentum, tormacaum augere

It is therefore not without significance, that also the *wanderings* of the Herald of gods among men, in whose hovels he now and then takes up his lodging, are paralleled especially by those of *Oðinn* and *Hœnir*, or, in christian guise, of *God* and *St Peter*

Our olden times tell of Wuotan's wanderings, his waggon, his way, his retinue (duce Mercurio, p 128)—We know that in the very earliest ages the seven stars forming the Bear in the northern sky were thought of as a four-wheeled *waggon*, its pole being formed by the three stars that hang downwards

Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ ἄμα ξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν Π 18, 487  
Od 5, 273 So in OHG glosses *ursa wagen*, Jun 304, in MHG *himmelwagen*, Walth 54, 3<sup>1</sup> *herwagen* Wackern lb 1 772, 26  
The clearest explanation is given by Notker cap 64 Selbru *ursa* ist pī demo norde mannelichemo zeichenhaftu fone dien sibem glatēn sternōn, die allēr der lūt *wagen* heizet, unde nāh einemo gloccun joche<sup>2</sup> gescaffen sint, unde ebenmichel sint, āne (except) des mittellōsten The Anglo-Saxons called the constellation *wænes bīsl* (waggon's thill, pole), or simply *bīsl*, but *carles wæn* also is quoted in Lye, the Engl *charles warr*, Dan *karlsvogn*, Swed *karlwagn* Is carl here equivalent to lord, as we have *herrenwagen* in the same sense<sup>2</sup> or is it a transference to the famous king of christian legend<sup>2</sup> But, what concerns us here, the constellation appears to have borne in heathen times the full name of *Wuotanes wagan*, after the highest god of heaven. The Dutch language has evidence of this in a MS of as late as 1470 ende de poeten in heure fablen heetend (the constell) ourse, dat is te segghene *Woenswaghen* And elsewhere dar dīt teekin Arcturus, dat wy heeten *Woonswaghen*, up staet, het sevenstarre ofde *Woenswaghen*, conf Huydec proeven 1, 24 I have nowhere met with *plaustrum Mercuri*, nor with an ON *Oðins vagn*, only *vagn á himnum*

It is a question, whether the great open highway in heaven—to which people long attached a peculiar sense of sacredness, and perhaps allowed this to eclipse the older fancy of a 'milky way' (caer Gwydion, p 150)—was not in some districts called *Wuotanes wec* or *strāza* (way or street) *Wōdenesweg*, as the name of a place, stood its ground in Lower Saxony, in the case of a village near Magdeburg, Ch ad ann 973 in Zeitschr fur archivk 2, 349, an

<sup>1</sup> Septentrion, que nos *char el ciel* apelon, Roman de Rou

<sup>2</sup> Crossbeam, such as bells (glocken) are suspended on, conf ans, ās, p 125

older doc of 937 is said to have *Watanesweg* (conf Wiggert in the Neu mitth des thur vereins VI 2, 22) praedium in *Wôdeneswege*, Dietm Merseb 2, 14 p 750 Annal Saxo 272 Johannes de *Wden-swege*, Henricus de *Wôdensweghe* (Lenz) Brandenb urk p 74 (anno 1273), 161 (anno 1301) later, *Wutenswege*, *Godenschwege*, *Gutenswegen*, conf Ledebur n arch 2, 165, 170 Gero ex familia *Wodenswegnorum*, Ann Magdeb in chron Marienthal Meibom 3, 263 I would mention here the lustration der *konninges strate*, RA 69, in the Uplandslag vidheib balkr 23, 7 the highway is called *karlsveg*, like the heavenly wain above But we shall have to raise a doubt by and by, whether the notion of *way*, *via*, is contained at all in *Wodensweg*

Plainer, and more to the purpose, appear the names of certain mountains, which in heathen times were sacred to the service of the god At *Sigtys berg*, Sæm 248<sup>a</sup> *Othensberg*, now *Onsberg*, on the Danish I of Samsoe, *Odensberg* in Schonen Godesberg near Bonn, in docs of Mid Ages *Gudenesberg*, Gunther 1, 211 (anno 1131), 1, 274 (anno 1143), 2, 345 (anno 1265); and before that, *Wôdenesberg*, Lacomblet 97 117, annis 947, 974 So early as in Caesarius heisterb 8, 46 the two forms are put together *Gudinsberg* vel, ut alii dicunt, *Wudinsberg* Near the holy oak in Hesse, which Boniface brought down, there stood a *Wuodenesberg*, still so named in a doc of 1154 (Schminke beschr von Cassel, p. 30, conf Wenk 3, 79), later *Vdenesberg*, *Gudensberg*, this hill is not to be confounded with *Gudensberg* by Erkshausen, district Rotenburg (Niederhess wochenbl 1830, p 1296), nor with a *Gudenberg* by Oberelsungen and Zierenberg (ib p 1219 Rommel 2, 64 *Gudenburg* by Landau, p 212), so that three mountains of this name occur in Lower Hesse alone, conf 'montem Vodinberg, cum silva eidem monti attinente,' doc of 1265 in Wenk II, no 174 In a different neighbourhood, a Henricus comes de *Wôdenesberg* is named in a doc of 1130, Wedekind's notes 1, 367, a curtis *Wôdenesberg* in a doc of 973, Falke tradit corb 534 *Gotansberg* (anno 1275), Langs reg 3, 471 vineas duas *gotansberge* vocatas Mabillon's acta Bened sec 5, p 208 contain the following 'in loco ubi mons quem dicunt Wonesberth (l. *Wônesberch* = *Wôdanesberg*) a radicibus astra petit,' said to be situate in pagus Gandavensis, but more correctly Mt Ardenghen between Boulogne and St Omer Comes *Wadanmontis*, aft Vaudemont in Lorraine (Don Calmet, tome 2,



preuves XLVIII L), seems to be the same, and to mean *Wodanmons*<sup>1</sup> A *Wôdnes beorg* in the Sax Chron (Ingram pp 27 62), later *Wodnesborough*, *Wansborough* in Wiltshire, the corruption already in Ethelwerd p 835 'facta ruina magna ex utraque parte in loco qui dicitur *Wodnesbyrg*' for Wodnesberg, but Florence, ed 1592, p 225, has '*Wodnesbeorh*, id est mons Woden'<sup>2</sup> A *Wôdnesbeorg* in Lappenberg's map near the Bearucwudu, conf *Wodnesbury*, *Wodnesdyke*, *Wôdanesfeld* in Lappenb engl gesch 1,131 258 354 To this we must add, that about the Hessian Gudensberg the story goes that King Charles lies prisoned in it, that he there won a victory over the Saxons, and opened a well in the wood for his thirsting army, but he will yet come forth of the mountain, he and his host, at the appointed time The mythus of a victorious army pining for water is already applied to King Carl by the Frankish annalists (Pertz 1, 150 348), at the very moment when they bring out the destruction of the Irminsûl, but beyond a doubt it is older and heathen Saxo Gram 42 has it of the victorious Balder The agreement of such legends with fixed points in the ancient cultus cannot but heighten and confirm their significance A people whose faith is falling to pieces, will save here and there a fragment of it, by fixing it on a new and unpersecuted object of veneration After such numerous instances of ancient Woden-hills, one need not be afraid to claim a *mons Mercurii* when mentioned in Latin annalists, such as Fredegar

Other names occur, besides those of mountains The breviarum Lullh, in Wenk II no 12, names a place in Thuringia 'in *Wudaneshusun*,' and again *Woteneshusun* (conf Schannat no 84 105), in Oldenburg there is a *Wodensholt*, now Godensholt, cited in a land-book of 1428, Ehrentraut Fries arch 1, 445 'to Wodensholte Tideke Tammen gut x schillinge', *Wothenouwer* (Wôdenôver<sup>2</sup>), seat of a Brandenburg family, Hofers urk p 270, anno 1334, not far from Bergen op Zoom and the Scheldt, towards Antwerp, stands to this day a *Woensdrecht*, as if Wodan trajectum *Woensel* = Wodenssele, Wodan aula, lies near Eindhoven on the

<sup>1</sup> We know of Graisivaudan, a valley near Grenoble in Dauphiné, for which the Titarel has Graswaldane, but there is no ground for connecting it with the god

<sup>2</sup> Our present -borough, -bury, stands both correctly for *burh*, *byrig*, castle, town (Germ burg), and incorrectly for the lost *beorg*, *beorh*, mountain (Germ berg).—TRANS

Dommel in N Brabant, a remarkable passage on it in Gramaye's Taxandria, p 23, was pointed out to me by J. W. Wolf Imo amplius supersunt aperte Cymbricorum deorum pagis aliquot, ubi forte culti erant, indita nomina, nominatim Mercurii in *Woensel*, honoris in *Eiysel*, Martis in *Royssel* Uti enim Woen Mercurium eis dictum alias docui, et eer honorem esse omnes sciunt, ita Roy Martem a colore sanguineo cognominatum ostendunt illi qui tertiam hebdomadis feriam Roydach indigitant. In due time I shall speak of Eiysel and Royssel, which lie in the neighbourhood of Woensel, and all of them in the N Brabant district of Oirschot This Woensel is like the Oðinssalr, Othansale, Onsala named on p 158 *Wunstorp*, Wunsdorf, a convent and small town in Lower Saxony, stands unmutilated as *Wodenstorp* in a doc of 1179, Falke tradit corb 770 Near Windbergen in the Ditmar country, an open space in a wood bears the name of *Wodenslag*, *Wonslag* Near Hadersleben in Schleswig are the villages of *Wonsbeke*, *Wonsler*, *Woyens* formerly *Wodensyen* An AS doc of 862 (Kemble 2, 73) contains in a boundary-settlement the name *Wónstoc* = *Wódenesstoc*, Wodani stipes, and at the same time betrays the influence of the god on ancient delimitation Wuotan, Hermes, Mercury, all seem to be divinities of measurement and demarcation, conf *Woodensspanne*, *Woenslet*, p 160 (see Suppl).

As these names, denoting the waggon and the mountain of the old god, have survived chiefly in Lower Germany, where heathenism maintained itself longest, a remarkable custom of the people in Lower Saxony at harvest-time points the same way. It is usual to leave a clump of standing corn in a field to *Woden for his horse* Oðinn in the Edda rides the eight-footed steed *Sleipnir*, the best of all horses, Sæm 46<sup>a</sup> 93<sup>b</sup> Sn 18 45. 65 *Sleipnis verðr* (food) is a poetic name for hay, Yngl saga cap 21 other sagas speak of a tall *white horse*, by which the god of victory might be recognised in battles (see Suppl) Christianity has not entirely rooted out the harmless practice for the Norse any more than for the Saxon peasant In Schonen and Blekingen it continued for a long time to be the custom for reapers to leave on the field a gift *for Oden's horses*<sup>1</sup> The usage in Mecklenburg is thus described by Gryse.

<sup>1</sup> Geyers schwed gesch 1, 110. orig 1, 123 In the Hogrumssocken, Oeland, are some large stones named *Oðins flisor*, Oðni lamellae, of which the

Ja, im heidendom hebben tor tid der arne (at harvest-tide) de meiers (mowers) dem afgade *Woden* umme god korn angeropen (invoked for good corn), denn wenn de roggenarne geendet, heft men up den lesten platz eins idern (each) veldes einen kleinen ord unde humpel korns unaufgemeiet stan laten, datsulve baven (b' oben, a-b'ove) an den aren drevoldigen to samende geschortet, unde besprenget (ears festooned together three times, and sprinkled) Alle meiers sin darumme her getreden, *ene hode* (their hats) *vam koppe genamen* (v. supra, p 32), unde ere seisen (scythes) na der sulven wode [mode ?] unde geschrenke (encircling) dem kornbusche upgerichtet, und hebben den *Wodenduvel* dremal semplik lud averall also angeropen unde gebeden

*Wode*, hale (fetch) *dinem rosse* nu voder,  
nu distil unde dorn,  
tom andein jar beter korn !

welker afgodischer gebruk im Pawestom gebleven. Daher denn ok noch an dissen orden dar heiden gewanet, bi etliken ackerluden (-leuten, men) solker aveigelovischer gebruk in anropinge des *Woden* tor tid der arne gesporet werd, und ok oft desulve *helsche jeger* (the same hellish hunter), sonderliken im winter, des nachtes up dem velde mit sinen jagethunden sik horen let <sup>1</sup>

David Franck (Meklenb 1, 56-7), who has heard the same from old people, quotes the rhyme thus

story is told, that Odin, in turning his horse out to graze, took the bit off him and laid it on a huge block of stone, the weight of the bit split the stone into two pieces, which were set upright as a memorial. Another story is, that *Oden* was about to fight an adversary, and knew not where to *tie his horse up*. In the hurry he ran to the stone, pierced it with his sword, and tied his horse fast through the hole. But the horse broke loose, the stone burst in pieces and rolled away, and from this arose the deep bog named Hogrumstrask, people have tied poles together, but never could reach the bottom. Abrah Ahlquist, Oelands historia, Calmar 1822 1, 37 2, 212. There is a picture of the stones in Liliengren och Brunus, no xviii. In the Hogbyssocken of Oeland is also a smooth block of granite named *Odinssten*, on which, acc to the folk-tale, the warriors of old, when marching to battle, used to whet their swords, Ahlquist 2, 79. These legends confirm the special importance of *Odin's horse* in his mythus. Verelii notae on the Gautrekssaga p 40 quote from the Clavis computi runici: '*Odin beter hesta, sina i belg bunden*,' which I do not quite understand. In the Fornm sog 9, 55-6 *Öðinn* has his *horse* shod at a black-smith's, and rides away by enormous leaps to Sweden, where a war breaks out (see Suppl.)

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel des antichristischen pawestdoms (popery) dorch Nicolaum Gysen, predigern in Rostock, Rost 1593 4, sheet E iii<sup>b</sup>. With the versés cited by him, conf the formula in weisthümer. Let it lie fallow one year, and bear *thistle and thorn* the next.

*Wode, Wode,*  
 hal dinen rosse nu voder,  
 nu distel un dorn,  
 achter jar beter korn !

He adds, that at the squires' mansions, when the rye is all cut, there is *Wodel-beer* served out to the mowers, no one weeds flax on a *Wodenstag*, lest *Woden's horse* should trample the seeds, from Christmas to Twelfth-day they will not spin, nor leave any flax on the distaff, and to the question why ? they answer, *Wode* is galloping across. We are expressly told, this wild hunter *Wode* rides a *white horse*<sup>1</sup>. Near Satuna in Vestergotland are some fine meadows called *Onsangarne* (Odens angars, ings), in which the god's *horses* are said to have *grazed*, Afzelius 1, 4. In S Germany they tell of the lord of the castle's *grazing gray* (or white), Mone anz 3, 259, v infra, the 'wutende heer'. I have been told, that in the neighbourhood of Kloppenburg in Oldenburg, the harvesters leave a bunch of corn-stalks uncut on the field, and dance round it. There may be a rhyme sung over it still, no doubt there was formerly.

A custom in Schaumburg I find thus described.<sup>2</sup> the people go out to mow in parties of twelve, sixteen or twenty scythes, but it is so managed, that on the last day of harvest they all finish at the same time, or some leave a strip standing which they can cut down at a stroke the last thing, or they merely pass their scythes over the stubble, pretending there is still some left to mow. At the last stroke of the scythe they raise their implements aloft, plant them upright, and beat the blades three times with the strop. Each spills on the field a little of the drink he has, whether beer, brandy, or milk, then drinks himself, while they wave their hats, beat their scythes three times, and cry aloud *Wôld, Wôld, Wôld !* and the women knock all the crumbs out of their baskets on the stubble. They march home shouting and singing. Fifty years ago a song was in use, which has now died out, but whose first strophe ran thus :

*Wôld, Wôld, Wôld !*  
 havenhune weit wat schut,  
 jumm hei dal van haven sut.

<sup>1</sup> Mussaus meklenb volkssagen no 5 ; in Lisch meklenb jahrb 2, 133 it is spelt *Waud*, and a note is made, that on the Elbe they say *fruh Wod*, & *e frôho*, lord, conf infra, fru Gaue and fru Gauden in the 'wutende heer'.

<sup>2</sup> By Munchhausen in Bragur VI 1, 21—34.

Vulle kruken un sangen hat hei,  
 upen holte wasst (grows) manngerlei .  
 hei is nig barn un wert nig old  
*Wôld, Wôld, Wôld !*

If the ceremony be omitted, the next year will bring bad crops of hay and corn

Probably, beside the libation, there was corn left standing for the venerated being, as the fourth line gives us to understand 'full crocks and *shocks* hath he', and the second strophe may have brought in his horse. 'Heaven's giant knows what happens, ever he down from heaven sees,' accords with the old belief in Wuotan's chair (p 135), the sixth line touches off the god that 'ne'er is born and ne'er grows old' almost too theosophically *Wôld*, though excused by the rhyme, seems a corruption of *Wôd*, *Wôde*,<sup>1</sup> rather than a contraction from *waldand* (v supra, p 21) A Schaumburg man pronounced the name to me as *Wauden*, and related as follows On the lake of Steinhude, the lads from the village of Steinhude go every autumn after harvest, to a hill named Heidenhugel, light a fire on it, and when it blazes high, wave their hats and cry *Wauden, Wauden !* (see Suppl )

Such customs reveal to us the generosity of the olden time Man has no wish to keep all his increase to himself, he gratefully leaves a portion to the gods, who will in future also protect his crops. Avarice increased when sacrificing ceased Ears of corn are set apart and offered here to Wuotan, as elsewhere to kind spirits and elves, *eg*, to the brownies of Scotland (see Suppl to *Elves*, pixy-hoarding).

It was not Wuotan exclusively that bestowed fertility on the fields, Donar, and his mother the Earth, stood in still closer connexion with agriculture We shall see that goddess put in the place of Wuotan in exactly similar harvest-ceremonies

In what countries the worship of the god endured the longest, may be learnt from the names of places which are compounded with his name, because the site was sacred to him It is very unlikely that they should be due to men bearing the same name as the god, instead of to the god himself, Wuotan, Oðinn, as a man's

<sup>1</sup> Conf Dutch oud, goud for old, gold, so Woude, which approximates the form Wôde Have we the latter in 'Theodericus de *Wodestede*'? Scheidt's mantissa p 433, anno 1205

name, does occur, but not often, and the meaning of the second half of the compounds, and their reappearance in various regions, are altogether in favour of their being attributable to the god. From Lower Germany and Hesse, I have cited (p 151) *Wódenesweg*, *Wódenesberg*, *Wódenesholt*, *Wódeneshúlsun*, and on the Jutish border *Wonsild*, from the Netherlands *Woensdrecht*, in Upper Germany such names hardly show themselves at all<sup>1</sup>. In England we find *Woodnesboro'* in Kent, near Sandwich *Wednesbury* and *Wednesfield* in Staffordshire, *Wednesham* in Cheshire, called *Wodnesfield* in Ethelwerd p 848<sup>2</sup>. But their number is more considerable in Scandinavia, where heathenism was preserved longer. and if in Denmark and the Gothland portion of Sweden they occur more frequently than in Norway and Sweden proper, I infer from this a preponderance of Odin-worship in South Scandinavia. The chief town in the I of Funen (Fion) was named *Odinsve* (Fornm sog 11, 266 281) from *ve*, a sanctuary, sometimes also *Odinsey* (ib 230 352) from *ey*, island, meadow, and later again *Odense*, and in Waldemar's *Liber censualis*<sup>3</sup> 530 542 *Othanso*. In Lower Norway, close to Frederikstad, a second *Odinsey* (Heimskr. ed. Havn 4, 348 398), aft called *Onso*. In Jutland, *Othanshylla* (-huld, grace, Wald lib cens 519), aft *Onsild* *Othanslef* (Othim reliquiae, leavings, ib 526), now *Onslev*. In Halland, *Othansale* (-saal, hall, ib 533), now *Onsala* (Tuneld's geogr 2, 492 504), as well as in Old Norway an *Odhinssalr* (conf Woensel in Brabant, Woenssele<sup>2</sup>). In Schonen, *Othansharet* (Wald lib cens 528), *Othensharat* (Bring 2, 62 138 142),<sup>4</sup> now *Onsjo* (Tuneld 2, 397); *Onslunda* (-grove, Tuneld 2, 449), *Othensvara* (Bring 2, 46-7, Othenvara 39), *Othenstroo* (Bring 2, 48), from *vara*, foedus, and *tro*, fides<sup>2</sup>. In Småland, *Odensvalahult* (Tuneld 2, 146) and *Odensjo* (2, 109 147 Sjoborg forsok p 61). In Ostergotland, *Odenfors* (Tuneld 2, 72). In Vestergotland, *Odenskulla* (2, 284) and *Odenskalla* (2, 264), a medicinal spring, *Odensåler*, *Onsåker* (-acre, field, 2, 204 253). In

<sup>1</sup> An *Odensberg* in the Mark of Bibelnheim (now Biebesheim below Gernsheim in Darmstadt) is named in a doc of 1403 Chmels reg Ruperti p. 204, the form *Wodensberg* would look more trustworthy.

<sup>2</sup> If numbers be an object, I fancy the English contribution might be swelled by looking up in a gazetteer the names beginning with *Wans*-, *Wens*-, *Wadden*-, *Weddin*-, *Wad*-, *Wed*-, *Wood*-, *Wam*-, *Wem*-, *Wom*-. —TRANS

<sup>3</sup> Langebek script tom 7.

<sup>4</sup> Sven Bring, *monumenta Scanensia*, vol 2, Lond goth. 1748.

Westmanland, *Odensvi* (1, 266 conf Grau, p 427),<sup>1</sup> like the Odinsve of Funen, and our Lower Saxon Wodeneswege may have to do with this *ve* (not with weg, via), and be explained by the old *weg, wih*, templum (see p 67) This becomes the more credible, as there occurs in the Cod. exon 341, 28 the remarkable sentence

*Wôden worhte weos, wuldor alwealda*  
rûme roderas,

*ie*, Wôden construxit, creavit fana (idola), Deus omnipotens amplos coelos, the christian writer had in his recollection the heathen sanctuaries assigned to Wôden, and contrasts with them the greater creations of God. The plur. weos is easily justified, as *wih* is resolved into *weoh*, and *weohas* contracted into *weos*, so that an AS. Wôdenesweoh would exactly fit the OS Wôdanesweg = Wôdaneswih, and the ON Oðinsve. Also in Westmanland, an *Odensjo* (Grau p. 502) In Upland, *Odensala* (Tuneld 1, 56), *Odensfors* (1, 144), *Onsike* (1, 144) In Nerike, *Odensbacke* (1, 240), (see Suppl.).

It seemed needful here to group the most important of these names together, and no doubt there are many others which have escaped me,<sup>2</sup> in their very multitude, as well as the similarity or identity of their structure, lies the full proof of their significance. Few, or isolated, they might have been suspected, and explained otherwise, taken together, they are incontestable evidence of the wide diffusion of Odin's worship.

Herbs and plants do not seem to have been named after this god. In Brun's beitr, p 54, *wodesterne* is given as the name of a plant, but we ought first to see it in a distincter form. The Icelanders and Danes however call a small waterfowl (*tinga minima, inquieta, lacustris et natans*) *Oðrinskanr*, *Odenshane*, *Odens fugl*, which fits in with the belief, brought out on p 147, in birds consecrated to him. An OHG gloss (Haupts altd bl 2, 212) supplies a doubtful-looking *vtinswaluwe*, *fulica* (see Suppl.)

Even a part of the human body was named after the god the

<sup>1</sup> Olof Grau, beskrifning öfver Wastmanland. Wasterås 1754. conf Dybeck runa I 3, 41.

<sup>2</sup> There are some in Finn. Magnusen's lex. myth. 648, but I do not agree with him in including the H. Germ. names Odenwald, Odenheim, which lack the HG. form Wuotan and the -s of the genitive, nor the Finn. Odenpa, which means rather bear's head.

space between the thumb and the forefinger when stretched out, which the Greeks name *λῦγός*, was called in the Netherlands *Woedensspanne*, *Woedenspanne*, *Woenslet*. The thumb was sacred, and even worshipped as thumbkin and Pollux = pollex, Wodan was the god of play, and lucky men were said to have the game running on their thumb. We must await further disclosures about the name, its purport, and the superstition lying at the bottom of it (see Suppl.)

I started with assuming that the worship of this divinity was common to all the Teutonic races, and foreign to none, just because we must recognise him as the most universal and the supreme one Wuotan—so far as we have succeeded in gleaning from the relics of the old religion an idea of his being—Wuotan is the most intellectual god of our antiquity, he shines out above all the other gods, and therefore the Latin writers, when they speak of the German cultus, are always prompted to make mention first of Mercury.

We know that not only the Norsemen, but the Saxons, Thuringians, Alamanns and Langobards worshipped this deity, why should Franks, Goths, and the rest be excluded from his service?

At the same time there are plain indications that his worship was not always and everywhere the dominant one. In the South of Germany, although the personification of Wisd maintained its ground, Wuotan became extinct sooner than in the North; neither names of places, nor that of the fourth day of the week, have preserved him there. Among the Scandinavians, the Swedes and Norwegians seem to have been less devoted to him than the Gotlanders and Danes. The ON sagas several times mention images of Thor, never one of Oðinn, only Saxo Gram does so in an altogether mythical way (p. 113), Adam of Bremen, though he names Wodan among the Upsala gods, assigns but the second place to him, and the first to Thor. Later still, the worship of Freyr seems to have predominated in Sweden.

An addition to the St Olaf saga, though made at a later time, furnishes a striking statement about the heathen gods whom the introduction of christianity overthrew. I will quote it here, intending to return to it from time to time: 'Olafr konúngur kristnaði þetta ríki allt, öll blót braut hann mörk ok öll goð, sem



Thôr Engilsmanne goð, ok *Oðin* Saxa goð, ok Skiold Skânûnga goð, ok Fiey Svía goð, ok Goðorm Dana goð', *ie* king O christened all this kingdom, broke down all sacrifices and all gods, as Thor the Englishmen's god, Oðin the Saxons' god, &c, Fornm sog 5, 239 — This need not be taken too strictly, but it seems to me to express the still abiding recollections of the old national gods as the Swedes preferred Freyr, so probably did the Saxons Wôden, to all other deities. Why, I wonder, did the writer, doubtless a Norwegian, omit the favourite god of his own countrymen? To them he ought to have given Thor, instead of to the English, who, like other Saxons, were votaries of Wôden.

Meanwhile it must not be overlooked, that in the Abrenuntiatio, an 8th century document, not purely Saxon, yet Low German, O Frankish and perhaps Ripuarian, *Thunar* is named before *Wuodan*, and *Saxnôt* occupies the third place. From this it follows at all events, that the worship of Thunar also prevailed in those regions, may we still vindicate Wuodan's claims to the highest place by supposing that the three gods are here named in the order in which their statues were placed side by side? that Wuodan, as the greatest of them, stood *in the middle*? as, according to Adam of Bremen, Thor did at Upsala, with *Wodan* and *Fricco* on each side of him.

In the ON sagas, when *two* of these gods are named together, Thôrr usually precedes Oðinn. The Laxdælasaga, p 174, says of Kriatan. At hann þykist eiga meira traust undir afli sínu ok vâpnum (put more trust in his strength and weapons, conf pp 6, 7) heldr enn þar sem er *Thôrr* ok *Oðinn*. The same passage is repeated in Fornm sog 2, 34. Again, Eyvindr relates how his parents made a vow before his birth. At sâ maðr skal alt til dauðadags þjóna *Thôr* ok *Oðni* (this man shall until death-day serve, &c.), Fornm. sog 2, 161<sup>1</sup>. But it does not follow from this, that Thôrr was thought the greatest, for Eyvindr was actually dedicated to Oðinn. In Fornm sog 5, 249, Styrbjorn sacrifices to Thôrr, and Euekr to Oðinn, but the former is beaten. *Thôrr* tók

<sup>1</sup> So in an AS homily De temporebûs Antichristi, in Wheloc's Bede p 495, are enumerated '*Thor* and *Eoðwen*, þe hæðene men heriað swiðe', and before that, '*Errulus* se ent (*Hercules gigas*) and *Apollinus* (*Apollo*), þe hi mærne god lēton'. The preacher was thinking of the Greek and the Norse deities, not of the Saxon, or he would have said Thunor and Wôden. And in other cases, where distinctly Norse gods are meant, AS writers use the Norse form of name. F. Magnusens lex. p 919.

jolaveizlu frá Haraldi, enn *Oðinn* tók fiá Hálfdân, Fornm sog 10, 178. In the popular assembly at Thrândheim, the first cup is drunk to *Oðinn*, the second to *Thórr*, *ibid* 1, 35. In the famous Biavalla fight, *Othin* under the name of Bruno acts as charioteer to the Danish king Harald, and to the latter's destruction, on the Swedish side there fight descendants of *Freyr*, Saxo Gram. 144-7. Yet the Eddic Harbarzloð seems to place *Oðinn* above *Thórr*. A contrast between *Oðinn* and *Thórr* is brought out strongly in the Gautrekssaga quoted below, ch XXVIII. But, since *Thórr* is represented as *Oðin's* son, as a rejuvenescence of him, the two must often resolve into one another<sup>1</sup>.

If the *three* mightiest gods are named, I find *Oðinn* foremost *Oðinn*, *Thór*, *Freyr*, Sn edda 131. According to Fornm sog 1, 16, voyagers vow money and three casks of ale to *Freyr*, if a fair wind shall carry them to Sweden, but to *Thórr* or *Oðinn*, if it bring them home to Iceland (see Suppl.)

It is a different thing, when *Oðinn* in ON documents is styled *Thunr*, the third,<sup>2</sup> in that case he appears not by the side of *Thórr* and *Freyr*, but by the side of *Hár* and *Íafnhár* (the high and the even-high or co-equal, OHG epan hôh) as the *Thunr High*<sup>3</sup> (see Suppl.), Sn 7. Yngl saga 52. Sæm 46<sup>a</sup>. As we might imagine, the grade varies: at other times he is *Tveggi* (duplex or secundus). Again, in a different relation he appears with his brothers *Vili* and *Ve*, Sn. 7, with *Hœnir* and *Loðr*, Sæm 3<sup>b</sup>, or with *Hœnir* and *Loki*, Sæm. 180. Sn 135, all this rests upon older myths, which, as peculiar to the North, we leave on one side. Yet, with respect to the trilogy *Oðinn*, *Vili*, *Ve*, we must not omit to mention here, that the OHG. *willo* expresses not only voluntas, but votum, impetus and spiritus,<sup>4</sup> and the Gothic *viljan*, velle, is closely connected with *valjan*, eligere, whence it is easy to conceive and

<sup>1</sup> When *Oðinn* is called *Thunr* in the songs of the Edda, Sæm 28<sup>b</sup> 47<sup>b</sup>, this may be derived from a lost *þynja* = AS *þunian*, tonare, and so be equivalent to Donar, it is true, they explain *pundr* as loricated, from *pund* lorica. But Wuotan, as *Vöma*, is the noise of the rushing air, and we saw him hurl the cudgel, as *Thórr* does the hammer.

<sup>2</sup> As Zeus also is *τρίτος*, from which\* *Τριτογένεια* is more easily explained than by her birth from his head (see Suppl.).

<sup>3</sup> *Elfric's* glosses 56<sup>a</sup>, *Altanus Wöden*. Altanus, like Summanus, an epithet of Jove, the Altissimus, else Altanus, as the name of a wind, might also have to do with the storm of the 'wutende heer'.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek *μέγος* would be well adapted to unite the meanings of courage, fury (mut, wut), wish, will, thought.

believe, how Wuotan, Wish and Will should touch one another (see Suppl.) With the largitor opum may also be connected the AS. *wela*, OS *welo*, OHG *wolo*, *welo* = opes, felicitas [weal, wealth], and *Wela* comes up several times almost as a personification (conf. Gramm 4, 752), like the Lat goddess Ops (conf. infra *Sælde*, note), there is also a *Vah* among the Norse gods. In the case of *Ve*, gen. *vea*, the sense may waver between *wiho*, sanctus (Goth *Ahma sa veiha*, Holy Ghost), and *wih*, idolum. In *Sæm* 63, *Loki* casts in the teeth of *Frigg* her intrigues with *Ve* and *Vili*, this refers to the story in *Yngl. saga* cap. 3, from which we clearly gather the identity of the three brothers, so that *Frigg* could be considered the wife of any one of them<sup>1</sup>.

Lastly, a principal proof of the deeply-rooted worship of this divinity is furnished by *Wôdan's* being *interwoven with the old Saxon genealogies*, which I shall examine minutely in the Appendix<sup>2</sup>.

Here we see *Wôdan* invariably in the centre. To him are traced up all the races of heroes and kings, among his sons and his ancestors, several have divine honours paid them. In parti-

<sup>1</sup> According to this story, *Oðinn* was *abroad* a long time, during which his brothers act for him, it is worthy of note, that Saxo also makes *Othin* travel to foreign lands, and *Mithothin* fill his place, p. 13, this *Mithothin's* position throws light on that of *Vili* and *Ve*. But Saxo, p. 45, represents *Othin* as once more an exile, and puts *Oller* in his place (see Suppl.). The distant journeys of the god are implied in the Norse by-names *Gångrǫðr*, *Gångleri*, *Vegtamr*, and *Víðforull*, and in Saxo 45 *viator indefessus*. It is not to be overlooked, that even Paulus Diac. 1, 9 knows of *Wodan's* residence in *Greece* (qui non circa hæc tempora—of the war between Langobards and Vandals—sed longe antè, nec in Germania, sed in *Graecia* fuisse perhibetur, while Saxo removes him to *Byzantium*, and Snorri to *Tyrol-land*). In the passage in Paul. Diac. 'Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur, qui non circa hæc tempora, sed longe antè, nec in Germania, sed in *Graecia* fuisse perhibetur'—it has been proposed to refer the second 'qui' to *Mercurius* instead of *Wodan* (Ad Schmidt Zeitschr. 1, 264), and then the harmony of this account with Snorri and Saxo would disappear. But Paul is dealing with the absurdity of the Langobardic legend related in 1, 8, whose unhistoric basis he lays bare, by pointing out that *Wodan* at the time of the occurrence between the *Wandali* and *Winili*, had not ruled in Germany, but in Greece, which is the main point here. The notion that *Mercury* should be confined to Greece, has wider bearings, and would shock the heathen faith not only of the Germans but of the Romans. The heathen gods were supposed to be omnipresent, as may be seen by the mere fact that *Woden-hills* were admitted to exist in various spots all over the country, so that the community of this god to Germans, Greeks and Romans raised no difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> This Appendix forms part of the third volume. In the meanwhile, readers may be glad to see for themselves the substance of these pedigrees, which I have extracted from the Appendix, and placed at the end of this chapter.—TRANS.

cular, there appear as sons, *Balder* and that *Saxnôt* who in the 8th century was not yet rooted out of N W Germany, and in the line of his progenitors, *Heremôd* and *Geát*, the latter expressly pronounced a god, or the son of a god, in these legends, while *Wôdan* himself is regarded more as the head of all noble races. But we easily come to see, that from a higher point of view both *Geát* and *Wôdan* merge into *one* being, as in fact *Oðinn* is called 'alda *Gautr*,' *Sæm* 93<sup>b</sup> 95<sup>b</sup>, conf *infra* *Goz*, *Koz*

In these genealogies, which in more than one direction are visibly interwoven with the oldest epic poetry of our nation, the gods, heroes and kings are mixed up together. As heroes become deified, so can gods also come up again as heroes, amid such reappearances, the order of succession of the individual links varies [in different tables]

Each pedigree ends with real historical kings but to reckon back from these, and by the number of human generations to get at the *date* of mythical heroes and gods, is preposterous. The earliest Anglo-Saxon kings that are historically certain fall into the fifth, sixth or seventh century, count four, eight or twelve generations up to *Wôden*, you cannot push him back farther than the third or fourth century. Such calculations can do nothing to shake our assumption of his far earlier existence. The adoration of *Wôden* must reach up to immemorial times, a long way beyond the first notices given us by the Romans of Mercury's worship in Germania.

There is one more reflection to which the high place assigned by the Germans to their *Wuotan* may fairly lead us. Monotheism is a thing so necessary, so natural, that almost all heathens, amidst their motley throng of deities, have consciously or unconsciously ended by acknowledging a supreme god, who has already in him the attributes of all the rest, so that these are only to be regarded as emanations from him, renovations, rejuvenescences of him. This explains how certain characteristics come to be assigned, now to this, now to that particular god, and why one or another of them, according to the difference of nation, comes to be invested with supreme power. Thus our *Wuotan* resembles *Hermes* and *Mercury*, but he stands higher than these two; contrariwise, the German *Donar* (*Thunor*, *Thôrr*) is a weaker *Zeus* or *Jupiter*; what was added to the one, had to be subtracted from the other; as for *Ziu*

(Tiw, Tyr), he hardly does more than administer one of Wuotan's offices, yet is identical in name with the first and highest god of the Greeks and Romans and so all these god-phenomena keep meeting and crossing one another. The Hellenic Hermes is pictured as a youth, the Teutonic Wuotan as a patriarch. Oðinn hinn *gamli* (the old) Yngl. saga cap. 15, like 'the *old* god' on p. 21. Ziu and Froho are mere emanations of Wuotan (see Suppl.)

## GENEALOGIES OF ANGLO-SAXON KINGS

*Descending Series*

KENT	EASTANGLIA	ESSEX.	MERCIA
Wóden	Wóden	Wóden	Wóden
Wecta	Cásere	Saxneát	Wihltæg
Witta	Titmon	Geseeg	Wærmund
Wihthgils	Trigel	Andsecg	Offa
Hengest (d. 489)	Hrothmund	Sweppa	Angeltheow
Eoríc (Oese)	Hrippa	Sigefugel	Eomær
Octa	Quichelm	Bedeca	Icel
Eormenric	Uffa	Offa	Cnebba
Æthelbeorht (567)	Tidel	Æscwine (527)	Cynewald
	Rædwald (d. 617)	Sledda	Creoda
	Eorpwald (632)	Sæbeorht (604)	Wibba
			Penda (d. 656)
DEIRA.	BERNICA.	WESSEX.	LINDESFARAN
Wóden	Wóden	Wóden	Wóden
Wægdæg	Bældæg	Bældæg	Winta
Sigegar	Brand	Brand	Cretta
Swæfdæg	Beonoc	Fridhogár	Queldgals
Sigegeát	Aloc	Fréáwine	Ceadbed
Sæbald	Angenwit	Wig	Bubba
Sæfugel	Ingwi	Gewis	Bedeca
Westerfalcna	Esa	Esla	Biscop
Wilgisl	Eoppa	Elesa	Eanferth
Uscireá	Ida (d. 560)	Cerdic (d. 534)	Eatta
Yffe		Cynric	Ealdfrith
Ælle (d. 588)		Ceawlin	

According to this, Wóden had *seven* sons (Bældæg being common to two royal lines), elsewhere he has only *three*, e.g. Wil Malm p. 17 *tres filii*, Weldegus, Withlegus et Beldegus, from whom the Kentish kings, the Mercian kings, and the West Saxon and Northumbrian kings respectively were descended.

*Ascending Series.*

Wóden	Finn	Beaw	Hathra (Itermód)
Fridhuwald	Godwulf (Folcwald)	Sceldwa	Hwala (Hathra)
Fréáwine (Fréaláf)	Geát	Heremód (Sceáf)	Bedwig (Hwala)
Fridhuwulf	Tætwa	Itermon (Heremód)	Sceáf (Bedwig)

Some accounts contain only four links, others eight, others sixteen, stopping either at Fridhuwulf, at Geát, or at Sceáf. Sceáf is the oldest heathen name, but after the conversion the line was connected with Noah, and so with Adam!

## CHAPTER VIII.

### DONAR, THUNAR, (THORR).

The god who rules over clouds and rain, who makes himself known in the lightning's flash and the rolling thunder, whose bolt cleaves the sky and alights on the earth with deadly aim, was designated in our ancient speech by the word *Donar* itself, OS *Thunar*, AS *Thunor*, ON. *Thórr*<sup>1</sup> The natural phenomenon is called in ON *þruma*, or *duna*, both fem like the Gothic *þeihvô*, which was perhaps adopted from a Finnic language. To the god the Goths would, I suppose, give the name *Thunrs*. The Swed *tordon*, Dan *torden* (*tonitru*), which in Harpestieng still keeps the form *thordyn*, *thordun*, is compounded of the god's name and that same *duna*, ON *Thórduna*<sup>2</sup> (see Suppl.) In exactly the same way the Swed term *åska* (*tonitru*, *fulmen*), in the Westgothl Laws *åsikkia*,<sup>2</sup> has arisen out of *åsaka*, the god's waggon or driving, from *ås*, *deus*, *divus*, and *aka*, *vehere*, *vehī*, Swed *åka*. In Gothland they say for thunder *Thorsåkan*, Thor's driving, and the ON *reið* signifies not only *vehiculum*, but *tonitru*, and *reiðarslag*, *reiðarþruma*, are thunderclap and lightning. For, a waggon rumbling over a vaulted space comes as near as possible to the rattling and crashing of thunder. The comparison is so natural, that we find it spread among many nations: *δοκεῖ ὄχημα τοῦ Διὸς ἢ βροντῇ εἶναι*, Hesychius sub *ν. ἐλασίβροντα*. In Carniola the rolling of thunder is to this day *gottes fahren*. [To the Russian peasant it is the prophet *Iliâ* driving his chariot, or else grinding his corn.] *Thórr* in the Edda, beside his appellation of *Asaðórr*, is more minutely described by *Ökuþórr*, *ve* Waggon-*thórr* (Sn 25), his waggon is drawn by two he-goats (Sn 26). Other gods have their

<sup>1</sup> So even in High German dialects, *durstag* for *donrstag*, Engl *Thursday*, and Bav *doren*, *daren* for *donnern* (Schm 1, 390). In *Thórr* it is not RR, but only the first R (the second being flexional), that is an abbrev. of NR, *ve* N suffers syncope before R, much as in the M Dut *ere*, *mure*, for *ëre* *minre*.

<sup>2</sup> Conf. Onsiike (Odin's drive ?) *supra*, p. 159.

waggon<sup>s</sup> too, especially Óðinn and Freyr (see pp 107, 151), but Thôn is distinctively thought of as the god who drives, he never appears riding, like Óðinn, nor is he supposed to own a horse either he *drives*, or he *walks* on foot We are expressly told 'Thôrr *gengi* til dômsins, ok veðr âr,' walks to judgment, and wades the rivers (Sn 18)<sup>1</sup> The people in Sweden still say, when it thunders *godgubben* âker, the good old (fellow) is taking a drive, Ihre 696 740 926 *gofar* âkar, *goffar* kor, the gaffer, good father, drives (see Suppl) They no longer liked to utter the god's real name, or they wished to extol his fatherly goodness (v supra, p 21, the *old god*, Dan *vor gamle fader*). The Norwegian calls the lightning *Thor s-varme*, -warmth, Faye p. 6

Thunder, lightning and rain, above all other natural phenomena, proceed directly from God, are looked upon as his doing, his business (see Suppl)<sup>2</sup> When a great noise and racket is kept up, a common expression is you could not hear the Lord *thunder* for the uproar, in France le bruit est si fort, qu'on n'entend pas Dieu *tonner* As early as the Roman de Renart 11898.

Font une noise si grant  
quen n'i oïst pas Dieu *tonant*.

29143 · Et commença un duel si grant,  
que len n'i oïst Dieu *tonant*.

Ogier 10915 Lor poins deterdent, lor paumes vont batant,  
n'i oïssiez n'is ame Dieu *tonant*

Garin 2, 38 . Nes Dieu *tonnant* n'i possiez oïr

And in the Roman de Maugis (Lyon 1599, p 64) De la noyse quils faisoient neust lon pas ouy Dieu *tonner*

But thunder is especially ascribed to an angry and avenging god; and in this attribute of *anger* and *punishment* again Donar resembles Wuotan (pp 18, 142) In a thunderstorm the people say to their children the *gracious God* is angry, in Westphalia *use hergot* kift (chides, Strodtm osnabr 104), in Franconia. *God* is out

<sup>1</sup> Scarcely contradicted by his surname *Hlórríði*, this *ríði* probably points to *reið*, a waggon, *Hlórríði* seems to me to come by assimilation from *hlóðríði*, conf ch XIII, the goddess *Hlóðyn*

<sup>2</sup> A peasant, being requested to kneel at a procession of the Host, said I don't believe the Lord can be there, 'twas only yesterday I heard him thunder up in heaven, Weidners apophthegmata, Amst 1643, p 277.

there scolding, in Bavaria der *hummeltatl* (-daddy) greint (Schm. 1, 462) In Eckstrom's poem in honour of the county of Honstein 1592, cii<sup>b</sup>, it is said:

*Gott der herr* muss warlich from sein (must be really kind),  
dass er nicht mit *donner* schlegt diem<sup>1</sup>

The same sentiment appears among the Letton and Finn nations Lettic *wezzajs kahjās, wezzajs tehws barrahs* (the old father has started to his feet, he chides), Stender lett gramm 150 With *dievas* (god) and *dievaitis* (godkin, dear god) the Lithuanians associate chiefly the idea of the thunderer *dievaitis grauja!* *dievaitis ji numusse* Esthonian *wanna issa huab, wanna essa waljan, murrisep* (the old father growls), Rosenplanters beitr 8, 116. 'The Lord scolds,' 'heaven wages war,' Joh Christ Petris Ehtsland 2, 108 (see Suppl.).

Now with this Donar of the Germani fits in significantly the Gallic *Taranis* whose name is handed down to us in Lucan 1, 440, all the Celtic tongues retain the word *taran* for thunder, Irish *toran*, with which one may directly connect the ON form *Thôrr*, if one thinks an assimilation from *rn* the more likely But an old inscription gives us also *Tanarus* (Forcellini sub v) = Taranis The Irish name for Thursday, dia *Tondain* (dia ordain, diardaoin) was perhaps borrowed from a Teutonic one (see Suppl.)

So in the Latin Jupiter (literally, God father, Diespiter) there predominates the idea of the thunderer, in the poets *Tonans* is equivalent to Jupiter (*eg*, Martial vi 10, 9 13, 7 Ovid Heroid 9, 7. Fasti 2, 69 Metam. 1, 170. Claudian's Stilicho 2, 439), and Latin poets of the Mid. Ages are not at all unwilling to apply the name to the christian God (*eg*, Dracontius de deo 1, 1 satisfact 149. Ven. Fortunat p 212-9 258) And expressions in the lingua vulgaris coincide with this. *celui qui fait toner, qui fait courre la nue* (p 23-4) An inscription, *Jovi tonanti*, in Gruter 21, 6 The Greek Zeus who sends thunder and lightning (*κεραυνός*) is styled *κεραύνειος* *Ζεὺς ἑκτυπε*, Il 8, 75 170 17, 595 *Διὸς κτύπος*, Il 15, 379<sup>2</sup> And because he sends them down from the

<sup>1</sup> In a poem made up of the first lines of hymns and songs Ach gott vom himmel sieh darein, und werfe einen donnerstein, es ist gewislich an der zeit, dass schwelgerei und uppigkeit zerschmettert werden mausetodt! sonst schreim wir bald aus tiefer noth

<sup>2</sup> One might be tempted to connect the Etruscan Tina = Jupiter with Tonans and Donar, it belongs more immediately to Ζήν (v infra, Ζίο)



height of heaven, he also bears the name ἄκριος, and is pictured dwelling on the mountain-top (ἄκρῖς) Zeus is enthroned on Olympus, on Athos, Lycaeus, Casius, and other mountains of Greece and Asia Minor.

And here I must lay stress on the fact, that the thundering god is conceived as emphatically a *fatherly* one, as Jupiter and Diespiter, as far and tatl. For it is in close connexion with this, that the mountains sacred to him also received in many parts such names as *Etsel*, *Altvater*, *Grossvater*.<sup>1</sup> Thôrr himself was likewise called *Atli*, i.e. grandfather.

A high mountain, along which, from the earliest times, the main road to Italy has lain, in the chain between the Graian and Pennine Alps, what we now call the St Bernard, was in the early Mid Ages named *mons Jovis*. This name occurs frequently in the Frankish annals (Pertz 1, 150 295 453 498 512 570 606 2, 82), in Otto frs de gest Frid 2, 24, in Radevicus 1, 25, who designates it via Juli Caesaris, modo *mons Jovis*, in AS writers *munt Jofes* (Lye sub v), in Ælfr Boet p. 150 *muntgrow*, in our Kaiserchronik 88<sup>d</sup> *monte job*.—The name and the worship carry us back to the time of the Romans, the inhabitants of the Alps worshipped a *Peninus* deus, or a *Penina* dea. Neque montibus his ab transitu Poenorum ullo Veragum, incolae jugi ejus norunt nomen inditum, sed ab eo (al. deo) quem in summo sacratum vertice *peninum* montani adpellant, Livy 31, 38. Quamvis legatur a *poenina* dea quae ibi colitur Alpes ipsas vocari, Servius on Virg Aen. 10, 13. An inscription found on the St Bernard (Jac Spon miscellanea antiq. Lugd. 1685, p. 85) says expressly Lucius Lucilius deo *Penino opt. max.* donum dedit, from which it follows, that this god was understood to be no other than Jupiter. Conf. *Jupiter apenninus*, Micali storia 131-5. Ζεύς καραίος occurs in Hesych [κάρα means head, and so does the Celtic *pen*, *ben*]. The classic writers never use *mons Jovis*, and the tabula Antonini names only the summus *Penninus* and the *Penni lucus*, but between the 4th and 7th centuries *Jovis mons* seems to have taken the place of these,

<sup>1</sup> Zeitschr. des hess. vereins 2, 139-142. Altd. blatt 1, 288. Haupts. zeitschr. 1, 26. Finnish: *isarnen* panee (Renval 118\*), the father thunders. To the Finns *ukko* signifies proavus, senex, and is a surname of the gods Wainasoinen and Ilmarinen. But also *Ukko* of itself denotes the thunder-god (v. infra). Among the Swedish Lapps *aya* is both avus and tonitrus (see Suppl.).

perhaps with reference [not so much to the old Roman, as] to the Gallic or even German sense which had then come to be attached to the god's name. Remember that German isarnodori on the Jura mountains not far off (p. 80)<sup>1</sup>

Such names of mountains in Germany itself we may with perfect safety ascribe to the worship of the native deity. Every one knows the *Donnersberg* (mont Tonnerre) in the Rhine palatinate on the borders of the old county of Falkenstein, between Worms, Kaiserslautern and Kreuznach, it stands as *Thoneressberg* in a doc of 869, Schannat hist womat probat p. 9. Another *Thuneressberg* situate on the Diemel, in Westphalia, not far from Warburg, and surrounded by the villages of Wormeln, Germete and Welda, is first mentioned in a doc of 1100, Schaten mon. paderb. 1, 649, in the Mid Ages it was still the seat of a great popular assize, originally due, no doubt, to the sacredness of the spot. 'comes ad *Thuneressberhe*' (anno 1123), Wigands feme 222. comitia de *Dunrisberg* (1105), Wigands arch. I 1, 56. a judicio nostro *Thonresberck* (1239), ib. 58. Precisely in the vicinity of this mountain stands the *holy oak* mentioned on p. 72-4, just as the *robur Jovis* by Geismar in Hesse is near a *Wuotansberg*, p. 152. To all appearance the two deities could be worshipped close to one another. The Knüllgebirge in Hesse includes a *Donnerkaute*. In the Bernerland is a *Donnerbukel* (doc of 1303, Joh. Müller 1, 619), called *Tonrbul* in Justingers Berner chron. p. 50. Probably more Donnersbergs are to be found in other parts of Germany. One in the Regensburg country is given in a doc of 882 under the name of *Tunniesberg*, Ried, cod. dipl. num. 60. A Sifridus marschalcus de *Donnersperck* is named in a doc. of 1300, MB 33, pars 1, p. 289, an Otto de *Donersperg*, MB 4, 94 (in 1194), but Duonesberg, 4, 528 (in 1153), and Tunniesberg 11, 432. In the Thuringer wald, between Stein-

<sup>1</sup> This *mons Jovis* must be distinguished from *mons gaudi*, by which the Mid Ages meant a height near Rome. Otto frising. 1 c. 2, 22, the Kaiserchr. 88<sup>d</sup> translates it verbally *mendelberc*. In Romance poems of the 12-13th centuries, *monjoye* is the French battle-cry, generally with the addition of St Denis, e.g. *monjoya*, *monjoya* saint Denis! Ferabras 365. *monjoye* enseigne S. Denis! Garin 108. Ducange in his 11th dissertation on Joinville declares *monjoye* inadmissible as a mere diminutive of *mont*, since in other passages (Roquefort 2, 207) it denotes any place of joy and bliss, a paradise, so that we can fairly keep to the literal sense, and there must have been mountains of this name in more than one region. It is quite possible that *monjoye* itself came from an earlier *monjoye* (*mons Jovis*), that with the god's hill there associated itself the idea of a mansion of bliss (see Suppl.)

bach and Oberhof, at the 'rennsteig' is a Donershauk (see Suppl). —A *Donares eih*, a *robui Jovis*, was a tree specially sacred to the god of lightning, and of these there grew an endless abundance in the German forests.

Neither does Scandinavia lack mountains and rocks bearing the name of Thôn *Thors klint* in East Gothland (conf. Wildegren's Ostergotland 1, 17), *Thorsborg* in Gothland, Molbech tidskr 4, 189 From Norway, where this god was pre-eminently honoured, I have nevertheless heard of none The peasant in Vermland calls the south-west corner of the sky, whence the summer tempests mostly rise, *Thorshåla* (-hole, cave, Geijer's Svearnes hafder 1, 268)

And the Thunder-mountains of the Slavs are not to be overlooked Near Milleschau in Bohemia stands a *Hromolan*, from hrom, thunder, in other dialects grom One of the steepest mountains in the Styrian Alps (see Suppl) is *Grumming*, *ve*, Sl germnik, OSI gr'mnik, thunder-hill (Sloven gr'mi, it thunders, Serv grmi, Russ grom gremit, quasi βρόμος βρέμει), and not far from it is a rivulet named *Donner sbach*<sup>1</sup> The Slavs then have two different words to express the phenomenon and the god the latter is in OSI *Perdn*, Pol. *Piorun*, Boh *Peraun*,<sup>2</sup> among the Southern Slavs it seems to have died out at an earlier time, though it is still found in derivatives and names of places Dobrowsky (inst. 289) traces the word to the verb peru, ferio, quatio [general meaning rather pello, to push] and this tolerably apt signification may have contributed to twist the word out of its genuine form<sup>3</sup> I think it has dropt a k. the Lithuanian, Lettish and OPrussian thundergod is *Perkunas*, *Pehrkons*, *Perkunos*, and a great many names of places are compounded with it Lith, Perkunas grauja (P thunders), Perkunas musza (P strikes, ferit), Lett, Pehrkons sperr (the lightning strikes, see Suppl) The Slav *perun* is now seldom applied personally, it is used chiefly of the lightning's flash Procopius (de Bello Goth 3, 14) says of the Sclaveni and Antes θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν πάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Kindermann, abriß von Steiermark pp 66, 67, 70, 81

<sup>2</sup> The Slovaks say *Parom*, and *paromova strela* (P's bolt) for perunova, phrases about Parom, from Kollar, in Hanusch 259, 260

<sup>3</sup> Might *perun* be connected with κεραυνός = περαυνός? Still nearer to Perun would seem to be the Sansk *Paryanyas*, a name borne by Indra as Jupiter pluvius, literally, fertilizing rain, thunder-cloud, thunder \*A hymn to this rain-god in Rosen's Vedae specimen p 23 Conf. Hitzig Philist 296, and Holtzmann 1, 112, 118

νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα. Again, the oak was consecrated to Perun, and old documents define boundaries by it (do *perunova duba*, as far as P's oak), and the Romans called the acorn *juglans*, *ie*, *joviglans*, *Jovis glans*, the fruit of the fatheily god. Lightning is supposed to strike oaks by preference (see Suppl.)

Now *Perkun* suggests that thundergod of the Morduns, *Porgunn* (p 27), and, what is more worthy of note, a Gothic word also, which (I giant), as used by Ulphilas, was already stript of all personification. The neut noun *fairguni* (Gramm. 2, 175 453) means ὄρος, mountain<sup>1</sup>. What if it were once especially the Thunder-mountain, and a lost *Fairguns* the name of the god (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup>. Or, starting with *fairguni* with its simple meaning of mons unaltered, may we not put into that masc. *Fairguns* or *Fair-guneis*, and consequently into *Perkunas*, the sense of the above-mentioned ἄκριος, he of the mountain top? a fitting surname for the thundergod *Fergunna*, ending like *Patunna*, p 71, signifies in the Chron moissiac. anno 805 (Pertz 1, 308) not any particular spot, but the metal-mountains (erzgebirge), and *Virgunna* (*Virgundia*, *Virgunda*, conf Zeuss p 10) the tract of wooded mountains between Ansbach and Ellwangen. Wolfram, Wh 390, 2, says of his walt-swenden (wood-wasting?) der Swarzwalt und *Vingunt* muesen dâ von æde ligen, Black Forest and V must lie waste thereby. In the compounds, without which it would have perished altogether, the OHG *vingun*, AS *firgen* may either bear the simple sense of mountainous, woody, or conceal the name of a god—Be that as it may, we find *fairguni*, *virgun*, *figen* connected with divinely-honoured beings, as appears plainly from the ON *Fiorgyn*, gen *Fiorgynjar*, which in the Edda means Thôr's mother, the goddess Earth. Thôr *Jarðar burr*, Sæm 70<sup>a</sup> 68<sup>a</sup> *Oðins son*, Sæm 73<sup>a</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>. And beside her, a male *Fiorgynn*, gen *Fiorgyns*, *Fiorgvins*, appears as the father of Oðin's wife Frigg, Sn. 10, 118 Sæm 63<sup>a</sup>. In all these words we must take *fairg*, *firg*, *fiorg* as the root, and not divide them as *fair-gun*, *fir-gun*, *fior-gyn*. Now it is true that all the Anzeis, all the Aesir are enthroned on mountains (p 25), and *Firgun* might have been used of more than one of them, but that we have a right to claim it specially for *Donar and his mother*, is shewn by *Perun*,

<sup>1</sup> Matt 8, 1 Mk 5, 5 11 9, 2 11, 1 Lu 3, 5 4, 29 9, 37. 19, 29. 37 1 Cor. 13, 2. *Bairgahei* (ἡ ὄρεινή) in Lu 1, 39, 65; never the simple *bairgs*.

Perkun, and will be confirmed presently by the meaning of mount and rock which lies in the word hamar. As Zeus is called ἐνάκριος, so is his daughter Pallas ἑκρία, and his mother ὀρεστέρα Γᾶ, μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Διός (Sophocles Philoct 389), the myth transfers from him to his mother and daughter. Of Donar's *mother* our very *maechen* have things to tell (Pentam. 5, 4), and beyond a doubt, the stories of the devil and his bath and his grandmother are but a vulgarization of heathen notions about the thundergod. Lasioz 47 tells us. Percuna tete mater est fulminis atque tonitui quae solem fessum ac pulverolentum balneo excipit, deinde lotum et nitidum postera die emittit. It is just *matertera*, and not *mater*, that is meant by *teta* elsewhere.

Christian mythology among the Slav and certain Asiatic nations has handed over the thunderer's business to the prophet Elijah, who drives to heaven *in the tempest*, whom a *chariot and horses of fire* receive, 2 Kings 2, 11. In the Servian songs 2, 1 2, 2 he is expressly called *gromovnik Ilja*,<sup>1</sup> lightning and thunder (munya and grom) are given into his hand, and to sinful men he shuts up the clouds of heaven, so that they let no rain fall on the earth (see Suppl.). This last agrees with the OT too, 1 Kings 17, 1 18, 41-5, conf Lu 4, 25, Jam 5, 17, and the same view is taken in the OHG poem, O iii. 12, 13

Quedent sum giwâro, *Helas* sîs *ther mâro*,  
 thei thiz lant sô *tharta*, then *himil* sô *visparta*,  
 ther iu *ni liaz* in nôtin *regonon* then iutin,  
 thuangta si giwâro harto filu suâro<sup>2</sup>

But what we have to note especially is, that in the story of Anti-christ's appearance a little before the end of the world, which was current throughout the Mid Ages (and whose striking points of agreement with the ON mythos of Surtr and Muspellsheim I shall speak of later), *Helas* again occupies the place of the northern *thundergod*. *Thórr* overcomes the great serpent, but he has scarcely moved nine paces from it, when he is touched by its venomous breath, and sinks to the ground dead, Sn 73. In the

<sup>1</sup> Udri gromom, gromovit Ilja! snute with thunder, thunderer Elias, 1, 77

<sup>2</sup> Greg tur, pref to bk 2. Meminerit (lector) sub *Helas* tempore, qui *pluvias* cum voluit *abstulit*, et cum libuit arentibus terris *infudit*, &c

OHG poem of Muspilli 48—54, Antichrist and the devil do indeed fall, but Elias also is grievously wounded in the fight .

Doh want des vilu gotmanno<sup>1</sup>  
 daz *Elias* in demo wige arwartit .  
 sâr sô daz *Ehases* pluot  
 in erda kitirufit,  
 sô in pinnant die perga ,

his blood dripping on the earth sets the mountains on fire, and the Judgment-day is heralded by other signs as well Without knowing in their completeness the notions of the devil, Antichrist, Elias and Enoch, which were current about the 7th or 8th century,<sup>2</sup> we cannot fully appreciate this analogy between Elias and the Donar of the heathens There was nothing in christian tradition to warrant the supposition of Elias receiving a wound, and that a deadly one The comparison becomes still more suggestive by the fact that even half-christian races in the Caucasus worship *Elias* as a god of thunder The Ossetes think a man lucky who is *struck by lightning*, they believe *Iha* has taken him to himself, survivors raise a cry of joy, and sing and dance around the body, the people flock together, form a ring for dancing, and sing *O Ellar, Ellar, eldaer tchopper*! (O Elias, Elias, lord of the rocky summits) By the cairn over the grave they set up a long pole supporting the skin of a black he-goat, which is their usual manner of sacrificing to Elias (see Suppl) They implore Elias to make their fields fruitful, and keep the *harl* away from them<sup>3</sup> Olearius already had put it upon record, that the Circassians on the Caspian sacrificed a goat on *Elias's day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers<sup>4</sup> Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunder-storm may be averted, name the name of *Ilya*<sup>5</sup>

Now, the Servian songs put by the side of Elias the Virgin *Mary*; and it was she especially that in the Mid Ages was invoked for rain The chroniclers mention a rain-procession in the Liège

<sup>1</sup> *Gotman*, a divine, a priest? Conf <sup>supra</sup>, pp 88-9.

<sup>2</sup> The Rabbinical legend likewise assumes that *Elias* will return and slay the malignant *Sammael*, Eisenmenger 2, 696 851.

<sup>3</sup> Klaproth's travels in the Caucasus 2, 606. 601.

<sup>4</sup> Erman's archiv fur Russland 1841, 429.

<sup>5</sup> Ad. Olearius reiseschr 1647, pp 522-3

country about the year 1240 or 1244,<sup>1</sup> three times did priests and people march round (*nudis pedibus et in laneis*), but all in vain, because in calling upon all the saints they had forgotten the Mother of God, so, when the saintly choir laid the petition before God, *Mary opposed*. In a new procession a solemn 'salve regina' was sung. Et cum serenum tempus ante fuisset, tanta inundatio pluviae facta est, ut fere omnes qui in processione aderant, hac illacque dispergerentur. With the Lithuanians, the holy goddess (*dievarte sventa*) is a rain-goddess. Heathendom probably addressed the petition for rain to the thundergod, instead of to Elias and Mary.<sup>2</sup> Yet I cannot call to mind a single passage, even in ON legend, where Thôrr is said to have bestowed *rain* when it was *asked for*, we are only told that he sends *stormy weather* when he is angry, Olafs Tryggv saga 1, 302-6 (see Suppl). But we may fairly take into account his general resemblance to Zeus and Jupiter (who are expressly *ύέτιος, pluvius*, II 12, 25 *θε Ζεὺς συνεχές*), and the prevalence of *votis imbrem vocare* among all the neighbouring nations (see Suppl).

A description by Petronius cap 44, of a Roman procession for rain, agrees closely with that given above from the Mid Ages. Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et *Jovem aquam exorabant*, itaque statim uiceatim (in bucketfuls) pluebat, aut tunc aut nunquam, et omnes ridebant, uidi tanquam mures. M. Antoninus (*εἰς ἑαυτόν* 5, 7) has preserved the beautifully simple prayer of the Athenians for rain *εὐχή 'Αθηναίων, ὕσον, ὕσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων* (see Suppl). According to Lasicz, the Lithuanian prayer ran thus *Percune devante* niemuski und mana dirvu (so I emend dievu), melsu tavi, palti miessu. Cohibe te, Percune, neve in meum agrum calamitatem immittas (more simply, strike not), ego vero tibi hanc succidiam dabo. The Old Prussian formula is said to have been *Dievas Perkunos, absolo mus!* spare us, = Lith *apsaugok mus!* To all this I will add a more extended petition in Esthonian, as Gutsclaff<sup>3</sup> heard an old peasant say it as late as the

<sup>1</sup> Aegidius aureae vallis cap 135 (Chapeauville 2, 267-8) Chron belg magn ad ann 1244 (Pistorius 3, 263)

<sup>2</sup> Other saints also grant rain in answer to prayer, as St Mansuetus in Pertz 6, 512<sup>b</sup>, 513<sup>b</sup>, the body of St Lupus carried about at Sens in 1097, Pertz 1, 106-7. Conf infra, Rain-making.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gutsclaff, kurzer bericht und unterricht von der falsch heilig ge-

17th century 'Dear *Thunder* (woda Picker), we offer to thee an ox that hath two hoins and four cloven hoofs, we would pray thee for our ploughing and sowing, that our straw be copper-red, our grain be golden-yellow *Push elsewhather* all the *thick black clouds*, over great fens, high forests, and wildernesses But unto us ploughers and sowers give a fruitful season and *sweet rain* Holy *Thunder* (poha Picken), guard our seedfield, that it bear good straw below, good ears above, and good grain within' Picker or Picken would in modern Esthonian be called *Pitkne*, which comes near the Finnic *pikainen* = thunder, perhaps even Thunder, Hupel's Esth Dict however gives both *pikenne* and *pikne* simply as thunder (impersonal) The Finns usually give their thundergod the name *Ukko* only, the Esthonians that of *Turris* as well, evidently from the Noise Thôrr (see Suppl.)<sup>1</sup>

As the fertility of the land depends on thunderstorms and rains, *Pitkainen* and *Zeus* appear as the oldest divinity of agricultural nations, to whose bounty they look for the thriving of their cornfields and fruits (see Suppl) Adam of Biemen too attributes thunder and lightning to Thor expressly in connexion with dominion over weather and fruits: Thor, inquit, praesidet in aere, qui tonitrua et fulmina, ventos imbresque, *serena et fruges gubernat* Here then the worship of Thor coincides with that of Wuotan, to whom likewise the reapers paid homage (pp 154—7), as on the other hand Thor as well as Oðinn guides the events of war, and receives his share of the spoils (p. 133) To the Norse mind indeed, Thor's victories and his battles with the giants have thrown his peaceful office quite into the shade Nevertheless to Wuotan's mightiest son, whose mother is Earth herself, and who is also named Perkunos, we must, if only for his lineage sake, allow a direct relation to Agriculture<sup>2</sup> He clears up the atmosphere, he sends fertilizing

nandten bache in Liefland Wohhanda Dorpt 1644, pp 362-4 Even in his time the language of the prayer was hard to understand, it is given, corrected, in Peterson's Finn mythol p 17, and Rosenplanter's beitr, heft 5, p 157

<sup>1</sup> *Ukko* is, next to *Pumala* (whom I connect with Wuotan), the highest Finnish god *Pitkainen* literally means the long, tall, high one

<sup>2</sup> Uhland in his essay on Thôrr, has penetrated to the heart of the ON myths, and ingeniously worked out the thought, that the very conflict of the summer-god with the winter-giants, itself signifies the business of bringing land under cultivation, that the crushing rock-splitting force of the thunderbolt prepares the hard stony soil This is most happily expounded of the Hrúngnir and Orvandill sagas, in some of the others it seems not to answer so well



showers, and his sacred tree supplies the nutritious acorn Thôr's minni was drunk to the prosperity of cornfields

The German thundergod was no doubt represented, like Zeus and Jupiter, with a *long beard* A Danish rhyme still calls him 'Thor med sit *lange skrug*' (F Magnusen's lex 957) But the ON sagas everywhere define him more narrowly as *red-bearded*, of course in allusion to the fiery phenomenon of lightning when the god is angry, he blows in his red beard, and thunder peals through the clouds In the Fornm sog 2, 182 and 10, 329 he is a tall, handsome, red-bearded youth Mikill vexti (in growth), ok úngligr, fíðr sýnum (fair to see), ok *rauðskeggjaðr*, in 5, 249 maðr *rauðskeggjaðr* Men in distress invoked his red beard Landsmenn tóko þat ráð (adopted the plan) at heita þetta hit *rauða skegg*, 2, 183 When in wrath, he shakes his beard Reiðr var þá, *scegg nam at hrísta, scor nam at dýja* (wroth was he then, beard he took to bristling, hair to tossing), Sæm 70<sup>a</sup> More general is the phrase lét síga brýnnar ofan fyrir augun (let sink the brows over his eyes), Sn 50 His divine rage (âsmôðr) is often mentioned Thôir varð reiðr, Sn 52 Especially interesting is the story of Thôir's meeting with King Olaf 1, 303, his power seems half broken by this time, giving way to the new doctrine, when the christians approach, a follower of Thôrr exhorts him to a brave resistance þeyt þú í mot þeim *skeggrodd* þína (raise thou against them thy beard's voice) þá gengu þeir út, ok blés Thôrr fast í *kampana*, ok þeytti *skeggn austina* (then went they out, and Th blew hard into his beard, and raised his beard's voice) kom þá þegar andviðin móti konungi svá styrkt, at ekki mátti við halda (immediately there came ill-weather against the king so strong, that he might not hold out, i e, at sea)—This red beard of the thunderer is still remembered in curses, and that among the Frisian folk, without any visible connexion with Norse ideas 'dus *ruadhmet donner* regur' (let red-haired thunder see to that) is to this day an exclamation of the North Frisians<sup>1</sup> And when the Icelanders call a fox *holtaþórr*, Thôrr of the holt,<sup>2</sup> it is probably in allusion to his red fur (see Suppl)

The ancient languages distinguish three acts in the natural

<sup>1</sup> Der geizhalz auf Silt, Flensburg 1809, p 123, 2nd ed Sonderburg 1833, p. 113

<sup>2</sup> Nucleus lat in usum scholae schalholtinae Hafniae 1738, p 2088

phenomenon the flash, *fulgur*, ἄστραπή, the sound, *tonitrus*, βροντή, and the stroke, *fulmen*, κεραυνός (see Suppl)

The lightning's flash, which we name *blitz*, was expressed in our older speech both by the simple *plih*, G1aff 3, 244, MHG *blic*, Iw 649 Wigal 7284, and by *plechazunga* (coruscatio), derived from *plechazan*,<sup>1</sup> a frequentative of *plechén* (fulgere), Diut 1, 222-4, they also used *plechungā*, Diut 1, 222 *Pleccateshém*, Pertz 2, 383, the name of a place, now Blexen, the MHG has *blitze* (fulgur) die *blitzen* und die donerslege sint mit gewalte in siner pflege, MS 2, 166<sup>b</sup> — Again *lôhazan* (micare, coruscare), Goth *lauhātjan*, presupposes a *lôhén*, Goth *lāuhan* From the same root the Goth forms his *lauhmun* (ἄστραπή), while the Saxon from *blic* made a *blesmo* (fulgur) AS *leoma* (jubar, fulgur), ON *loma*, Swed *ljungeld*, Dan *lyn* — A Prussian folk-tale has an expressive phrase for the lightning 'He with the blue whip chases the devil,' i.e. the giants, for a blue flame was held specially sacred, and people swear by it, North Fris 'donners *bloskén* (blue sheen) help!' in Hansens geizhals p 123, and Schartlin's curse was *blau feuer!* (see Suppl)

Beside *donar*, the OHG would have at its command *capreh* (fragor) from *prehhan* (frangere), Gl hiab 963<sup>b</sup>, for which the MHG often has *klac*, T10j 12231 14693, and *krach* from *krachen*, (crepare) mit klache gap der doner duz, Parz 104, 5, and as *krachen* is synonymous with *rizen* (strictly to burst with a crash), we also find *wolken rizen* fem for thunder, Parz 378, 11 Wh 389, 18, gegen rizen, Waitb kr jen 57, reht als der wilde dunrs lac von himel kam *gerizen*, Ecke 105 der *chlafondo* doner, N Cap 114, der *chlafterh* heizet toner, der doner stet *gespannen*, Apollon 879 I connect the Gothic *beihvô* fem with the Finnic *teuhaan* (strepo), *teuhaus* (streptitus, tumultus), so that it would mean the noisy, uproarious Some L Germ dialects call thunder *grummel*, Strodtn Osnabr 77, agreeing with the Slav *grom*, *hrom* (see Suppl)

For the notion of *fulmen* we possess only compounds, except

<sup>1</sup> While writing *plechazan*, I remember *pleckan*, *plahta* (patere, nudari, bleak), MHG *blecken*, *blacte*, Wigal 4890, which, when used of the sky, means . the clouds open, heaven opens, as we still say of forked and sheet lightning, conf. Lohengr p 125 reht alsam des hummels bliz von doner sich *erblecket*. If this *plechan* is akin to *plih* (fulgur), we must suppose two verbs *plihhan* *pleih*, and *plehhan* *plah*, the second derived from the first Slav *blesk*, *blisk*, but Boh *bozhi posel*, god's messenger, lightning-flash. Russ *molnija*, Serv. *munja*, fem (see Suppl)

when the simple *donner* is used in that sense sluoc also ein *doner*, Roth 1747 huere hât der *schân* (shower, storm) erslagen, MS 3, 223<sup>a</sup>, commonly *donnerschlag*, *blitzschlag* OHG *blig-scuz* (-shot, fulgurum jactus), N cap 13, MHG *blackschoz*, Barl 2, 26 253, 27, and *blcschoz*, Martina 205<sup>a</sup>, fiurin *donerstrâle*, Parz 104, 1, *donreslac*, Iw 651, ter *scuz* tero fiurentûn *donerstrâlo* (ardentis fulminis), *erscozen* mit tien *donerstrâlôn*, N Bth 18 175, MHG *uetterstrahl*, *blitzstrahl*, *donnerstrahl* MHG *wilder donerslac*, Geo 751, as lightning is called *wild fire*, Rab 412, Schm 1, 553, and so in ON *villi-eldr*, Sn 60 (see Suppl)

So then, as the god who lightens has red hair ascribed to him, and he who thunders a waggon, he who smites has some weapon that he shoots But here I judge that the notion of *arrows* being shot (*wilder pfîl* der ûz dem donre snellet, Troj 7673 doners *pfîle*, Turnei von Nantheiz 35 150) was merely imitated from the *κῆλα Διός*, tela Jovis, the true Teutonic Donai throws wedge-shaped stones from the sky 'ez wart nie *stein* geworfen dar er enkæme von der *schûre*,' there was never stone thrown there (into the castle high), unless it came from the storm, Ecke 203 ein *vlins* (flint) von donrestâlen, Wolfram 9, 32 ein heize daz von *vlinse ime donre* gewachsen wære (a heart made of the flint in thunder), Wh 12, 16 *schûrestern*, Bit 10332 *schawerstein*, Suchenw 33, 83 sô slahe mich ein *donerstein*<sup>1</sup> Ms H 3, 202<sup>a</sup> We now call it *donnerkeil*, Swed *âsk-rigg* (-wedge), and in popular belief, there darts out of the cloud together with the flash a *black wedge*, which buries itself *in the earth* as deep as the highest church-tower is high<sup>1</sup> But every time it thunders again, it begins to rise nearer to the surface, and after *seven years* you may find it above ground Any house in which it is preserved, is proof against damage by lightning, when a thunder-storm is coming on, it begins to sweat<sup>2</sup> Such stones are also called *donnerâxe* (-axes) *donnersterne*, *donnerhammer*, *albschosse* (elfshots), *strahlsterne*, *teufelsfinger*, Engl *thunder-bolts*, Swed *Thors rigge*, Dan *tordenkule*, *tordenstraale* (v infra, ch XXXVII),<sup>3</sup> and stone hammers and knives found in ancient tombs bear the same name Saxo Gram p 236 Inusitati pōnderis *malleos*, quos *Joviales* voca-

<sup>1</sup> This *depth* is variously expressed in curses, &c e.g. May the thunder strike you into the earth as far as a hare can run in a hundred years<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Weddigens westfal mag 3, 713 Wigands archiv 2, 320, has *nine* years instead of seven

<sup>3</sup> The Grk name for the stone is *βελεμίντης* a missile

bant, . . . prisca virorum religione cultos, . . . cupiens enim antiquitas tonitruorum causas usitata rerum similitudine comprehendere, *malleos*, quibus coeli fiagores cieri credebat, ingenti aere complexa fueiat (see Suppl.) To Jupiter too the *silex* (flint) was sacred, and it was held by those taking an oath. From the mention of 'elf-shots' above, I would infer a connexion of the elf-sprites with the thundergod, in whose service they seem to be employed.

The Norse mythology provides Thôrr with a wonderful *hammer* named *Mjolnir* (mauler, tudes, contundens), which he hurls at the giants, Sæm 57<sup>b</sup> 67<sup>b</sup> 68<sup>b</sup>, it is also called *þrudhamar*, strong hammer, Sæm 67<sup>b</sup> 68<sup>b</sup>, and has the property of returning into the god's hand of itself, after being thrown, Sn 132. As this hammer *flies through the air* (er hann kemr á lopt, Sn 16), the giants know it, lightning and thunder precede the throwing of it þvi næst sâ hann (next saw he, giant Hrúngnir) *eldingar* oc heyðir þrumur stôrar, sâ hann þâ Thôr í âsmôðir, fór hann âkaflega, oc *reiddi hamarrin oc kastaði*, Sn 109. This is obviously the crushing thunderbolt, which descends after lightning and thunder, which was nevertheless regarded as the god's permanent weapon, hence perhaps that rising of the bolt out of the earth. Saxo, p. 41, represents it as a *club* (clava) *without a handle*, but informs us that *Hother* in a battle with Thor had *knocked off* the manubium clavae, this agrees with the Eddic narrative of the manufacture of the hammer, when it was accounted a fault in it that the handle was too short (at forskeptit var heldr skamt), Sn 131. It was forged by cunning dwarfs,<sup>1</sup> and in spite of that defect, it was their masterpiece. In Saxo p. 163, Thor is armed with a *torrida chalybs*<sup>2</sup>. It is noticeable, how Frauenlob MS 2, 214<sup>b</sup> expresses himself about God the Father *der smit ûz Oberlande warf sinen hamer* in mine schôz. The hammer, as a divine tool, was considered sacred, brides and the bodies of the dead were *consecrated* with it, Sæm 74<sup>b</sup> Sn 49 66, men blessed with the *sign of the hammer*,<sup>3</sup> as christians did with the sign of the cross, and a stroke of lightning was long regarded in the

<sup>1</sup> As Zeus's lightning was by the Curctes or Cyclopes.

<sup>2</sup> That in ancient statues of the thundergod the *hammer* had not been forgotten, seems to be proved by pretty late evidence, e.g. the statue of a *dorper* mentioned in connexion with the giants (ch. XVIII, quotation from Fergûr). And in the AS Solomon and Saturn, *Thunor* wields a *fiery axe* (ch. XXV, Muspilli).

<sup>3</sup> In the Old Germ. law, the *throwing of a hammer* ratifies the acquisition of property.

Mid Ages as a happy initiatory omen to any undertaking Thôn with his hammer hallows dead bones, and makes them alive again, Sn 49 (see Suppl.)—But most important of all, as vouching for the wide extension of one and the same heathen faith, appears to me that beautiful poem in the Edda, the Hamars heimt (hammer's homing, mallei recuperatio),<sup>1</sup> whose action is motived by Thôn's hammer being stolen by a giant, and buried *eight miles underground* 'ek hefi Hlôiríða hamar umfölginn átta rostom for iorð nedan,' Sæm 71<sup>a</sup>. This unmistakably hangs together with the popular belief I have quoted, that the thunderbolt dives into the earth and takes *seven* or *nine years* to get up to the surface again, mounting as it were a mile every year. At bottom *Thrymr*, þursa dróttinn, lord of the durses or giants, who has only got his own hammer back again, seems identical with Thôn, being an older nature-god, in whose keeping the thunder had been before the coming of the âses, this is shown by his name, which must be derived from þrúma, tonitru. The compound þrumketill (which Biörn explains as æs tinnis) is in the same case as the better-known þórketill (see Suppl.)

Another proof that this myth of the thundergod is a joint possession of Scandinavia and the rest of Teutondom, is supplied by the word hammer itself. *Hamar* means in the first place a hard stone or rock,<sup>2</sup> and secondly the tool fashioned out of it, the ON hamar still keeps both meanings, *rupes* and *malleus* (and *sax*, *seax* again is a stone knife, the Lat *saxum*). Such a name is particularly well-suited for an instrument with which the mountain-god Donar, our 'Fairguneis,' achieves all his deeds. Now as the god's hammer strikes dead, and the curses 'thunder strike you' and 'hammer strike you' meant the same thing, there sprang up in some parts, especially of Lower Germany, after the fall of the god Donar, a personification of the word *Hamar* in the sense of Death or Devil 'dat die de *Hamer*!' i vor den *Hamer*! de *Hamer* sla!' are phrases still

<sup>1</sup> No other lay of the Edda shows itself so intergrown with the people's poetry of the North, its plot survives in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian songs, which bear the same relation to that in the Edda as our folk-song of Hildebrand and Alebrand does to our ancient poetry. Thor no longer appears as a god, but as *Thorkar* (Thorkarl) or *Thord af Hafsgaard*, who is robbed of his golden hammer, conf. Iduna 8, 122. Nyerups udvalg 2, 188. Arvidsson 1, 3. Schade's beskrivelse over oen Mors, Aalborg 1811, p. 93. Also the remarkable legend of Thor með tungum hamri in Faye's norske sag. Arendal 1833, p. 5, where also he loses and seeks his hammer.

<sup>2</sup> Slav *kamen* gen *kamnia*, stone, Lith *akmā* gen *akmens*, *kam* = *ham*

current among the people, in which you can exchange Hamer for *Duvel*, but which, one and all, can only be traced back to the god that strikes with the hammer. In the same way 'dat is en *Hamer*, en *hamersken* kerl,' a rascally impudent cheat<sup>1</sup> de *Hamer* kennt se all! the devil may know them all, Schutze 2, 96 *Hemmerleyn*, *meister Hammerleyn*, signified the evil spirit. Consider also the curses which couple the two names, *donner* und *teufel*! both of which stood for the ancient god. By *gammel Thor*, old Thor, the common people in Denmark mean the devil, in Sweden they long protested by *Thore gud*. The Lithuanians worshipped an enormous hammer, Seb Frankes weltbuch 55<sup>b</sup> (see Suppl.).

It must have been at an earlier stage that certain attributes and titles of the Saviour, and some Judeo-Christian legends, were transferred to the heathen god, and particularly the myth of Leviathan to Iomungandr. As Christ by his death overmastered the monster serpent (Barl 78, 39 to 79, 14), so Thôn overcomes the mǫðgarðs-orm (-worm, snake that encircles the world), and similar epithets are given to both<sup>2</sup>. Taking into account the resemblance between the sign of the cross and that of the hammer, it need not seem surprising that the newly converted Germans should under the name of *Christ* still have the lord of thunder and the giver of rain present to their minds, and so a connexion with *Mary* the Mother of God (p 174) could be the more easily established. The earliest troubadour (Diez p 15 Raynouard 4, 83) actually names Christ still as the *lord of thunder*, Jhesus del tro.

A Neapolitan fairy-tale in the Pentamerone 5, 4 personifies thunder and lightning (*truone e lampe*) as a beautiful youth, brother of seven spinning virgins, and son of a wicked old mother who knows no higher oath than 'pe *truone e lampe*'. Without asserting any external connexion between this tradition and the German

<sup>1</sup> Brem wtb 2, 575 dat di de *hamer* sla! Strodtm p 80, conf Schm 2, 192 the hammer, or a great hammer stike you! Abeles kunstl unordn 4, 3 Gerichtsh 1, 673 2, 79 299 382 *verhamert* dur, kolt, Schutze 2, 96 = verdonnert, verteufelt, blasted, cursed, &c. How deeply the worship of the god had taken root among the people, is proved by these almost ineradicable curses, once solemn protestations *donner! donnerwetter!* heiliges *gewitter* (holy thunder-storm)! And, adding the christian symbol *kreuz donnerwetter!* Then, euphemistically, disguised bim (by the) dunmer, potz dunmer! dunmer auch! Slutz 1, 123 2, 161-2 3, 56 bim dunmer hammer 3, 51 bim *dumstug*, *dunnstug*! as in Hesse *donnerstag!* bim *hamer!* In Flanders bi Vids morkel *hamer!* Willem's vloeken, p 12

<sup>2</sup> Finn Magnusen lex 484-5

one,<sup>1</sup> we discover in it the same idea of a kind and beneficent, not a hostile and fiendish god of thunder

The large beetle, which we call stag-beetle or fire-beetle, *lucanus cervus*, *taurus* (ch XXI, beetles), is in some districts of South Germany named *donnergueg*, *donnerguge*, *donnerpuppe* (gueg, guegi, beetle), perhaps because he likes to live in oak-trees, the tree sacred to thunder. For he also bears the name *eichochs*, Swed *ekoxe* (oak-ox), but then again *feuerschroter*, *furboter* (fire-beeter, i.e. kindler),<sup>2</sup> *borner* or *haus-brenner* (-burner), which indicates his relation to thunder and lightning. It is a saying, that on his horns he carries red-hot coals into a roof, and sets it alight, more definite is the belief mentioned in *Aberglaube*, p. xcvi, that lightning will strike a house into which this beetle is carried. In Swed a beetle is still named *horntröll* (see Suppl.)

Among herbs and plants, the following are to be specially noted: the *donnerburt*, stonecrop or houseleek, *sempervivum tectorum*, which, planted on the roof, protects from the lightning's stroke<sup>3</sup> *barba Jovis* vulgari more vocatur (Macer Floridus 741), Fr *Joubarbe* (conf. Append. p. lviii),—the *donnerbesen* (-besom), a shaggy tangled nest-like growth on boughs, of which superstition ascribes the generation to lightning, otherwise called *alpruthe*,—the *donnerkraut*, *sedum*,—the *donnerflug*, *fumaria bulbosa*,—the *donnerdistel*, *eryngium campestre*,—the Dan *tordenskrepp*, burdock.—The South Slavs call the iris *perunik*, Perun's flower, while the Lettons call our

<sup>1</sup> How comes the Ital. to have a *trono* (Neap. *truono*, Span. *trueno*) by the side of *tuono*? and the Provençal a *trons* with the same meaning? Has the R. slipped in from our *donar*, or still better from the Goth. *drunjan*, *sonus*, Rom. 10, 18 (conf. *dronen*, 'cymbal's droning sound' of Dryden)? or did the Lat. *thronus* pass into the sense of sky and thunder? 'forchst nicht, wanns tonnert, ein *tron* werd vom himmel fallen?' Garg. 181<sup>b</sup>. The troubadour's 'Jhesus del *tro*' might then simply mean lord of the firmament.

<sup>2</sup> 'I wol don sacrifice, and tyres *beete*,' Chaucer. Hence beetle itself? AS *bytel*.—TRANS.

<sup>3</sup> A Provençal troubadour, quoted by Raynouard sub v. *barbagol*, says: *e daquel erba tenon pro li vilan sobra lur maiso*. Beside this *hauswurz* (*hauswurzel*, Superst. 60), the *hawthorn*, *albspina*, is a safeguard against lightning (Mémoires de l'acad. celt. 2, 212), as the *laurel* was among the ancient Romans, or the *white vine* planted round a house, conf. *brennessel* (Superst. 336), 'palm branches laid upon coals, lighted candles, a fire made on the hearth, are good for a thunderstorm,' Braunschweig 1760, p. 1392. The *crossbill* too is a protector (Superst. 335), because his beak forms the sign of the cross or hammer? but the nest-making *redbreast* or *redstart* appears to attract lightning\* (ch. XXI, *redbreast*; Superst. 629-704), was he, because of his red plumage, sacred to the redbearded god? (see Suppl.)

hederich (ground-ivy? hedge-mustard?) *pehl lones*, Perunika is also, like Iris, a woman's name. The oak above all trees was dedicated to the Thunderer (pp 67, 72) *quercus Jovi* placuit, Phaedr 3, 17, magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus, Vng. Georg 3, 332. At Dodona stood the *δρῦς ἱφίκομος Διός*, Od 14, 327 19, 297, but at Troy the *beech* often named in the Iliad *φηγὸς ἱφηλὴ Διὸς αἰγυόχοιο*, 5, 693 7, 60. A particular kind of oak is in Servian *grm*, and *grmuk* is quercetum, no doubt in close connexion with *grom* (tonitrus), *grmiti* or *grmlieti* (tonare). The acorn is spoken of above, p 177.

Apparently some names of the snipe (*scolopax gallinago*) have to do with this subject *donnerziege* (-goat), *donnerstagspferd* (Thursday horse), *himmelsziege* (capella coelestis), because he seems to bleat or whinny in the sky? But he is also the *weatherbird*, stormbird, rainbird, and his flight betokens an approaching thunderstorm. Dan *myrhest*, Swed *horsgjok*, Icel *hrossagaukr*, horsegowk or cuckoo, from his neighing, the first time he is heard in the year, he prognosticates to men their fate (Biorn sub v), evidently superstitious fancies cling to the bird. His Lettish name *pehl lona kasa*, *pehrkona ahsis* (thunder's she-goat and he-goat) agrees exactly with the German. In Lithuanian too, Mielcke 1, 294 2, 271 gives *Perkuno ozhys* as heaven's goat, for which another name is *tikkutis*—Kannes pantheum p 439, thinks the name *donnerstagspferd* belongs to the goat itself, not to the bird, this would be welcome, if it can be made good. Some confirmation is found in the AS *fiŋgengæt* (ibex, rupicapra, chamois), and *fiŋginducca* (capricornus), to which would correspond an OHG *virgungeiz*, *virgunpocch*, so that in these the analogy of *fairguni* to *Donar* holds good. The wild creature that leaps over rocks would better become the god of rocks than the tame goat. In the Edda, Thôrr has *he-goats* yoked to his thunder-car between these, and the weather-fowl described by turns as goat and horse (always a car-drawing beast), there might exist some half-observed link of connexion (see Suppl.) It is significant also, that the devil, the modern representative of the thunder god, has the credit of having created goats, both he and she, and as Thôrr puts away the bones of his goats after they have been picked, that he may bring them to life again (Sn. 49. 50),<sup>1</sup> so the Swiss shepherds believe that the goat has

<sup>1</sup> The myth of the *slaughtered goats brought to life again* by hammer-conse-



something of the devil in her, she was made by him, and her feet especially smack of their origin, and are not eaten, Tobler 214<sup>a</sup>. Did the German thundergod in particular have *he-goats and she-goats* sacrificed to him (supra, p. 52)? The Old Roman or Etruscan *brdental* (from *bidens*, lamb) signifies the place where lightning had struck and killed a man: there a lamb had to be sacrificed to Jupiter, and the man's body was not burned, but buried (Plin. 2, 54). If the Ossetes and Circassians in exactly the same way offer a goat over the body killed by lightning, and *elevate the hide on a pole* (supra, p. 174), it becomes the more likely by a great deal that the goat-offering of the Langobards was intended for no other than Donar. For *hanging up hides* was a Langobardish rite, and was practised on other occasions also, as will presently be shown. In Carinthia, cattle struck by lightning are considered sacred to God, no one, not even the poorest, dares to eat of them (Sartoris reise 2, 158).

Other names of places compounded with that of the thundergod, besides the numerous *Donnersbergs* already cited, are forthcoming in Germany. Near Oldenburg lies a village named *Donnerschwee*,

creation, and of the *boar Sæhrimnir* (Sn. 42) being boiled and eaten every day and *coming whole* again every evening, seems to re-appear in more than one shape. In Wolf's *Wodana*, p. xxviii, the following passage on witches in Ferrara is quoted from Barthol. de Spina († 1546), *quaestio de strigibus*: *Dicunt etiam, quod postquam comederunt aliquem pinguem bovem vel aliquam vegetem, vino vel arcam seu cophinum panibus evacuarunt et consumpserunt ea vorantes, domina illa percussit aurea virga quam manu gestat ea vasa vel loca, et statim ut prius plena sunt vini vel panis ac si nihil inde fuisset assumptum. Similiter congeri jubet ossa mortui bovis super coram ejus extensum, ipsumque per quatuor partes super ossa revolvens, virgaque percutiens, vivum bovem reddit ut prius, ac reducendum jubet ad locum suum.* The diabolical witches' meal very well matches that of the thundergod. But we are also told in legends, that the saint, after *eating up a cock*, reanimated it out of the bones, and so early as parson Amis, we find the belief made use of in playing-off a deception (l. 969 seq.). Folk-tales relate how a magician, after a *fish had been eaten*, threw the bones into water, and the fish came alive again. As with these eatable creatures, so in other tales there occurs the reanimation of persons who have been cut to pieces: in the *marchen vom Machandelbom* (juniper-tree), in the myth of Zeus and Tantalus, where the shoulder of Pelops being devoured by Demeter (Ovid 6, 406) reminds us of the he-goat's leg-bone being split for the marrow, and remaining lame after he came to life again, in the myth of Osiris and St. Adalbert (Temme p. 33), conf. DS no. 62, and Ezekiel 37. Then in the eighth Finnish rune, Lemminkäinen's mother gathers all the limbs of his dismembered body, and makes them live again. The fastening of heads that have been chopped off to their trunks, in Waltharius 1157 (conf. p. 93) seems to imply a belief in their reanimation, and agrees with a circumstance in *Norske eventyr* pp. 199, 201.

formerly Donerswe,<sup>1</sup> Donnerswehe, Donnerswede (Kohli handb von Oldenb 2, 55), which reminds us of Oðinsve, Wodeneswege (p 151), and leaves us equally in doubt whether to understand with a temple, or weg a way. The Norwegian folk-tale tells us of an actual *Thors vej* (way, Faye p 5). A village *Donnersneut* is to be found in Franconia towards Bohemia, a *Donnersted* in Thedinghausen bailiwick, Brunswick, a *Thunnesfeld* [Thurfield] in AS documents, Kemble 2, 115 195 272, &c &c—Many in Scandinavia, *eg*, in Denmark, *Torslund* (Thôrs lundr, grove), *Tosung* (Thôrs engi, ing),<sup>2</sup> several in Sweden, *Tors måse* (gorges) in a boundary-deed of Ostergotland, Broocman 1, 15, *Thorsborg* in Gothland, Gutalag p 107. 260 *Thôrsborg* (mountain) and *Thôrshofn* (haven) in Norway, Fornm sog 4, 12 343, *Thôrsmark* (wood, a holy one?), Nialss cap 149 150<sup>3</sup> *Thôrs nes* (nose, cape), Sæm 155<sup>a</sup> and Eyrb saga cap 4 (see Suppl) *Thors bro* (Thôrs brú, bridge) in Schonen, like the Norwegian Thor's-way, leads us to that prevalent belief in devil's bridges and other buildings, which is the popular way of accounting for peculiarly shaped rocks, precipices and steep mountain paths. only God or the devil could have burst them so.

As a man's name, *Donar* in its simple form is rarely found, one noble family on the Rhine was named *Donner* von Lorheim, Siebmach 5, 144. Its derivatives and compounds are not common in any High Germ dialect, a Carolingian doc in the Cod lauresh no 464 has *Donarad*, which I take to be the ON *Thóðr*, and the Trad fuld 2, 23 *Albthonar*, which is the ON *Thóðlfr* inverted. Such name-formations are far more frequent in the North, where the service of the god prevailed so long: Thórrarr (OHG Donarall<sup>2</sup>), *Thórr*, *Thóðr*, *Thórrhall*, *Thóðlfr* (OS Thunerulf in Calend merseb Septemb), *Thóroddr*, and the feminines *Thóra*, *Thórun*, *Thóarna* (formed like diorna, Gramm. 2, 336), *Thórkatta*, *Thórhildr*, *Thórdís*, &c. I cannot see why the editors of the Fornmanna sögur deprive such proper names as *Thórgeir*, *Thórbiorn*,

<sup>1</sup> 'to *Donerswe*, dar heft de herscup den tegenden (teind, tithe),' Land-register of 1428

<sup>2</sup> Others specified in Suhm, krit hist 2, 651

<sup>3</sup> The settlers in Iceland, when they consecrated a district to Thórr, named it *Thórsmark*, Landn 5, 2 ed. nova p. 343. From *Donnersmark* (Zschotor tokely) in the Hungarian county of Zips, comes the Silesian family of Henkel von Donnersmark. Walach manura die Donnersmarkt

*Thórsteinn*, *Thórlætull*, *Thórvaldr*, *Thórfinnr*, *Thórgeir* ðr, &c of their long vowel, it is not the abstract þor, audacia, that they are compounded with, and the Nialssaga, *eg* cap 65, spells *Thórgeirr*, *Thórkatla*—The frequent name *Thórlætull*, abbrev Thórkell, Dan Torkild, AS Turketulus, Thurkytel (Kemble 2, 286, 349 v supra, p 63), if it signifies a kettle, a vessel, of the thundergod, resembles Wuotan's sacrificial cauldron (p 56) The Hymisqviða sings of Thórr fetching a huge cauldron for the áses to brew ale with, and wearing it on his head, Sæm 57, which is very like the strong man Hans (ans, âs ?) in the nursery-tale clapping the church bell on his head for a cap—The coupling of *Alp* (elf) with *Donar* in Albthonar and Thórrálfr is worthy of notice, for *alpgeschoss* (elf-shot) is a synonym for the thunderbolt, and *Alpruthe* (elf-rod) for the donnerkraut [donnerbesen? see p 183] An intimate relation must subsist between the gods and the elves (p 180), though on the part of the latter a subordinate one (see Suppl) <sup>1</sup>

It is observable that in different lays of the Edda Thórr goes by different names In Lokaglepsa and Harbardsljóð he is 'Thórr, Asaðórr,' but in Hamarsheimt 'Vingþórr, Hlórríði' (yet Thórr as well), in Alvismál always 'Vingþórr,' in Hymisqviða 'Veorr, Hlórríði,' not to mention the periphrases *vagna verr* (curruum dominus), *Sífar verr*, *Oðins sonr* *Hlórríði* was touched upon in p 167, note *Víngthórr* they derive from vængr, ala, as if Wing-thunder, the winged one aera quatiens? This appears to be far from certain, as he is elsewhere called *fôstri Víngrus*, Sn 101, and in the genealogies this *Víngrur* appears by the side of him Especially important is *Veorr*, which outside of Hymisqviða is only found once, Sæm 9<sup>a</sup>, and never except in the nom sing, it belongs doubtless to ve, wiþ, and so betokens a holy consecrated being, distinct from the Ve, gen Vea on p 163, the OHG form must have been Wihor, Wihar? (see Suppl)

As Oðinn was represented journeying abroad, to the Eastern land (p 163), so is Thórr engaged in eastward travels Thórr var í *austurvegi*, Sæm 59, á *austurveg* 68<sup>a</sup>, fór or *austurvegi*, 75, ec var *austr*, 78<sup>a, b</sup>, *austrforom* þínom scaltu aldregi segja seggjom frá, 68<sup>a</sup> In these journeys he fought with and slew the giants var hann

<sup>1</sup> To the Borât Mongols beyond L. Baikal, fairy-rings in grass are "where the sons of the lightning have danced"—TRANS

*farinn á austri eg* at herja troll, Sn 46 And this again points to the ancient and at that time still unforgettten connexion of the Teutonic nations with Asia, this 'faring east-ways' is told of other heroes too, Sn 190 363, *eg*, the race of the Skilfingar is expressly placed in that eastern region (*sú kynslóð er í austrvegum*), Sn 193, and Iotunheim, the world of the giants, was there situated

*Thórr* was considered, next to *Oðinn*, the mightiest and strongest of all the gods, the Edda makes him *Oðinn's son*, therein differing entirely from the Roman view, which takes Jupiter to be Mercury's *father*, in pedigrees, it is true, *Thórr* does appear as an ancestor of *Oðinn* *Thórr* is usually named immediately after *Oðinn*, sometimes before him, possibly he was feared more than *Oðinn* (see Suppl.) In Saxo Gramm, Regner confesses *Se, Thor deo excepto, nullam monstrigenae virtutis potentiam expavere, cujus (sc Thor) virum magnitudini nihil humanarum divinarumque rerum digna possit aequalitate conferri* He is the true national god of the Norwegians, *landás* (patrum numen), Egilss p 365-6, and when *áss* stands alone, it means especially him, *eg*, Sæm 70<sup>a</sup>, as indeed the very meaning of *ans* (jugum montis) agrees with that of *Fair-guneis* His temples and statues were the most numerous in Norway and Sweden, and *ásmeginn*, divine strength, is understood chiefly of him Hence the heathen religion in general is so frequently expressed by the simple *Thór blóta*, Sæm 113<sup>b</sup>, *hét* (called) *á Thór*, Landn 1, 12, *trúði* (believed) *á Thór*, Landn 2, 12 He assigns to emigrants their new place of abode *Thórr vísaði honum* (shewed him), Landn 3, 7 3, 12 From the Landnámabók we could quote many things about the worship of *Thórr þar stendr enn Thórs steinn*, 2, 12 *ganga til frétta við Thór*, 3, 12 *Thórr* is worshipped most, and *Freyr* next, which agrees with the names *Thórvíðr* and *Freyrvíðr* occurring in one family line 2, 6, *víðr* is wood, does it here mean tree, and imply a priestly function? *Oðinvíðr* does not occur, but *Týrvíðr* is the name of a plant, ch XXXVII It is *Thór's* hammer that hallows a mark, a marriage, and the runes, as we find plainly stated on the stones I show in ch XXXIII how *Thórr* under various aspects passed into the devil of the christians, and it is not surprising if he acquired some of the clumsy boorish nature of the giant in the process, for the giants likewise were turned into fiends The foe and pursuer

of all giants in the time of the Ases, he himself appeared a lubber to the christians, he throws stones for a wager with giants (conf ch XVIII). But even in the Eddic *Thrymsqviða*, he eats and drinks immoderately like a giant, and the Norwegian folk-tale makes him take up cask after cask of ale at the wedding, Faye p 4, conf the proverb *mundi enginn Asathôr afdrecka* (outdrink). Conversely, the good-natured old giant *Thrymr* is by his very name a Donar (conf ch XVIII). The delightful story of the hoergergubbe (old man of the mountain, giant) was known far and wide in the North: a poor man invites him to stand godfather to his child, but he refuses to come on hearing that *Thor* or *Tordenveir* is also a bidden guest (conf ch XVIII), he sends however a handsome present (conf Afzelius 2, 158 Molbech's eventyr no 62, F Magn p 935). In spite of all divergences, there appears in the structure of this fable a certain similarity to that of Gossip Death, ch XXVII, for death also is a devil, and consequently a giant, conf Mullenhoff, *schl holst* p 289. That is why some of the old tales which still stood their ground in the christian times try to saddle him with all that is odious, and to make him out a diabolic being of a worse kind than *Oðinn*, conf *Gautrekssaga* p 13. *Finnr* drags the statue of *Thôr* to King *Olafr*, splits and burns it up, then mixes the ashes in furmety and gives it to dogs to devour. 'tis meet that hounds eat *Thôr*, who his own sons did eat,' Fornm sog 2, 163. This is a calumny, the Edda knows of no such thing, it relates on the contrary that *Môði* and *Magnr* outlived their father (see Suppl.). Several revived sagas, like that of the creation of wolves and goats, transform *Wuotan* into the good God, and *Donar* into the devil.

From the time they became acquainted with the Roman theogony, the writers identify the German thundergod with Jupiter. Not only is *dies Jovis* called in AS *Thunnesdæg*, but *Latona Jovis mater* is *Thunnes môdur*, and *capitolium* is translated *Thôrshof* by the Icelanders. Conversely, Saxo Gram p 236 means by his 'Jupiter' the Teutonic *Thor*, the *Jupiter ardens* above (p 110), did that mean *Donar*? As for that *Thôr* devouring his children, it seems [a mere importation, aggravated by] a downright confusion of Jupiter with his father Saturn, just as the Norse genealogy made *Thôr* an ancestor of *Oðinn*. The 'presbyter *Jovi*

mactans,' and the 'sacra' and 'feriae Jovis' (in Indicul pagan) have been dealt with above, p 121

Letzner (hist Caroli magni, Hildesh 1603, cap 18 end) relates The Saturday after Laetare, year by year, cometh to the little cathedral-close of Hildesheim a farmer thereunto specially appointed, and bringeth *two logs* of a fathom long, and therewith two lesser logs pointed in the manner of skittles The two greater he planteth in the ground one against the other, and a-top of them the skittles Soon there come hastily together all manner of lads and youth of the meaner sort, and with stones or staves do pelt the skittles down from the logs, other do set the same up again, and the pelting beginneth a-new By these skittles are to be understood the devilish gods of the heathen, that were thrown down by the Saxon-folk when they became christian

Here the names of the gods are suppressed,<sup>1</sup> but one of them must have been *Jupiter* then, as we find it was afterwards<sup>2</sup> Among the farmer's dues at Hildesheim there occurs down to our own times a *Jupitergeld* Under this name the village of Grossen-Algermissen had to pay 12 g grosch 4 pfen yearly to the sexton of the cathedral, an Algermissen farmer had every year to bring to the cathedral close an eight-cornered log, a foot thick and four feet long, hidden in a sack The schoolboys dressed it in a cloak and crown, and attacked the *Jupiter* as they then called it, by throwing stones first from one side, then from the other, and at last they burnt it This popular festivity was often attended with disorder, and was more than once interdicted, pickets were set to carry the prohibition into effect, at length the royal treasury remitted the Jupiter's geld Possibly the village of Algermissen had incurred the penalty of the due at the introduction of Christianity, by its attachment to the old religion<sup>3</sup> Was the pelting of

<sup>1</sup> In the Corbei chron, Hamb 1590, cap 18, Letzner thinks it was the god of the Irmenstül He refers to MS accounts by Con Fontanus, a Helmershaus Benedictine of the 13th century

<sup>2</sup> A Hildesheim register drawn up at the end of the 14th century or beginning of the 15th cent says 'De *abgotter* (idols), so sunnabends vor laetare (Letzn 'sonnab nach laet') von einem hausmann von Algermissen gesetzet, davor (for which) ihm eine hofe (hufe, hide) landes gehört zur sankmeisterie (chantry?), und wie solches von dem hausmann nicht gesetzet worden, gehört Cantori de hove landes' Hannoversche landesblätter 1833, p 30

<sup>3</sup> Luñtzel on farmers' burdens in Hildesheim 1830, p 205 Hannov mag, 1833, p. 693 Protocols of 1742-3 in an article 'On the Stoning of Jupiter,' Hannov landesbl, ubi supra

the logs to express contempt? In Switzerland the well-known throwing of stones on the water is called *Heiden werfen*, heathen-pelting, otherwise 'den Herrgott losen, vater und mutter losen,' releasing, ransoming? Tobler 174<sup>a</sup> (see Suppl)

I do not pretend to think it at all established, that this *Jupiter* can be traced back to the *Thunar* of the Old Saxons. The custom is only vouched for by protocols of the last century, and clear evidence of it before that time is not forthcoming, but even Letzner's account, differing as it does, suggests a very primitive practice of the people, which is worth noting, even if Jupiter has nothing to do with it. The definite date 'laetare' reminds one of the custom universal in Germany of 'driving out Death,' of which I shall treat hereafter, and in which Death is likewise set up to be pelted. Did the skittle represent the sacred hammer?

An unmistakable relic of the worship paid to the thunder-god is the special observance of *Thursday*, which was not extinct among the people till quite recent times. It is spoken of in quite early documents of the Mid Ages 'nullus diem *Jovis* in otio observet,' Aberglaube p xxx 'de *ferus* quae faciunt *Jovi* vel *Mercuro*,' p xxxii 'quantam *feriam* in honorem *Jovis* honorasti,' p. xxxvii. On Thursday evening one must neither spin nor hew, Superst, Swed 55 110 and Germ 517 703. The Esthonians think Thursday holier than Sunday<sup>1</sup>. What punishment overtook the transgressor, may be gathered from another superstition, which, it is true, substituted the hallowed day of Christ for that of Donar. He that shall work on Trinity Sunday (the next after Pentecost), or shall wear anything sewed or knitted (on that day), shall be *stricken by thunder*, Scheffer's Haltaus, p 225 (see Suppl).

If *Jupiter* had these honours paid him in the 8th century, if the Capitulare of 743 thought it needful expressly to enjoin an 'ec forsacho *Thunare*,' and much that related to his service remained uneradicated a long time after, it cannot well be doubted, that at a still earlier time he was held by our forefathers to be a real god, and one of their greatest.

If we compare him with Wuotan, though the latter is more intellectual and elevated, Donar has the advantage of a sturdy material strength, which was the very thing to recommend him to

<sup>1</sup> Etwas uber die Ehsten, pp 13-4

the peculiar veneration of certain races, prayers, oaths, curses retained his memory oftener and longer than that of any other god. But only a part of the Greek Zeus is included in him



## CHAPTER IX

### ZIO, (TIW, TYR)

The ON name for dies Martis, Týsdagr, has the name of the Eddic god *Týr* (gen. Týs, acc Tý) to account for it. The AS *Tiwesdæg* and OHG *Ziestic* scarcely have the simple name of the god left to keep them company, but it may be safely inferred from them it must have been in AS *Tw*,<sup>1</sup> in OHG *Zio*. The runic letter *Tī*, *Ziu*, will be discussed further on. The Gothic name for the day of the week is nowhere to be found, according to all analogy it would be *Tivisdags*, and then the god himself can only have been called *Tius*. These forms, *Tw-s*, *Tw*, *Tý-r*, *Zio* make a series like the simlai þiu-s, þeow (þiw), þý-r, dio = pur, servus.

If the idea of our thundergod had somewhat narrow limits, that of *Zio* lands us in a measureless expanse. The non-Teutonic cognate [Aryan] languages confront us with a multitude of terms belonging to the root *div*, which, while enabling us to make up a fuller formula *div*, *tw*, *zio*, yield the meanings 'brightness, sky, day, god'. Of Sanskrit words, *dyaus* (coelum) stands the closest to the Greek and German gods' names *Zeús*, *Tius*.

	SANSKRIT	GREEK.	GOthic.
Nom	dyaus	<i>Zeús</i>	<i>Tius</i>
Voc	dyaus	<i>Zeû</i>	<i>Tiu</i>
Acc	divam	<i>Δίφα, Δία</i>	<i>Tiu</i>
Gen	divas	<i>Διφός, Διός</i>	<i>Tivis</i>
Dat	divê	<i>Διφί, Διί</i>	<i>Tiva</i>

To the digammated and older form of the Greek oblique cases there corresponds also the Latin *Jovem*, *Jovis*, *Jovi*, for which we

<sup>1</sup> It might have been *Teow*, from the analogy of *þeow* to *þýr*. Lye quotes, without references *Twg*, Mars, *Tuges-* vel *Tus-dæg*, dies Martis. The Epinal glosses brought to light by Mone actually furnish, no 520 (*Anzeiger* 1838, p 145), *Twg*, Mars; also Oehler p 351. The change of letters is like that of *brug*, jusculum, for *bríw*, and we may at least infer from it, that the vowel is long, *Tig*.

must assume a nom Ju, Jus, though it has survived only in the compound Jupiter = Jus pater, *Ζεὺς πατήρ*. For, the initial in Jus, Jovis [pronounce j as y] seems to be a mere softening of the fuller dj in Djus, Djovis, which has preserved itself in *Διόνις*, just as *Ζεὺς* presupposes an older *Δεύς* which was actually preserved in the Æolic dialect. These Greek and Latin words likewise contain the idea of the heavenly god, *ιε*, a personification of the sky. *Diūm*, *divum* is the vault of heaven, and Zeus is the son of heaven, *Οὐρανοῦ υἱός*, *οὐράνιος*, *Ζεὺς αἰθέρι ναίων* (see Suppl.)

But apart from 'dyaus, Zeus and Jupiter,' the three common nouns *dēvas* (Sansk), *θεός* and *deus* express the general notion of a divinity, they are related to the first three, yet distinct from them. The Lat *deus* might seem to come nearest to our *Tius*, *Zio*, but its u, like the o in *θεός*, belongs to the flexion, not to the root, and therefore answers to the a in *dēvas*<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless *deus* too must have sprung from *devus*, and *θεός* from *θεῖός*, because the very θ instead of δ in the Greek word is accounted for by the reaction of the digamma on the initial. In the shortness of their e they both differ from *dēvas*, whose ê (=ai) grew by guna out of i, so that the Lith *dievas* comes nearer to it<sup>2</sup>. But the adjectives *δῖος* (not from *δίος*, but rather for *δίφος*) and *dīvus* correspond to *dēvas* as *dīves* *dīvitis* (p. 20) to *dēvatas* (*deus*). This approximation between *dīvus* and *deus* serves to confirm the origin of *deus* out of *devus* or *divus* with short i (see Suppl.)<sup>3</sup>. Still more helpful to us is the fact that the Edda has a plur *tívar* meaning gods or heroes, *Sæm* 30<sup>a</sup> 41<sup>a</sup>, *rikir tívar* (conf rich god, p 20), *Sæm* 72<sup>a</sup> 93<sup>a</sup>, *valtívar*, 52<sup>a</sup>, *sigtívar*, 189<sup>a</sup> 248<sup>a</sup>, the sing is not in use. This *tívar*, though not immediately related to *Týr*, yet seems related to it as *δῖος*, *θεός*, *θεῖος* are to *Ζεὺς*; its î is established by the fact that the ON dialect contracts a short iv into y, thus we obtain by the side of *tiv* a *tív*, in Sanskrit by the side of *div* a *dêv*, and in Latin by the side of *deus* a *divus*, these being strengthened or guna forms of the

<sup>1</sup> Kuhn, in *Zeitschr f d alt* 2, 231, has rightly pointed out, that *Zio* can be immediately related only to *dyaus* and *Ζεὺς*, not to *deus* and *θεός*, but he ought to have admitted that mediately it must be related to these last also. That *div* was the root of *Zeus*, had already been shown by O Muller in *Gott anz* 1834, pp 795-6

<sup>2</sup> Conf *piemu ποιμήν*, and *kiemas κόμη* hâims

<sup>3</sup> If, as hinted on p 26, *δῖος* *deus* were conn with *δέω*, the notion of binding must have arisen first out of the divine band, which is hardly conceivable

root div, tiv (splendere)<sup>1</sup> If the earthborn Tuisco, the ancestral god of our nation, stands (as Zeuss p 72 has acutely suggested) for *Tivisco*, *Tuisco*, it shews on its very face the meaning of a divine heavenly being, leaving it an open question whether we will choose to understand it of Wuotan or any other god, barring always Tuis himself, from whom it is derived (see Suppl)

The light of day is a notion that borders on that of heaven, and it was likewise honoured with personification as a god Lucetium Jovem appellabant, quod eum lucis esse causam credebant, Festus sub v To begin with, *dies* (conf interdu, dio) is itself connected with deus and divus, Jupiter was called Diespiter, *ie*, diei pater, for the old gen was dies Then the word in the sing fluctuates between the masc and fem. genders, and as the masc Ju, Dju with the suffix n, is shaped into the fem forms Jûno for Jovino, Djovino, and Diana, just so the Lith name for day, *diena*, is fem, while the Slav *den*, *dzien*, *dan*, is masc The Teutonic tongues have no word for sky or day taken from this root, but we can point to one in Greek Cretenses *Δία τὴν ἡμέραν* vocant (call the day Zeus), ipsi quoque Romani Diespitrem appellant, ut diei patrem, Macrobius Sat 1, 15 The poetic and Doric forms *Zḡva*, *Zḡnós*, *Zḡnl*, and *Zâva*, *Zavós*, *Zaví*, for *Δία*, *Διός*, *Διί*, correspond to the above formations,<sup>2</sup> and the Etruscans called Jupiter *Tina*, *ie* Dina, O Muller 2, 43 (see Suppl).

A derivative from the same root with another suffix seems to present itself in the ON *tívor* (deus?),<sup>3</sup> Sæm 6<sup>b</sup>, AS *tír*, gen *tíras* (tur, Cod exon 331, 18 gloria, splendor), and OS *tír*, gen *tíras*, *tíreas*, with which I connect the OHG *ziorn*, *ziarn*, *ziern* (splendidus), and the Lat *decus*, decor, decorus The AS poets use the word *tír* only to intensify other words: *tírmætod* (deus gloriæ, summus deus), Cædm 143, 7, *æstctír wera* (hasta gloriosa virorum), 124, 27, *æscatír*, 127, 10, *tírwine*, Boeth metr 25, 41, *tírfurma*, Cod exon 13, 21, *tírmeahtig* (potentissimus), 72, 1, *tíreádig* (felicissimus), Cædm 189, 13 192, 16, *tírfæst* (firmissimus), 64, 2 189, 19,

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, though rarely, we find another ON *díar*, Sæm 91<sup>a</sup> Sn 176 Yngl saga cap 2, it agrees with *θεός* more than with *δῖος*

<sup>2</sup> We know to what shifts Socrates is driven in trying to explain the forms *Zḡva* and *Δία* (Plato's Cratylus p 29, Bekker), *θεός* he derives from *θεῖν*, currere (p 32)

<sup>3</sup> Or must we read it *tívor*, and connect it with the AS *tifer*, *tiber*, OHG *zepar*?

much in the same way as the AS eormen, OHG irman is prefixed. Now when a similar prefix *tý* meets us in the ON writings, *eg* *týhraustr* (fortissimus), *týspákr* (sapientissimus), Sn 29, it confirms the affinity between *tír* and *Tý-r*.

These intricate etymologies were not to be avoided. they entitle us to claim a sphere for the Teutonic god Zio, Tíw, Týr, which places him on a level with the loftiest deities of antiquity. Represented in the Edda as Óðinn's son, he may seem inferior to him in power and moment, but the two really fall into one, inasmuch as both are directors of war and battle, and the fame of victory proceeds from each of them alike. For the olden time resolved all glory into military glory, and not content with Wuotan and Zio, it felt the need of a third war-god Hadu, the finer distinctions in their cultus are hidden from us now.—It is not to be overlooked, that Óðinn is often named Sigtýr, Hróptatýr, Gautatýr, hângatýr, farmatýr (Sæm 30 47 248\* Sn 94-6), bodvartýr, quasi pugnae deus, geartýr (Fornm sog 9, 515-8), and that even Thórr, to whom Jupiter's lightning has been handed over, appears as Reiðartýr, Reiditýr (Sn 94), *ie* god of the waggon<sup>1</sup>. In all these poetical terms, we see that *týr* bears that more general sense which makes it suitable for all divinities, especially the higher ones. Týr has a perfect right to a name identical with Zeus. Add moreover, that the epithet of *father* was in a special degree accorded, not only to Jupiter, Diespiter, but to victory's patron *Marspiter*<sup>2</sup>.

Further, this lofty position is claimed for Zio by the oldest accounts that have reached us. *Mars* is singled out as a chief god

<sup>1</sup> I do not reckon *Angantýr* among this set of words. It occurs frequently, both in the Hervararsaga and in Sæm 114\* 119<sup>b</sup> 9\*, this last passage calls Óðinn 'Friggjar ángantýr'. The true form is doubtless *Anganþýr*, as appears from the OHG *Angandeo* (Trad fuld 1, 57), and the AS *Ongenþeow*, *Ongenþeo* (Beow 4770 4945-67 5843-97 5917-67), -týr would have been in AS -teow, in OHG -zio. Graff gives an *Agandeo* 1, 132 5, 87, which seems to be a mis-spelling, though the Trad wizenb no 20 have a woman's name Agathiu (for Anganthiu), to which add the acc Agathien, Agacien (Walthar 629). The meaning of *angan*, *ongen*, is doubtful, '*angan illrar brúðhar*' is said to be '*deliciae malae mulieris*', but Biorn interprets it *pedisequa*, and Óðinn might fitly be called *Friggæ pedisequus*. That some proper names in the Edda are corrupt, is plain from *Hamdir*, which ought everywhere to be *Hamþýr*, OHG *Hamadio*, *Hamædo* (Schannat no 576 Cod lauresh 2529), MHG *Hamdie* (MsH 3, 213<sup>b</sup>). This much I am sure of, that neither *Anganþýr* nor *Hamþýr* can contain a *týr*, which is almost always compounded with genitives in a figurative sense.

<sup>2</sup> Gellius 5, 12

of all the Germanic nations, and mentioned side by side with Mercury. The evidence is collected on p 44<sup>1</sup>. Tacitus, in *Hist* 4, 64, makes the Tencteri say right out: *Communibus deis, et praecipuo deorum Marti grates agimus*, we have no occasion to apply the passage to Wuotan, to whom the highest place usually belongs, as particular races may have assigned that to Zio. The still clearer testimony of Procopius 12, 15 to the worship of *Ares* among the dwellers in the North,<sup>2</sup> which says expressly: *ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι*, ought to be compared with the statements of Jornandes on the Gothic *Mars*, in both places human sacrifices are the subject, and therefore Zeuss, p 22, is for understanding it of Wuotan again, because to him Tacitus says that men were sacrificed, but he does not say to him alone,—on the contrary, anent the Hermundurian offering, *Ann* 13, 57, where ‘*virī*’ were also slain, *Mars* stands mentioned before Mercury. And Jornandes, who identifies the ‘*Gradivus pater*’ of the Getae in *Virg Aen* 3, 35 with the *Mars* of the Goths, must have been thinking of the special god of war, not of a higher and more general one, intimately as they interpenetrate one another in name and nature. All in favour of this view are the Scythian and Alanic legends of the war-sword, which will be examined by and by. If the Getic, Scythian and Gothic traditions meet anywhere, it is on this of *Mars*-worship. Neither can we disregard Widukind’s representation at a later time (*Pertz* 5, 423) of the Saxon *Mars* set up on high. Donar and Wuotan, with whom at other times he is combined in a significant trilogy, appear, like Jupiter and Mercury, to retire before him. But it is quite conceivable how the glossist quoted on p 133 could render Wuotan by Mars, and Widukind glide easily from Mars to Hermes, *i e*, Wodan, particularly if he had in his mind the analogy of those prefixes *irman-* (of which he is speaking) and *tir-*. The ON writers, while they recognise Óðin’s influence on war and victory, speak no less distinctly of *Týr*, who is em-

<sup>1</sup> A passage in *Florus* 2, 4 ‘*mox Arivisto duce vovere de nostrorum militum praeda Marti suo torquem intercept Jupiter votum, nam de torquibus eorum aureum tropaeum Jovi Flaminius erexit*,’ speaks of the Insubrian Gauls, who were beaten in the consulship of Flaminius B.C. 225. But these Galli are both in other respects very like Germans, and the name of their leader is that of the Suevic (Swabian) king in Caesar.

<sup>2</sup> *Θουλίται* (men of Thule) is their generic name, but he expressly includes among them the *Γαυτοί*, whom he rightly regards as a different people from the *Γότθοι*, conf. *Gott. anz* 1828, p 553.

phatically their *Vígaguð* (deus proeliorum), Sn 105, and again hann er diarfastr ok best hugaðr, ok hann ræðr míc *sigr* í *orostom*, Sn 29 (see Suppl.).

No doubt there were mountains hallowed to Zio, as well as to Wuotan and Donar, the only difficulty is, to know which god, Wuotan or Zio, was meant by a particular name. May we place to his credit the name of the abbey of Siegburg in the Lower Rhine, which was founded in 1064 on a mountain where the ancient assize of the people was held? From that time the mountain was to have been called Mons sancti Michaelis after the christian conqueror, but the heathen *Sigeberg* could not be dislodged, it was only distorted into Siegburg,<sup>1</sup> or are we to explain the name by the river Sieg, which flows through the district? The ON *Sigtýsberg* (OS Sigu-tiwis-berag?), Sæm 348\* might belong to Óðinn or to Týr. The Weimar map has in section 38 a *Tisdorf*, and in section 48 a *Ziesberg*, both in Lower Saxon districts on the Elbe. A place in Zealand, about which there are folk-tales, is *Tybræg* (Thiele 2, 20), also in Zealand are *Tisvelde* (Ti's well), *Tysting*, in Jutland, *Tystathe*, *Tislunde*. In Sweden *Tistad*, *Tisby*, *Tisjo*, *Tyred*. *Zierberg* in Bavaria (Cirberg, Zirberc, MB 11, 71-3-5-6) and *Zierenberg* in Lower Hesse may be derived from the collateral form (see Suppl.) The *mons Martis* at Paris (Montmartre), of which even Abbo de bell Par 2, 196 makes mention, has to do with the Gallic Mars, whom some take to be Belus, others Hesus. With far better right than the Parisian *mons Martis* (yet conf Waitz's *Salic law*, p 52), we may assign to Zio the *fanum Martis*, now Famars in Hainault (p 84), according to Herm Muller the Old Frankish '*Disbargum* (or Disbargus) in termino Toringorum' of Greg tur 2, 9, Chlodio's castellum. Dis- would be a Latinized form of Tis = Tives, perhaps recalling Dispiter, Diespiter, there is no Gallic word like it looking towards Mars, and the district is thoroughly Frankish, with Liphtinae close by, where we have Saxnôt named by the side of Thunar and Wôðan. As for *Eresberg* and *Mersberg* (3 or 4 pp on), I have compared the oldest documents in Seibertz no 11 (anno 962) gives us Eresburg, no 25 (1030) already Mersburg, 1, 98 (1043) *mons Eresburg*, no 51 (1150) *mons Eresberg*, no. 70 (1176) *mons Eresberch*, no 85 (1184) *Heresburg*;

<sup>1</sup> Docum in Lacomblet, no 203-4

no 115 (1201) mons Martis, no 153 (1219 Mersberch, no 167 (1222) Eresberch, no 179 (1228) mons Martis, no 186 (1229) mons Neresberg, no. 189 (1230) mons Martis and Mersberg Mons Martis was the learned name, Mersberg the popular, and Eresberg the oldest. As mons and castellum are used by turns, berg and burg are equally right. Widukind 2, 11 and Dietmar 2, 1 spell *Heiesburg* and *Eresburch*, when they describe the taking of the place in 938. According to the Ann Corb (Pertz 5, 8), they are sacred to both Ares and Hermes (Mars and Mercury).

The names of plants also confess the god. ON *Týsfiola*, I dare say after the Lat *viola Martis*, march-violet, *Týrhalm* (*aconitum*), otherwise Thorhalm, Thorhat (helmet, hat), conf Germ *sturmhut*, *eisenhut*, Dan *troldhat*, a herb endowed with magic power, whose helmet-like shape might suggest either of those warlike gods Týr and Thórr, *Týviðr*, Tý's wood, Dan *Tyved*, *Tysved* (*daphne mezereum*), in the Helsing dial *tis*, *tistbast*, the mezereon, a beautiful poison-flower (see Suppl.)

While these names of places and plants sufficiently vouch for the wide-spread worship of the god, we must lay particular stress on one thing, that the name for the third day of the week, which is what we started with, bears living witness to him at this moment, not only in Scandinavia and England (ON *Tysdagr*, Swed *Tisdag*, Dan *Tirsdag*, AS *Tiwesdæg*), but among the common people in Swabia and Switzerland (*Ziestag*, *Tiestag*, *diestik*, beside our universal *Dienstag*), Schm 4, 214 brings all the forms together. And there is yet one more testimony to the high antiquity of Zio-worship in Swabia, which we may gather from an old Wessobrunn gloss 'Cyuvan = Suâpa,' MB 7, 375 and Diut 2, 370, which I take to be not Teutonoari, as Zeuss does, pp 146-9, but *Ziowari* Martem colentes, warian expressing, like Lat *colere*, both *habitare* and *θεραπεύειν*, so that the Suevi are *θεράποντες* Ἄρης.

But that is not all. Further and weighty disclosures on the name and nature of the war-god await us at the hands of the Runic alphabet.

It is known that each separate rune has a name to itself, and these names vary more or less according to the nations that use them, but they are mostly very ancient words. The OHG runes having to bestow the name *dorn* on D, and *tac* on T, require for their aspirate Z which closes the alphabet the name of Zio. In the ON.

and AS alphabets, dag stood for D, *Tȝr* and *Tiw* for T, þorn for þ, being the same three words, only in different places, occasionally the Anglo-Saxons wrote *Tir* or *Tis*. Whenever a list of runes keeps thorn for Th, and dag for D, it is sure to have *Ti* for T (as the Cod Isidori parisiensis and bruxellensis), so it is in the St Gall cod 260 and the Brussels 9565, except that dorn is improperly put for thorn, and tag for dag, but *Ti* stands correctly opposite T. The Paris cod 5239 has *dhion* (dhorn), *tac*, *Ziu*, that of Salzburg *dhorn*, *Ti*, *daeg* everywhere the form *Ziu* shows the High Germ acceptance, and the form *Ti* (once, in Cod vatic Christinae 338, spelt *Tu*, perh *Tu*) the Low Germ, the Saxon. The *u* in *Ziu* seems to be more archaic than the *o* of *Zio*, which has kept pace with the regular progress of the OHG dialect, and follows the analogy of *dio*, *servus*, this relation between *u* and *o* may perhaps be seen still more in its true light, as we go on. But what is very remarkable, is that in the Vienna cod 140 the name *Tyz* is given to T in an alphabet which uses the Gothic letters, for *Tyz* comes very near to our conjectural Goth *Tius*. As well the retention as the unavoidable alterations of this divine name in the runes of the various races, may be taken as proofs of the antiquity and extent of *Zio*-worship.

How comes it that no rune has taken its name from Wuotan or Óðinn, the inventor of writing itself? 'R = *ieð*, *râð*, *ie*, waggon, may indirectly at least be referred to the god of the Thunder-car, and F according to one interpretation signifies Freyr. Anyhow, 'T=Tyr' appears to have been a supremely honoured symbol, and the name of this god to have been specially sacred. In scratching the runes of victory on the sword, the name of *Tȝr* had to be twice inserted, Sæm. 194<sup>b</sup>. The shape of the rune  $\uparrow$  has an obvious resemblance to the old-established symbol of the planet Mars when set upright  $\uparrow$ , and an AS poem on the runes expressly says *tîr bið tǣcna sum* (*tîr* is one of the tokens, is a certain sign), where again the derivative form *tîr* is employed to explain the simple *Tiw* or *Ti*. Occasionally the poets speak of '*tîre tǣcnian*,' to mark with *tîr* (El 753 Jud 137, 18), and '*tîres to tǣcne*,' as mark of *tîr* (Beow 3306), we may expound it as '*gloria, decore insignire, in gloriæ signum*,' and still think of the heathen symbol of the god, pretty much as we saw it done at the solemn blessing of the ale-cups (see Suppl).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conf note to Elene 155-6



Thus far we have dealt with the runic name Tŕ, Tīw, Zīo, and no other. But here the same alphabets come out with a sharp distinction between two names of the selfsame god. First, in the AS lists, in addition to ↑ Tīr, we come upon a similar arrow with two barbs added ʏ and the name *Ear* attached to it<sup>1</sup>. Then the OHG alphabets, after using ↑ for tac, find a use for that very symbol ʏ to which some of them give the name Zīo, others again *Eo*, *Eoi*, *Aer*. And there are AS alphabets that actually set down by ʏ the two names Tīr and Ear, though Tīr had already been given to ↑. It is evident then, that *Tīr* and *Ear*—*Zīo* and *Eo*, *Eor*—were two names for one god, and both must have been current among the several races, both Low German and High.

Evidence as regards Low Germany is found both in the rune *Ear* occurring in Anglo-Saxon, and in the remarkable name of *Eresburg*, *Aeresburg* being given to a notable seat of pagan worship in a district of Westphalia, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Irmansûl (v. supra, p. 116). That it was strictly *Eresberg* (as Siegburg was originally Sigberg, p. 198), follows both from the Latin rendering *mons Martis*, and from its later name *Meisberg*,<sup>2</sup> whose initial M could be explained by the contraction of the words 'in dem Eresberge, Aresberge,'<sup>3</sup> or it may be an imitation of the Latin name. There was a downright *Marsberg* in another district of Westphalia<sup>4</sup>. This *Eresberg* then is a *Ziesberg*, a Sig-tiwes-berg, and yet more closely an Areopagus, Mars' hill, *Ἀρειόπαγος, πέτρα πάγος τ' Ἀρειος* (Aeschyl. Eum. 690).

Still more plainly are High German races, especially the Bavarian (Marcomannic) pointed to by that singular name for the third day of the week, *Ertag*, *Iertag*, *Irtag*, *Entag*, *Erchtag*, *Erchttag*, which answers to the rune *Eor*, and up to this moment lives to part off the Bavarians, Austrians and Tyrolese from the Swabians and Swiss (who, as former Ziowari, stick to Ziestag), along the boundary-line of these races must also have run formerly the frontier between Eor-worship and Zio-worship. True, the compound Ertac lacks

<sup>1</sup> In one poem, Cod. exon. 481, 18, the rune contains simply the vowel sound *ea*.

<sup>2</sup> This Eresburg or Mersberg stands in the pagus Hessi saxonicus (registr. Sarachonis p. 42, 735), conf. Wigands archiv I. 1, 36-7 II. 143, 268.

<sup>3</sup> So Motgers = in dem Otgêrs hove [and, the nonce = then once, &c.]

<sup>4</sup> In the pagus Marstem, Marshem, Marsem (close to the Weser, near Markló), reg. Sarachonis 42, 727.

the genitive ending -s which is preserved in Ziestac, and I have not been so fortunate as to hunt up an Erestac<sup>1</sup> in the older records of the 13-14th centuries, nevertheless the coincidence of the double names for the day and for the rune should be conclusive here, and we must suppose an OHG Erestac, to match the Eresberg. One might be led to imagine that in *Ertag* the *Earth* (Erde according to the forms given at the beginning of ch XIII) was meant. But the ancient way of thinking placed the earth in the centre of the world, not among the planets, she cannot therefore have given name to a day of the week, and there is no such day found in any nation, unless we turn Venus and Freyja into the earth—To bear this Ertag company, there is that name of a place *Eersel*, quoted p 154 from Gramaye, in which neither *êra* honor, nor its personification *Era* (ch XVI, XXIX) is to be thought of, but solely a god of the week. It is worth noticing, that *Ertac* and *Erdaq* occur as men's names, also, that the Taxandrian *Eersel* was but a little way off the Tisberg or Fanmars in Hainault (see Suppl.)—Now comes something far more important. As *Zio* is identical with *Zeus* as director of wars, we see at a glance that *Eor*, *Er*, *Ear*, is one with *Ἄρης* the son of *Zeus*, and as the Germans had given the rank of *Zeus* to their *Wuotan*, *Týr* and consequently *Eor* appears as the son of the highest god. Have we any means now left of getting at the sense of this obscure root *Eor*?

The description of the rune in the AS. poem gives only a slight hint, it runs thus

*Ear* bið egle eorla gehwylcum,  
 þonne fæstlice flæsc onginneð  
 hræw cōlian, hrusan ceosan  
 blāc tō gebeddan blæda gedreosað,  
 wylna gewitað, wera geswicað;

i.e., *Ear* fit importunus hominum cuiusque, quum caro incipit refrigescere, pallidumque corpus terram eligere conjugem tunc enim gloriæ dilabuntur, gaudia evanescunt, foedera cessant. The description is of death coming on, and earthly joys dropping off, but who can that be, that at such a time is burdensome (egle, ail-some) to men? The ordinary meaning of *ear*, spica, arista, can be of no use here, I suppose that approaching dissolution, a personified death

<sup>1</sup> In a passage from Keisersberg quoted by Schm 1, 97, it is spelt *Ernstag*, apparently to favour the derivation from 'dies aëris'

is to be understood, from which a transition to the destructive god of battles, the *βροτολοιγός, μαιφόνος Ἄρης* is easy to conceive<sup>1</sup> *Ἄρης* itself is used abstractly by the Greeks for destruction, murder, pestilence, just as our Wuotan is for furor and belli impetus,<sup>2</sup> and the Latin Mars for bellum, exitus pugnae, furor bellicus, conf. 'Mars = cafeht,' gefecht, fight, in Gl Hrab 969<sup>a</sup>, as conversely the OHG *wīg* pugna, bellum (Graff 1, 740) seems occasionally to denote the personal god of war 'Wiegch quoque Mars est' says Ermoldus Nigellus (Pertz 2, 468), and he is said to farneman, AS forniman, carry off, as Hild (Bellona) does elsewhere dat man wic fornam, Hildebr lied, in AS *wīg* ealle fornam, Beow 2155, wīg fornóm, Cod. exon 291, 11 Do we not still say, war or battle snatched them all away? A remarkable gloss in the old Cod sangall 913, p 193, has 'turbines = *zuu*' (we have no business to write *zui*), which may mean the storm of war, the Mars trux, saevus, or possibly the literal whirlwind, on which mythical names are sometimes bestowed, so it is either *Zio* himself, or a synonymous female personification *Zuu*, bearing the same relation to *Zio* as *diu* (ancilla) to *dio* (servus)

Here comes in another string of explanations, overbold as some of them may seem As *Eresburg* is just as often spelt *Heresburg* by the Frankish annalists, we may fairly bring in the Goth *haiŕus*, AS *heor*, OS *heru*, ON *horr*, ensis, cardo, although the names of the rune and the day of the week always appear without the aspirate For in Greek we already have the two unaspirated words *Ἄρης* and *ἄρῃς*, sword, weapon, to compare with one another, and these point to a god of the sword Then again the famous Abrenuntiatio names three heathen gods, *Thunar*, *Wóden*, *Saxnót*, of whom the third can have been but little inferior to the other two in power and holiness *Sahsnót* is word for word gladii consois, ensifer [Germ genoss, sharer], who else but *Zio* or *Eor* and the Greek *Ares*?<sup>3</sup> The AS genealogies preserve the name of *Saxneát*

<sup>1</sup> Or, without the need of any transition, Ear might at once be Ares 'war is burdensome in old age'.—TRANS.

<sup>2</sup> The notions of raving (wuten) and insanity are suitable to the blustering stormful god of war Homer calls Ares *θυρός* the wild, and *ἄφρων* the insensate, *ὃς οὐτινα οἶδε θέμιστα*, Il 5, 761 But *μαίνεσθαι* is said of other gods too, particularly Zeus (8, 360) and Dionysos or Bacchus (6, 132)

<sup>3</sup> One might think of Fró, Freyr (ch X), but of course glittering swords were attributed to more than one god, thus Poseidon (Neptune) wields a *δευρόν ἄρῃς*, Il. 14, 385, and Apollo is called *χρυσάρεος*, ὅ, 509 15, 256

as the son of Wôden, and it is in perfect accordance with it, that Tîr was the son of Oðinn, and Ares the son of Zeus (see Suppl.) But further, as the *Saxons* were so called, either because they wielded the sword of stone (*saxum*), or placed this god at the head of their race, so I think the *Cherusians* of Tacitus, a people synonymous, nay identical with them, were named after *Cheru*, *Heru* = *Eor*, from whom their name can be derived<sup>1</sup> After this weighty consonance of facts, which opens to us the meaning of the old national name, and at the same time teaches that 'heru' was first of all pronounced 'cheru,' and last of all 'eru, er,' I think we may also bring in the Gallic war-god *Hesus* or *Esus* (Lucan 1, 440), and state, that the metal iron is indicated by the planetary sign of Mars, the AS 'tîres tâcen,' and consequently that the rune of Zio and Eor may be the picture of a sword with its handle, or of a spear<sup>2</sup> The Scythian and Alanic legends dwell still more emphatically on the god's sword, and their agreement with Teutonic ways of thinking may safely be assumed, as Mars was equally prominent in the faith of the Scythians and that of the Goths

The impressive personification of the sword matches well with that of the hammer, and to my thinking each confirms the other Both idea and name of two of the greatest gods pass over into the instrument by which they display their might

Herodotus 4, 62 informs us, that the Scythians worshipped Ares under the semblance or symbol of an ancient iron sword (*ἀκινάκης*), which was elevated on an enormous stack of brushwood ['three furlongs in length and breadth, but less in height']. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὄγκου ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἵδρυται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι· καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Ἀρηος τὸ ἄγαλμα. Ammianus Marcellinus 31, 2 says of the Alani · Nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed *gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem*, regionum quas circumcircant praesulem, verecundius colunt And he had previously asserted of the Quadi also, a decidedly German people, 17, 12 (A D 358) *Eductis mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt*, juravere se permansuros in fide Perhaps all

<sup>1</sup> The suffix -ak would hardly fit with the maternal sense of heru, far better with a personal Heru.

<sup>2</sup> Does the author overlook, or deliberately reject, the ON *or*, gen *or* ar, AS *arwe*, arrow? Among the forms for Tuesday occur *Erytag*, *Ergetag*, *erge* is to arwe, as sorge to sorwe, morgen to morwen, &c —TRANS

the Teutonic nations swore by their weapons, with a touching of the weapon,<sup>1</sup> just as the Scythians and Romans did *per Martis fiammam*, Juvenal 13, 79 So Arnobius 6, 11 *Ridetis temporibus priscis coluisse acinacem Scythiae nationes, . . . pro Marte Romanos hastam, ut Varronis indicant Musae*, this fiamma and hasta of the Romans is altogether like the Scythian sword<sup>2</sup> Jornandes, following Priscus 201, 17, tells of the Scythian sword, how it came into the hands of Attila, cap 35 *Qui (Attila), quamvis hujus esset naturae ut semper confideret, addebat ei tamen confidentiam gladius Martis inventus, apud Scytharum reges semper habitus Quem Priscus historicus tali refert occasione detectum, quum pastor, inquit, quidam gregis unam buculam conspiceret claudicantem (noticed one heifer walking lame), nec causam tanti vulneris inveniret, sollicitus vestigia cruoris insequitur, tandemque venit ad gladium, quem depascens herbas bucula incaute calcaverat, effossumque protinus ad Attilam defert Quo ille munere gratulatus, ut erat magnanimus, arbitratur se totius mundi principem constitutum, et per Martis gladium potestatem sibi concessam esse bellorum*—But the sword degenerated into an unlucky one, like some far-famed northern swords Lambert relates, that a queen, Solomon of Hungary's mother, made a present of it to Otto, duke of Bavaria, that from this Otto's hands it came by way of loan to the younger Dedi, margrave Dedi's son, then to Henry IV, and lastly to Lupold of Mersburg, who, being thrown by his horse, and by the same sword transpierced, was buried at Mertenefeld It is a question whether these local names Meisburg and Meitenefeld can have any reference to the sword of Mars A great while after, the duke of Alba is said to have dug it out of the earth again after the battle of Muhlberg (*Deutsche heldensage* p 311) We see through what lengthened periods popular tradition could go on nourishing itself on this world-old worship (see Suppl)

With the word *Ἀρης* the Lat *Mars* appears to have nothing to do, being a contraction of *Mavris*, and the indispensable initial being even reduplicated in *Mamers*, so the fancied connexion between Eresburg and Marsberg will not hold.

In the Old Roman worship of Mars a prominent place is given

<sup>1</sup> Conf RA 896, and so late as Wigal. 6517 'Swert, uf dinem knopfe ich des swer,' Sword, on thy pommel I swear it

<sup>2</sup> *Juro per Dianam et Martem*, Plaut Mil glori 5, 21.

to the legend of Picus, a son of Saturn, a wood-spirit who helped to nurse the babes Remus and Romulus, certain features in our antiquities seem to recall him, as will be shown later. Romulus consecrated the third month of the year to Mars, his progenitor, our ancestors also named it after a deity who may perhaps be identified with Mars. That is to say, the Anglo-Saxons called March *Hrēðemōnað*, which Beda without hesitation traces to a goddess *Hrēðe*, possibly other races might explain it by a god *Hrēða*? These names would come from *hrōð* gloria, fama, ON *hrōðr*, OHG *hruod*, OFrank *chrōd*, which helped to form many ancient words, *eg* OHG *Hruodgang*, *Hruodhilt*, OFrank *Chrōd-gang*, *Chrōdhild*, did *Hruodo*, *Chrōdo* express to certain races the shining god of fame.<sup>1</sup> The Edda knows of no such epithet for Týr as *Hrōðr* or *Hrēði* (see Suppl.).

To these discoveries or conjectures we have been guided simply by the several surviving names of one of the greatest gods of our olden time, to whose attributes and surroundings we have scarcely any other clue left. But now we may fairly apply to him in the main, what the poetry of other nations supplies. Zio is sure to have been valiant and fond of war, like Ares, lavish of glory, but stern and bloodthirsty (*αἵματος ἄσαι* "Αρηα, Il 5, 289 20, 78 22, 267), he raves and rages like Zeus and Wuotan, he is that 'old blood-shedder' of the Seivian song, he gladdens the hearts of ravens and wolves, who follow him to fields of battle, although these creatures again must be assigned more to Wuotan (p 147), the Greek phrase makes them *οἰωνοί* and *κύνες* (birds and dogs), and

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion one might try to rescue the suspicious and discredited legend of a Saxon divinity *Krodo*, there is authority for it in the 15th century, none whatever in the earlier Mid Ages. Bothe's *Sassenchronik* (Leibn. 3, 286) relates under the year 780, that King Charles, during his conquest of the East Saxons, overthrew on the Hartesburg an idol similar to Saturn, which the people called *Krodo*. If such an event had really happened, it would most likely have been mentioned by the annalists, like the overthrow of the *Irmansûl*. For all that, the tradition need not be groundless, if other things would only correspond. Unfortunately the form *Crōdo* for *Chrōdo*, *Hrodo*, *Rōdo* [like *Catti*, afterw *Chatti*, *Hatti*, *Hessen*] is rather too ancient, and I can find no support for it in the Saxon speech. A doc of 1284 (Langs reg 4, 247) has a *Waltherus dictus Krode*, and a song in Nithart's *MsH* 3, 208<sup>b</sup> a *Krotolf*, which however has no business to remind us of *Hruodolf*, *Ruodolf*, being not a proper name, but a nickname, and so to be derived from *krote*, a toad, to which must be referred many names of places, *Krotenpfûl*, &c, which have been mistakenly ascribed to the idol. The true form for Upper Germany would not tolerate a *Kr*, but only *Hr* or *R* (see Suppl.).

the fields of the slain, where the hounds hold revel, are called *κυνών μέληθηθρα*, II 13, 233 17, 255 18, 179 Battle-songs were also sure to be tuned to the praises of Zio, and perhaps war-dances executed (μέλπεσθαι "Αρηι, II 7, 241), from which I derive the persistent and widely prevalent custom of the solemn sword-dance, exactly the thing for the god of the sword The Edda nowhere lays particular stress on the sword of war, it knows nothing of Sahnôt, indeed its sverðas is another god, Heimðallr,<sup>1</sup> but it sets Týr before us as *one-handed*, because the wolf, within whose jaws he laid his right hand as a pledge, bit it off at the joint, whence the wrist was called úlfhǫr, wolf-lith, Sæm 65<sup>a</sup> Sn 35-6 This incident must have been well-known and characteristic of him, for the ON exposition of runes likewise says, under letter T Týr er *einhendr* Asa, conf Sn 105 The rest of Teutonic legend has no trace of it,<sup>2</sup> unless we are to look for it in Walther's *onehandedness*, and find in his name the mighty 'wielder of hosts' I prefer to adopt the happy explanation,<sup>3</sup> that the reason why Týr appears *one-handed* is, because he can only give victory to one part of the combatants, as Hadu, another god who dispenses the fortune of war, and Plutos and Fortuna among the Greeks and Romans, are painted blind, because they deal out their gifts at random (see Suppl) Now, as victory was esteemed the highest of all fortune, the god of victory shares to the full the prominent characteristics of luck in general, partiality and fickleness And a remote period of our nation may have used names which bore upon this<sup>4</sup>

Amongst the train of Ares and Mars there appear certain mythic beings who personify the notions of fear and horror Δείμος and Φόβος (II 4, 440 11, 317 15, 119) answer to the Latin *Pallor*

<sup>1</sup> Conf Apollo χρυσόδοπος above, p 203, note

<sup>2</sup> Cod pal 361, 65<sup>a</sup> tells of Julian, that he was forced to put his hand into the mouth of Mercury's statue Die hant stiez er im in den munt dar, darinne uobte sich der valant (devil), er clemmete im die hant, und gehabete sie im so vaste, daz er sich niht irlösen mohte (could not get loose) Besides, the wolf's limb has a likeness to the Wuotan's limb, Woens-let, p 160

<sup>3</sup> Wackernagel's, in the Schweiz mus 1, 107

<sup>4</sup> The Greek epos expresses the changefulness of victory (νίκη ἐρεπαικής, II 8, 171 16, 362, νίκη ἐπαμείβεται ἀνδρας, 6, 339) by an epithet of Ares, ἄλλοπρόσαλλος 5, 831 889 A certain many-shaped and all-transforming being, with a name almost exactly the same, *Vilanders* (Ls 1, 369-92), *Bald-anderst*, *Baldander* (H Sachs 1, 537 Simpliciss bk 6, c 9), has indeed no visible connexion with the god of war, but it may have been the name of a god The similarity of this *Vilanders* to the name of a place in the Tyrol, *Villanders* near Brixen (Velunutris, Vulunuturusa, acc to Steub p 79 178) is merely accidental.

and *Pavor*, it is the two former that harness the steeds of Ares, *Φόβος* is called his son (13, 299), and in Aeschylus he is provided with a dwelling (*μέλαθρον* tectum), out of which he suddenly leaps. So in the old Bohemian songs, *Třas* (tremor) and *Strach* (terror) burst out of forest shades on the enemy's bands, chase them, press on their necks and squeeze out of their throats a loud cry (Koniginh hs 84 104), they are ghostly and spectral. This borders upon *Vöma*, *Om* and *Yggr* (pp 119, 120), terms which designate the god himself, not his companions, sons or servants, yet they again bear witness to the community there was between Wuotan and Zio. Thôrr was called *ótti iotna*, terror gigantum. When in our modern phraseology fear 'surprises, seizes, shakes, deprives of sense,' personification is not far off, in the Iliad also 17, 67 *χλωρόν δέος* (neut) *αἶρεῖ*, pale fear seizes, but masculine embodiments like *δεῖμος*, *φόβος*, pallor, pavor, *třas*, *stakh*, bring it more vividly before us, and pavor was weakened by passing into the fem *paura*, *peur* of the Romance. AS *þâ hine se brôga ongeat* (terror eum invasit), Beow 2583. OHG *foihta cham mih ana*, N ps. 54, 5, *foihta anafiel ubar inan*, T 2, 4, conf MHG *diu sorge im was sô verre entriten*, sie mohte erreichen niht ein sper, fear was fled so far from him, a spear could not reach it, Wh 280, 10 (see Suppl). But further on, we shall get acquainted with a female Hilt, comparable to the Lat. Bellona and the Gr Enyo and Eris, who is really one with war and the war-god.

Týr is described in Sn 105 as a son of Óðinn, but in the Hymisqviða as a kinsman of the giants. His mother, whose name is not found, but whose beauty is indicated by the epithet all-gullin, all-golden, Sæm 53<sup>a</sup>, must have been a giant's daughter, who bore to Óðinn this immortal son (see Suppl).



## CHAPTER X.

### FRO, (FREYR)

The god that stands next in power and glory, is in the Norse mythology *Freyr* (Landn 4, 7), with the Swedes he seems even to have occupied the third place. His name of itself proclaims how widely his worship prevailed among the other Teutonic races, a name sacred enough to be given to the Supreme Being even in christian times. There must have been a broad pregnant sense underlying the word, which made it equally fit for the individuality of one god, and for the comprehensive notion of dominion, whether sacred or secular. To some nations it signified the particular god, to others the sovereign deity in general, pretty much as we found, connected with the proper names *Zio*, *Zeus*, the more general term *deus*, *θεός*. While the names of other heathen gods became an abomination to the christians, and a Gothic *Vôdans* or *Thunrs* would have grated harshly on the ear, this one expression, like the primitive *guþ* itself, could remain yet a long time without offence, and signify by turns the heavenly lord and an earthly one.

It is true, the names do not correspond quite exactly. The ON *Freyr* gen *Freys*, which Saxo gives quite correctly in its Danish form as *Fro* gen *Fros* (whence *Froso*, *Fro's* island), the Swed likewise *Fro*, ought to be in Gothic *Fráus* or *Fravis*,<sup>1</sup> instead of which, every page of Ulphilas shows *fráuya* gen *fráujins*, translating *κύριος*, on the other hand, the ON dialect lacks both the weak form (*Freyr*, *Freyja*), and the meaning of lord. The remaining languages all hold with the Gothic. In OHG the full form *frouwo* was already lost, the writers preferring *truhtin*, it is only in the form of address '*frô mîn*!' (O. 1 5, 35 u 14, 27. v. 7, 35 Ludw. heð) that the

<sup>1</sup> Frey = Fravi, as hey = havi (hay), mey = mavi (maid), ey = avi (isle), &c

word for a divine or earthly lord was preserved, just as that antique *sihora* and *sire* (p 27) lasted longest in addresses. In the Heland too, when the word is used in addressing, it is always in the shortened form *frô min* ' 123, 13 140, 23 *frô min* the *gôdo* ' 131, 6 134, 15 138, 1 7 *waldand frô min* ' 153, 8 *drohtin frô min* ' 15, 3, but in other cases we do find the complete *frôho* gen *frôhon* 3, 24, *frôho* 119, 14, gen *frôhon* 122, 9, *frôon* 3, 24 5, 23, *frôho* 93, 1 107, 21. Still the OS poet uses the word seldomer than the synonyms *drohtin* and *hërro*, and he always puts a possessive with it, never an adjective (like *mâri drohtin*, *riki drohtin*, *craftag drohtin*, *lob hërro*), still less does he make compounds with it (like *sigi-drohtin*) all symptoms that the word was freezing up. The AS *fréa* gen *fréan* (for *fréan*, *fréawan*) has a wider sweep, it not only admits adjectives (*fréa ælmihtig*, Cædm 1, 9 10, 1), but also forms compounds *âgendfréa*, Cædm 135, 4 *aldoifréa* 218, 29 *folcfréa* 111, 7 and even combines with *dryhten* *fréadryhten*, Cædm 54, 29, gen *fréahdryhtnes*, Beow 1585, dat *freodryhtne* 5150 — But now by the side of our OHG. *frô* there is found a rigid (indecl) *frôno*, which, placed before or after substantives, imparts the notion of lordly, high and holy, out of this was gradually developed a more flexible adj of like meaning *frôn*, and again an adj *frônisc* (*pulcher*, *mundus*, *inclytus*, *arcanus*), OS. *frônisk*, *frânisk*. In MHG and even modern German we have a good many compounds with *vrôn*, as also the adj in the above sense, while *frohnen*, *frohnen* is to do service to one's lord, to dedicate. The Frisian dialect contributes a *frân*, *dominicus*, and *frâna*, *minister publicus*. The added *-n* in all these derivatives can be explained by the Gothic *fráujnon* *dominari*, though there was probably no Gothic *fráujnisk*, as *frônisc* seems not to have been formed till after the contraction *frô* and *frôno* had set in.

But even the Gothic *fráuya* does not present to us the simple stem, I look for it in a lost adj *fravis* (like *navis* *vekpós*, Rom 7, 2), the same as the OHG *frô* gen *frouwes*, OS *frā* gen *frahes*, MHG *vrô*, and our *froh* [*frohlich*, *frolic*, &c], and signifying *mitis*, *laetus*, *blandus*, whence the same dialects derive *frouwi*, *gaudium*, *frouwan*, *laetum reddere*, *frouwida*, *laetitia*, &c (see Suppl.)

I do not mean to assert that a god *Fráuya*, *Frouwo*, *Fraho* was as distinctly worshipped by the Goths, Alamanns, Franks and Saxons in the first centuries of our era, as *Freyr* was long after in

Scandinavia, it is even possible that the form *fráuja* already harboured a generalization of the more vividly concrete *Fravis* = *Fieyr*, and therefore seemed less offensive to the christians. But in both words, the reference to a higher being is unmistakable, and in the Mid ages there still seems to hang about the compounds with *vrón* something weird, unearthly, a sense of old sacredness, this may account for the rare occurrence and the early disappearance of the OHG *frô*, and even for the grammatical immobility of *fiôno*, it is as though an echo of heathenism could be still detected in them.

A worship of *Frô* may be inferred even from the use of certain proper names and poetic epithets, especially by the Anglo-Saxons. The Goths even of later times use *Fránja* as a man's name, to which we can hardly attribute the sense of lord simply. An envoy from king Hadafus to Charles the Great is called *Fiora* (Pertz 1, 184 2, 223), perhaps *Fiorla* (*Fráujla*), an OHG *Frewilo* occurs in a document in Neugart no 162. The AS genealogies contain *Wúscfied*, the name is often found elsewhere (Beda 138, 19 153, 5), and seems suitable to Wôden the god or lord of wishing (p 144). Equally to the point is the poetic *freáwine* (*freáwine folca*) in Beow 4708 4853 4871, where it is a mere epithet of divine or god-loved heroes and kings. But the Wessex pedigree can produce its *Freáwine*, whom Saxo Gram calls *Frowinus* (better *Frowinus*), OHG documents likewise have the proper name *Frôwin* (Tiad juvav p 302, Cod lauresh 712, but *Frowinn* 722), and in several noble families, *eg*, the distinguished one of the Von Huttens, it has been kept up till modern times. What is remarkable, the Edda uses of a hero *Freys vinr* (Sæm 219<sup>b</sup>), like the AS *freáwine*, only uncompounded. Sigmûr is Frey's friend and protégé, or perhaps his votary and servant, in the way shown on p 93. Here again *freá*, *frô*, *freyr*, cannot have merely the general meaning of lord, any lord. The Swedish heroes in the Bravalla fight, who boast their descent from Fro, are in Saxo, p 144, called *Fro dei necessarii*, which is exactly our *Freys vinar*. In the same way the AS and ON poetries, and consequently the myths, have in common the expression *freá* Ingwina (gen pl), Beow 2638, Ingvinar (gen sing) *fieyr*, Ingunnar *fieyr*, Sæm 65<sup>b</sup>, *Ingifreyr* (Thorlac obs bor spec 6, p 43), by which is to be understood a hero or god, not 'junior dominus,' as Thorlacius, p 68, supposes. *Yngvifreyr* is called Oðin's son, Sn.

211<sup>a</sup> I shall come back to this mysterious combination of two mythical names, when I come to speak of the hero Ingo. The ON skalds append this freyr to other names and to common nouns, *e g*, in Kormakssaga, pp 104-122, 'fiornis *freyr*, myrðifreyr' mean no more than hero or man in the heightened general sense which we noticed in the words irmin, tîr and tÿr. In the same way the fem. *freyja* means frau, woman, lady, Kormakss p 317.

All that I have made out thus far on the name and idea of the god, will receive new light and confirmation when we come to examine his divine sister Freyja. The brother and sister are made alike in all their attributes, and each can stand for the other.

Frô does not appear in the series of gods of the week, because there was no room for him there, if we must translate him by a Roman name, it can scarcely be any other than that of *Liber*, whose association with Libera is extremely like that of Frô with Frôwa (Freyr with Freyja). As Liber and Libera are devoted to the service of Ceres or Dêmêtêr, Frô and Frôwa stand in close union with Nerthus. Frô's godhead seems to hold a middle place between the notion of the supreme lord and that of a being who brings about love and fruitfulness. He has Wuotan's creative quality, but performs no deeds of war, horse and sword he gives away, when consumed with longing for the fair Gerðr, as is sung in one of the most glorious lays of the Edda. Snorri says, *ravn* and *sunshine* are in the gift of Freyr (as elsewhere of Wuotan and Donar, pp 157-175), he is invoked for *fertility* of the soil and for *peace* (*tîl árs oc friðar*, Sn 28, conf Yngl saga cap 12). The Swedes revered him as one of their chief gods, and Adam of Bremen says that at Upsal his statue stood by those of Thôr and Wôdan (see Suppl). Also in Sæm 85<sup>b</sup> he is named next to Oðinn and Thôrr (âsabiagr) as the third god. Adam calls him *Fricco*,<sup>1</sup> which is precisely parallel to the frequent confusion of the two goddesses Freyja and Frigg, which I shall deal with at a future time. But he paints him as a god of *peace* and *love*. Tertius est *Fricco*, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus, cujus etiam simulachrum fingunt *ingenti*

<sup>1</sup> Which occurs elsewhere as a man's name, *e g*, *Fricco* in Schannat, Trad. fuld. 386.

*præpo*,<sup>1</sup> si nuptiae celebrandae sunt, (sacrificia offeunt) *Fricconi*. Then there is the story, harmonizing with this, though related from the christian point of view and to the heathen god's detriment, of *Frey's statue* being carried round the country *in a waggon*, and of his beautiful young priestess, Fornm. sog 2, 73-8. This progress takes place, 'þâ er hann skal gera monnum *árbót*,' when he shall make for men year's boot, the people flock to meet the car, and bring their offerings, then the weather clears up and men look for a fruitful year. The offerings are those which Saxo, p 15, names *Fröblót*, live animals were presented, particularly oxen (Vigagl saga, p 56. Islend sog 2, 348), which seems to explain why *Freyr* is reckoned among the poetic names for an ox, Sn 221<sup>a</sup>, in like manner, horses were consecrated to him, such a one was called *Freyfaxi* and accounted holy, Vatnsd p 140, and human victims fell to him in Sweden, Saxo Gram 42. Freyr possessed a boar named *Gullinbursti*, whose 'golden bristles' lighted up the night like day, who ran with the speed of a horse and drew the deity's car, Sn 66 132. It is therefore in Frey's worship that the *atonement-boar* is sacrificed (p 51),<sup>2</sup> in Sweden cakes in the *shape of a boar* are baked on Yule-eve—And here we come upon a good many relics of the service once done to the god, even outside of Scandinavia. We hear of the *clean gold-hog* (*-ferch*, whence dimin farrow) in the popular customs of the Wetterau and Thuringia (p 51). In the Mid Dutch poem of Lantslôt ende Sandrîn, v 374, a knight says to his maiden 'ic heb u liever dan ên *everswîn*, al waert *van finen goude ghewracht*,' I hold you dearer than a boar-swine, all were it of fine gold y-wrought, were they still in the habit of making gold jewels in the shape of boars? at least the remembrance of such a thing was not yet lost. Frô and his boar may also have had a hand in a superstition of Gelderland, which however puts a famous hero in the place of the god. *Denk met den*

<sup>1</sup> With *præpus* *πρίανος* I would identify the ON *fríof semen*, *fríof* foecundus, conf Goth *fráiv*, seed. The statement of Adamus Bremensis looks better, since Wolf in his *Wodana* xxxi xxii xxiii brought to light the festivals and images of *Præpus* or *Ters* at a late period in the Netherlands. This *ters* is the AS *teors*, OHG *zers*, and Herbolt 4054 is shy of uttering the name Xerses. Phallus-worship, so widely spread among the nations of antiquity, must have arisen out of an innocent veneration of the generative principle, which a later age, conscious of its sins, prudishly avoided. After all as said, there is an unking of the same in Phol too and the avoidance of his name (ch XI), though I do not venture exactly to identify him with *φάλλος*.

<sup>2</sup> Not only Demeter, but Zeus received *boar-offerings*, Il 19, 197 251.

*beer* (Theoderic, Derrick with the boar) goes his round on Christmas-eve night, and people are careful to get all *implements of husbandry* within doors, else the boar will trample them about, and make them unfit for use<sup>1</sup>. In the same Christmas season, dame Holda or Berhta sallied out, and looked after the *ploughs* and *spindles*, motherly goddesses instead of the god, Frouwa instead of Frô. With this again are connected the *formae apriorum* worn as charms by the remote Aestians, who yet have the 'ritus habitusque Suevorum'. Tacitus Germ. 45 says, these figures represent the worship of the 'mater deûm,' of a female Frô, *ie*, of Freyja, and, what is conclusive on this point, the Edda (Sæm 114<sup>a</sup>) assigns the *Gullinbursti* to Freyja, though elsewhere he belongs to Fieyr (see Suppl.)—Anglo-Saxon poetry, above all, makes mention of these *boar-badges*, these *gold swine*. When Constantine sees a vision in his sleep, he is said to be *eoforcumbel* beþeaht (apri signo tectus), El. 76, it must have been fastened as an auspicious omen over the head of the bed. Afterwards again, in the description of Elen's stately progress to the east: þær wæs on eorle êðgesýne grîmhelm manig, *ænlic eoforcumbul* (tunc in duce apparuit horrida cassis, excellens apri forma), El. 260. The poet is describing a decoration of the old heathen time, *cumbul* is the helmet's crest, and the king's helmet appears to be adorned with the image of a boar. Several passages in *Beowulf* place the matter beyond a doubt. *eoforlic* scionon ofer hleor beran gehroden golde, fâh and fýrheard ferhwearde heold (apri formam videbantur supra genas gerere auro comptam, quae varia igneque durata vitam tuebatur), 605, hêt þa inberan *eofor heafodsegn*, heaðosteápne helm (jussit afferri aprum, capitis signum, galeam in pugna prominentem), 4300, *swîn* ofer helme (sus supra galea), 2574, *swîn ealgylde*, *eofor* fîrenheard (sus aureus, aper instar ferri durus), 2216, *ie*, a helmet placed on the funeral pile as a costly jewel, helm befongen *Fredwrasnum* (= OHG Frô-reisanum), swâ hine fyrndagum woihte wæpna smið, besette *swînlicum*, þæt hine siðþan no brond ne beadomêcas bitan ne meahtan (galea ornata Frohonis signis, sicut eam olim fabricaverat armorum faber, circumdederat eam apri formis, ne gladius ensesve laedere eam possent), 2905, as a sacred divine symbol, it was to protect in

<sup>1</sup> Staring, in the journal *Mnemosyne*, Leyden 1829 1, 323, quoted thence in Westendorp's *Noordsche mythologie*, Dordrecht 1830 p. 495.

battle and affright the foe<sup>1</sup> The OHG proper name *Epurhelm*, *Eparhelm* (eber, eofor, aper), placed by the side of *Frôhelm* (both occur in the Trad patav no 20, MB 28<sup>b</sup>, 18) acquires thus a special and appropriate meaning Such boar-crests might still serve as ornaments even to christian heroes, after the memory of Frô was obliterated, and long continue to be wrought simply as jewels (see Suppl) —Some other traces of boar consecration have lasted still later, especially in England The custom of the *boar-vow* I have explained in RA 900-1 As even at the present day on festive occasions a wild boar's head is seen among the other dishes as a show-dish, they used in the Mid Ages to serve it up at banquets, garnished with laurel and rosemary, to carry it about and play all manner of pranks with it 'Where stood a *boar's head* garnished With bayes and rosemarye,' says one ballad about Arthur's Table, when three strokes have been given with a rod over it, it is only the knife of a virtuous man that can carve the first slice At other times, even a live boar makes its appearance in the hall, and a bold hero chops its head off At Oxford they exhibit a *boar's head* on Christmas day, carry it solemnly round, singing *Caput apri defero, Reddens laudes Domino* (see Suppl) Those Aestrians may prove a link of fellowship between the Germanic nations and the Finnish and Asiatic, it is well worth noticing, that the Tcherkass (Circassians) worship a god of woods and hunting, *Mesutch* by name, who rides a wild *boar with golden bristles*<sup>2</sup> To most of the other gods tame animals are sacred, to Frô the daring dauntless boar, as well befits a god of the chase Perhaps also a huge *boar* with white tusks,<sup>3</sup> who in Slavic legend rises foaming out of a lake, is that of a kindred deity

The Edda attributes to Freyr a *sword* of surpassing virtue, which could put itself into motion against the brood of giants, Sæm 82. His giving it away when in straits, proved his ruin afterwards, it was held to be the cause of his death, when at the Ragnarok he had to stand single combat with Surtr (swart), and missed his

<sup>1</sup> On this point again, the statement of Tacitus about the Aestrians agrees so exactly, that it seems worth quoting in full *Aestiorum gentes quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum Matrem deum venerantur . insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant, id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat* —TRANS

<sup>2</sup> Erman's archiv für wissenschaftl kunde Russlands 1842, heft 1, p 118

<sup>3</sup> Λευκὸν οδόντα, Il 11, 416 σὺς λευκῷ δδόντι, Od 19 465.

trusty blade Sn. 73 There appear to have been other traditions also afloat about this sword,<sup>1</sup> and it would not seem far-fetched, if on the strength of it we placed the well-known trilogy of 'Thunar, Wôdan, Saxnôt' beside Adam of Bremen's 'Wodan, Thor and Fricco' or the Eddic 'Oðinn, Asabragr, Freyr,'<sup>2</sup> that is to say, if we took *Freyr*, *Fricco* = *Fró* to be the same as *Sahsnôt* the sword-possessor Add to this, that the Edda never mentions the sword of Týr Nevertheless there are stronger reasons in favour of *Sahsnôz* being Zio this for one, that he was a son of Wuotan, whereas Freyr comes of Niorðr, though some genealogies to be presently mentioned bring him into connexion with Wôden

For the brilliant Freyr, the beneficent son of Niorðr, the dwarfs had constructed a wonderful *ship* *Skiðblaðnn*, which could fold up like a cloth, *Sæm* 45<sup>b</sup>. Sn 48 *Yngl* saga cap 7 (see *Suppl.*)<sup>3</sup>

Besides the Swedes, the Thændir in Norway were devoted to Freyr above all other gods, *Foinm* sog 10, 312 Occasionally priests of his are named, as Thorðr *Freys goði* (of the 10th century), *Landn* 4, 10 and *Nialss* cap 96, *Flosi* appears to have succeeded his father in the office, other *Freysgyðlingar* are cited in *Landn* 4, 13 The *Vigaglums*saga cap 19 mentions *Freys hof* at Upsala, and cap 26 his statue at Thverâ in Iceland, though only in a night-vision he is pictured sitting on a chair, giving short and sully (*stutt ok reiðulga*) answers to his supplicants, so that Glâmr, who in cap 9 had sacrificed an old ox to him, now on awaking from his dream neglected his service In the *Landn* 3, 2 and *Vatnsd* pp 44 50 we are told of a *Freyr giorr af sulfr* (made of silver), which was used in drawing lots, conf *Verlauff's* note, p 362 In the *Landn*. 4, 7 is preserved the usual formula for an oath *Hiâlp mer svâ Freyr ok Niorðr ok hinn almatteki ðs* (so help me F and N and that almighty ðs)<sup>1</sup> by which last is to be understood Thôrr rather

<sup>1</sup> In old French poetry I find a famous sword wrought by Galant himself (*Wielant*, *Wayland*), and named *Froberge* or *Floberge* (*Garin* 1, 263 2, 30-8), the latter reading has no discoverable sense, though our later *Flamberge* seems to have sprung from it *Froberge* might very well be either a mere *fró*-bergende (lord-protecting) weapon, or a reminiscence of the god *Fró's* sword, conf the word-formations quoted in my *Gramm.* 2, 486 There are townships called in OHG *Heidberga*, *Marahaberga* (horse-stable) The ON has no *Freybiorg* that I know of, though it has *Thôrbiorg* fem, and *Thorbergr* masc.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Sn 131, *Oðinn*, *Thôrr*, *Freyr* are speakers of doom

<sup>3</sup> Pliny N H 5, 9 mentions Ethiopian 'naves plicatiles humeris translatae'



than Óðinn, for in the Egilssaga p 365, *Freyr*, *Níorðr* and the *landás* (Thôrr) are likewise mentioned together. In the same Eglss p 672, *Freyr* ok *Níorðr* are again placed side by side. The story of the Brisinga-men (-monile, append to Sn 354) says, Óðinn had appointed both *Freyr* and *Níorðr* to be sacrificial gods. Hallfreðr sang (Fornm sog 2, 53, conf 12, 49)

Mer skyli *Freyr* oc *Freyja*,  
líknist grom við *Grimma* gramr ok *Thórr* enn *íammr* !

That Freyr in these passages should be brought forward with Freyja and Níorðr, is easy to understand (see Suppl.)

Of *Níorðr* our German mythology would have nothing to tell, any more than Saxo Gram ever mentions him by that name, had not Tacitus put in for us that happy touch of a goddess *Nerthus*, whose identity with the god is as obvious as that of Frô with Flouwa. The Gothic form *Nairþus* would do for either or even for both sexes, possibly Fláuja was considered the son of the goddess Nairþus, as Freyr is of the god Níorðr, and in the circuit which the goddess makes in her car, publishing peace and fertility to mortals, we can recognise that of Freyr or of his father Níorðr. According to Yngl saga cap 11, these very blessings were believed to proceed from Níorðr also 'auðigr sem Níorðr' (rich as N) was a proverbial saying for a wealthy man, Vatnsd. p 202. Snorri, in Formáli 10, identifies him with Saturn, for he instructed mankind in vine-dressing and husbandry, it would be nearer the mark to think of him and Freyr in connexion with Dionysus or Liber, or even with Noah, if any stress is to be laid on Níorð's abode being in Nôatûn. As 'freyr' was affixed to other names of heroes (p. 211-2), I find *gein nioðr* used for a hero in general, Sæm. 266<sup>b</sup>; conf *geirmímur*, *geirnífúngur*, &c. The name itself is hard to explain, is it akin to north, AS *norð*, ON *norðr*, Goth *nairþs*? In Sæm. 109<sup>b</sup> there is *níarðlås* for *sera firma*, or *pensils*? I have met with no Nirdu, Nerd, Nird among OHG proper names, nor with a Neorð in the AS. writings. Irminon's polyptych 222<sup>a</sup> has *Narthildis* (see Suppl.)

*Níorðr* appears to have been greatly honoured. *hofum* oc *horgum* hann *ræðr* *hundmorgum*, Sæm. 36<sup>a</sup>, especially, no doubt, among people that lived on the sea coast. The Edda makes him rule over wind, sea and fire, he loves waters and lakes, as *Nerthus* in Tacitus bathes in the lake (Sn. 27), from the mountains of the

midland he longs to be away where the swans sing on the cool shore, a water-plant, the *spongia marina*, bears the name of *Niarðar vottr*, Níoið's glove, which elsewhere was very likely passed on to his daughter Freyja, and so to Mary, for some kinds of orchis too, from their hand-shaped root, are called Mary's hand, lady-hand, god's hand (Dan gudshaand)

As Dionysus stands outside the ring of the twelve Olympian gods, so Níoiðr, Freyr and Freyja seem by rights not to have been reckoned among the Ases, though they are marshalled among them in Sn 27-8. They were *Vanir*, and therefore, according to the view of the elder Edda, different from Ases, as these dwelt in Asgarð, so did the Vanir in Vanaheim, the Alfar in Alfheim, the Iotnar in Iotunheim. Freyr is called *Vaníngi*, Sæm. 86<sup>b</sup>. The Vanir were regarded as intelligent and wise, Sæm. 36<sup>a</sup>, and they entered into intimate fellowship with the Asen, while the Alfs and Iotuns always remained opposed to them. Some have fancied that the Alfs and Iotuns stand for Celtic races, and the Vanir for Slav, and building chiefly on an attempt in the Yngl. saga cap. 1 to find the name of the Tanais in Tanaqvisl (or Vanaqvisl'), they have drawn by inference an actual boundary-line between Aesir and Vanir = Germani and Slavi in the regions formerly occupied by them (see Suppl.). And sure enough a Russian is to this day called in Finnish *Wenailainen*, in Esth. *Wennelane*, even the name of the Wends might be dragged in, though the Vandil of Tacitus point the other way. Granting that there may be some foundation for these views, still to my mind the conceptions of Aesir, Vanir, Alfar in the Edda are sketched on a ground altogether too mythical for any historical meaning to be got out of them, as regards the contrast between Ases and Vanir, I am aware of no essential difference in the cultus of the several gods, and, whatever stress it may be right to lay on the fact that Frouwa, Freyja answers to a Slavic goddess Prije, it does not at all follow that Fiô, Frouwa and Nerthus were in a less degree Germanic deities than the rest. Tacitus is silent on the German Liber, as he is on our Jupiter, yet we are entitled to assume a universal veneration of Donar, even though the Gothic fairguni is better represented in Perkunas or Perûn, so also, to judge by what clues we have, Fráuja, Frô, Freyr appears so firmly established, that, considering the scanty information we have about our

antiquities, no German race can be denied a share in him, though some nations may have worshipped him more than others, and even that is not easy to ascertain, except in Scandinavia<sup>1</sup>

It is worthy of notice, that the AS and ON genealogies bring *Fréa* into kinship with *Wóden*, making Finn the father of a *Fréaláf* (*Fríðleifr*), and him again of *Wóden*, some of them insert two more links, *Fríðuwulf* and *Fríðuwald*, so that the complete pedigree stands thus *Finn*, *Fríðuwulf*, *Fréaláf*, *Fríðuwald*, *Wóden* (or, in the place of *Fréaláf*, our old acquaintance *Fréawine*) Here evidently *Fríðuwulf*, *Fréaláf*, *Fríðuwald* are all the same thing, a mere expansion of the simple *Fréa*. This follows even from a quite different ON genealogy, *Fornald sog* 2, 12, which makes Burr (= Finn, conf Rask, afh 1, 107-8) the immediate progenitor of *Oðinn*, and him of *Freyr*, *Níorði* and a second *Freyr*. The double *Freyr* corresponds to the AS *Fríðuwulf* and *Fríðuwald*, as the words here expressing glad, free and fair are near of kin to one another. Lastly, when the same AS genealogies by turns call Finn's father *Godwulf* and *Folcuald*, this last name is supported by the 'Fin Folcwalding' (-ing = son) of *Cod* exon 320, 10 and of *Beow* 2172, where again the reference must be to *Fréa* and his race, for the *Edda* (*Sæm* 87<sup>a</sup>, conf 10<sup>a</sup>) designates *Freyr* '*folcvaldr* (al *folcvaldr*) *goða*'. Now this *folkvaldi* means no other than dominator, princeps, *ve* the same as *fréa*, *frô*, and seems, like it, to pass into a proper name. On the linking of *Freyr* and *Níorðr* with *Oðinn*, there will be more to say in ch XV (see Suppl.) If *Snorri*'s comparison of *Níorðr* with *Kronos* (*Saturn*) have any justification, evidently *Poseidón* (*Neptune*) the son of *Kronos* would come nearer to our Teutonic sea-god, and *Ποσειδών* might be referred to *πόσις* (*lord*, *Lith* pats, *Sansk* patis, *Goth* faps), which means the same as *Frô*. Only then both *Frô* and *Nídu* would again belong to the eldest race of gods.

<sup>1</sup> Wh Muller, *Nibelungensage* pp 136—148, wishes to extend the *Vanir* gods only to the *Sueves* and *Goths*, not to the western Germans, and to draw a distinction between the worship of *Freyr* and that of *Wuotan*, which to me looks very doubtful. As little can I give up the point, that *Níorðr* and *Nerthus* were brother and sister, and joint parents of *Freyr* and *Freyja*, this is grounded not only on a later representation of *Snorri* in the *Yngl* saga cap 4, where yet the female *Níorð* is nowhere named, as *Tacitus* conversely knows only a female *Nerthus* and no god of that name, but also on *Sæm* 65<sup>a</sup>. '*við systor thinnu gæztu slikan mog*,' with thy sister begattest thou such brood, though here again the sister is left unnamed.

## CHAPTER XI

### PALTAR (BALDER)

The myth of Balder, one of the most ingenious and beautiful in the Edda, has happily for us been also handed down in a later form with variations and there is no better example of fluctuations in a god-myth. The Edda sets forth, how the pure blameless deity is struck with Mistilteinn by the blind Höðr, and must go down to the nether world, bewailed by all, nothing can fetch him back, and Nanna the true wife follows him in death. In Saxo, all is pitched in a lower key. Balder and Hother are rival suitors, both wooing Nanna, and Hother the favoured one manages to procure a magic sword, by which alone his enemy is vulnerable, when the fortune of war has wavered long between them, Hother is at last victorious and slays the demigod, to whom Hel, glad at the near prospect of possessing him, shews herself beforehand. But here the grand funeral pile is prepared for Gelder, a companion of Balder, of whom the account in the Edda knows nothing whatever. The worship of the god is attested chiefly by the *Friðþiofssaga*, v *Fornald sog* 2, 63 seq (see Suppl.).

*Baldr*, gen *Baldrs*, reappears in the OHG proper name *Paltar* (in Meichelbeck no 450. 460. 611),<sup>1</sup> and in the AS *bealdor*, *baldor*, signifying a lord, prince, king, and seemingly used only with a gen pl before it: *gumena baldor*, *Cædm* 163, 4 *wigena baldor*, *Jud* 132, 47. *sinca bealdor*, *Beow* 4852 *winia bealdor* 5130. It is remarkable that in the Cod. exon 276, 18 *mægða bealdor* (virginum princeps) is said even of a maiden. I know of only a few examples in the ON. *baldur i brynju*, *Sæm* 272<sup>b</sup>, and *herbaldr* 218<sup>b</sup> are used for a hero in general, *atgeirs baldr* (lanceae vir), *Fornm sog* 5, 307. This conversion from a proper name to a noun appellative

<sup>1</sup> Graff 1, 432 thinks this name stands for *Paltaro*, and is a compound of *aro* (aar, aquila), but this is unsupported by analogy, in the ninth and tenth centuries, weak forms are not yet curtailed, and we always find *Epuraro* (ebaraar, boar-eagle), never *Epurar*.

exactly reminds us of *fráuja*, *fió*, *freá*, and the ON *týr*. As *bealdor* is already extinct in AS prose, our proper name *Paltar* seems likewise to have died out early, heathen songs in OHG may have known a *paltar* = princeps. Such Gothic forms as *Baldis*, gen *Baldris*, and *baldis* (princeps), may fairly be assumed<sup>1</sup>.

This *Baldrs* would in strictness appear to have no connexion with the Goth *balþs* (bold, audax), nor *Paltar* with the OHG *pald*, nor *Baldr* with the ON *ballr*. As a rule, the Gothic *ld* is represented by ON *ld* and OHG *lt* the Gothic *lp* by ON *ll* and OHG *ld*<sup>2</sup>. But the OS and AS have *ld* in both cases, and even in Gothic, ON and OHG a root will sometimes appear in both forms in the same language,<sup>3</sup> so that a close connexion between *balþs* and *Baldrs*,<sup>4</sup> *pald* and *Paltar*, is possible after all. On mythological grounds it is even probable. *Balder's* wife *Nanna* is also the bold one, from *nenna* to dare, in Gothic she would have been *Nanþó* from *nanþjan*, in OHG *Nandá* from *gi-nendan*. The *Baldr* of the Edda may not distinguish himself by bold deeds, but in Saxo he fights most valiantly, and neither of these narratives pretends to give a complete account of his life. Perhaps the Gothic *Balthae* (*Jornandes* 5, 29) traced their origin to a divine *Balþs* or *Baldrs* (see Suppl.).

Yet even this meaning of the 'bold' god or hero might be a later one. the Lith *baltas* and Lett *balts* signify the white, the good, and by the doctrine of consonant-change, *baltas* exactly answers to the Goth *balþs* and OHG *pald*. Add to this, that the AS genealogies call *Wôden's* son not *Bealdor*, *Baldor*, but *Bældæg*, *Beldeg*, which would lead us to expect an OHG *Paltac*, a form that I confess I have nowhere read. But both dialects have plenty of other proper names compounded with *dæg* and *tac*. OHG *Adaltac*,

<sup>1</sup> *Baldrs*, *Paltar*, must be kept distinct from the compound *Baldheri* (*Schannat* no 420 448), *Paldheri* (*Trad patav* no 35), AS *Baldhere*. This *Paldheri* is the same as *Paldachar* (*Trad patav* no 18).

<sup>2</sup> Goth	kalds	} but	{ vilþeis	hulþs	gulþ
ON	kaldr		{ villr	holtr	gull.
OHG	chalt		{ wiltr	hold	kold.

<sup>3</sup> Conf Gothic *alþan* and *alþs aldus*, also *aldrs*, Goth *falþan* and OHG *faldan*, afterwards *faltan*. As *p* degenerates into *d*, and *d* into *t*, any *d* put for *p*, or *t* for *d*, marks a later form. the Goth *fadı* stands for *faptr*, as we see by *pater* [the AS 'fæder, móðor,' after a usurpation of 1000 years, must have given place to the truer 'father, mother' again]. In the ON *valda* pret *olli*, we must regard the *ll* as older than the *ld*, in spite of the Goth. *valdan* and OHG *waltan* [some would prefer to call *valda* an archaism].

<sup>4</sup> *Baldr* may be related to *balþ*, as *tír* to *tý*, and *zior* to *zio*.

Alptac, Ingatac, Kêrtac, Helmtac, Hruodtac, Regintac, Sigitac; OS Alacdag, Alfdag (Albdag, Pertz 1, 286), Hildidag, Liuddag, Osdag, Wulfdag, AS Wegdæg, Swefdæg, even the ON has the name Svípdagi. Now, either Bældæg simply stands for Bealdor, and is synonymous with it (as *eg*, Regintac with Regnari, Sigitac with Sigar, Sigheir)<sup>1</sup>, or else we must recognise in the word *dæg*, *dag*, *tac* itself a personification, such as we found another root undergoing (p 194-5) in the words *div*, *divan*, *dina*, *dies*, and both alike would express a shining one, a white one, a god. Prefixing to this the Slavic *biël*, *bël*, we have no need to take Bældæg as standing for Bealdor or anything else, *Bæl-dæg* itself is white-god, light-god, he that shines as sky and light and day, the kindly *Biëlbôgh*, *Bël-bôgh* of the Slav system (see Suppl.) It is in perfect accord with this explanation of Bæl-dæg, that the AS tale of ancestry assigns to him a son *Brond*, of whom the Edda is silent, *brond*, *brand*, ON *brandr*, signifying jubal, fax, titio. Bældæg therefore, as regards his name, would agree with Berhta, the bright goddess.

We have to consider a few more circumstances bearing on this point. Baldr's beauty is thus described in Sn 26 'Hann er svâ *fagr* âlitum ok *biartr svâ at lysir af honum*, oc eitt gras er svâ hvitt, at iafnat er til *Baldrs biâr*, þat er allra grasa *hvítast* oc þar eptir máttu marka hans fegnið bæði â hâri ok líki', he is so fair of countenance and bright that he shines of himself, there is a grass so white that it is evened with Baldr's brows, it is of all grasses whitest, and thereby mayest thou mark his fairness both in hair and body. This plant, named *Baldrsbrá* after the god's white eyebrow,<sup>2</sup> is either the anthemis cotula, still called *Barbro* in Sweden, *Balsensbrô*, *Ballensbrô* in Schonen, and *Barbrogras* in Denmark, or the *matricaria maritima inodora*, which retains the original name in Iceland (see Suppl.)<sup>3</sup> In Skåne there is a *Baldursberg*, in the Öttingen country a *Baldern*, and in the Vorarlberg, east of Bregenz, *Balderschwang*, such names of places demand caution, as they may be taken from men, Baldr or Baldheri, I therefore withhold the mention of several more. But the heavenly abode of the god was called *Breiðablil*, nom pl (Sæm 41<sup>b</sup>, Sn 21-7), *i.e.* broad splendors,

<sup>1</sup> The cases are hardly analogous. Bældæg and Regin-tac — TRANS

<sup>2</sup> Homer emphasizes the dark brows of Zeus and Hera, ὀφρὺς κυανία Conf λευκόφρυνος and Artemis λευκοφρύνη, white-browed Diana

<sup>3</sup> Germ. names of the camomile kuhauge, rindsauge, ochsenauge (ox-eye) Dalecarl hvitet-oja (white eye), in Bihuslan hvita-piga (white girl)

which may have reference to the streaks of the milky way, a place near Lethra, not far from Roeskild, is said to have borne the name of *Bredebluck*<sup>1</sup> This very expression re-appears in a poem of the twelfth century, though not in reference to a dwelling-place, but to a host of snow-white steeds and heroes advancing over the battle-field *Dô brâhte Dietherîches vane zvencik dûsint lossam in breather bluckin uber lant*, Roth 2635 In Wh 381, 16 'daz bluot uber die *bluche* flôz, sî wurdn almeistic rôtgevar,' did the blood flow over the paths of the field, or over the shining silks?

If *Bældæg* and *Biond* reveal to us that the worship of Balder had a definite form of its own even outside of Scandinavia, we may conclude from the general diffusion of all the most essential proper names entering into the main plot of the myth there, that this myth as a whole was known to all Teutons The goddess *Hel*, as will be more fully shown in ch XIII, answers to the Gothic impersonal noun *halja*, OHG *hella* *Hoðr* (acc *Hoð*, gen *Haðar*, dat *Heði*), pictured as a blind god of tremendous strength (Sn 31), who without malice discharges the fatal arrow at Baldr, is called *Hotherus* in Saxo, and implies a Goth *Hapus*, AS *Heaðo*, OHG *Hadu*, OFrank *Chado*, of which we have still undoubted traces in proper names and poetic compounds OHG *Hadupraht*, *Hadufuns*, *Hadupald*, *Hadufrid*, *Hadumâr*, *Hadupuic*, *Hadulint*, *Haduwic* (*Hedwig*), &c, forms which abut close on the *Catumêrus* in Tacitus (*Hadumâr*, *Hadamâr*) In AS poetry are still found the terms *heaðorinc* (*vir egregius, nobilis*), *Cædm* 193, 4 *Beow* 737 4927, *heaðowelm* (*belli impetus, fervor*), *Cædm* 21, 14 147, 8 *Beow* 164 5633, *heaðoswât* (*sudor bellicus*), *Beow* 2919 3211 3334, *heaðowæd* (*vestis bellica*), *Beow* 78, *heaðubyrne* (*lorica bellica*), *Cod* exon 297, 7, *heaðosigel* and *heaðogleám* (*egregium jubar*), *Cod* exon 486, 17 and 438, 6, *heaðolâc* (*pugnae ludus*), *Beow* 1862 3943, *heaðogrim* (*atrocissimus*), *Beow* 1090 5378, *heaðosioc* (*pugna vulneratus*), *Beow* 5504, *heaðosteáp* (*celsus*), *Beow* 2490 4301 In these words, except where the meaning is merely intensified, the prevailing idea is plainly that of battle and strife, and the god or hero must have been thought of and honoured as a warrior Therefore *Hapus*, *Hoðr*, as well as *Wuotan* and *Zio*, expressed phenomena of war, and he was imagined blind, because he dealt out at random good hap and ill (p 207)—Then, beside *Hoðr*, we

<sup>1</sup> Suhm crit hist 2, 63.

have *Hermóðr* interweaving himself in the thread of Balder's history, he is dispatched to Hel, to demand his beloved brother back from the underworld. In Saxo he is already forgotten, the AS genealogy places its *Heremóð* among Wōden's ancestors, and names as his son either Sceldwa or the Sceáf renowned in story, whereas in the North he and Balder alike are the offspring of Óðinn, in the same way we saw (p 219) Freyr taken for the father as well as the son of Njorðr. A later *Heremóð* appears in Beow 1795 3417, but still in kinship with the old races, he is perhaps that hero, named by the side of Sigmundr in Sæm 113<sup>a</sup>, to whom Óðinn lends helm and hauberk. AS title-deeds also contain the name, Kemb 1, 232 141, and in OHG *Herimuot*, *Herimaot*, occurs very often (Graff 2, 699 anno 782, from MB 7, 373 Neugart no 170 214 244 260 annis 809-22-30-34 Ried no 21 anno 821), but neither song nor story has a tale to tell of him (see Suppl.).

So much the more valuable are the revelations of the Merseburg discovery, not only are we fully assured now of a divine Balder in Germany, but there emerges again a long-forgotten mythus, and with it a new name unknown even to the North.

When, says the lay, *Phol* (Balder) and *Wodan* were one day riding in the forest, one foot of Balder's foal, 'demo *Balderes* volon,' was wrenched out of joint, whereupon the heavenly habitants bestowed their best pains on setting it right again, but neither Sinngund and Sunna, nor yet Frûa and Folla could do any good, only Wodan the wizard himself could conjure and heal the limb (see Suppl.).

The whole incident is as little known to the Edda as to other Norse legends. Yet what was told in a heathen spell in Thuringia before the tenth century is still in its substance found lurking in conjuring formulas known to the country folk of Scotland and Denmark (conf. ch XXXIII, Dislocation), except that they apply to Jesus what the heathen believed of Balder and Wodan. It is somewhat odd, that Cato (*De re rust* 160) should give, likewise for a dislocated limb, an Old Roman or perhaps Sabine form of spell, which is unintelligible to us, but in which a god is evidently invoked. *Luxum si quod est, hac cantione sanum fiet. Harundinem prende tibi viridem pedes IV aut V longam, mediam diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices. Incipe cantare in alio SF*



motas vaeta daries dardaries astataries *Dissunapter* ' usque dum coeant. What follows is nothing to our purpose

The horse of Balder, lamed and checked on his journey, acquires a full meaning the moment we think of him as the god of light or day, whose stoppage and detention must give rise to serious mischief on the earth. Probably the story in its context could have informed us of this, it was foreign to the purpose of the conjuring-spell

The names of the four goddesses will be discussed in their proper place, what concerns us here is, that Balder is called by a second and hitherto unheard-of name, *Phol*. The eye for our antiquities often merely wants opening a noticing of the unnoticed has resulted in clear footprints of such a god being brought to our hand, in several names of places

In Bavaria there was a *Pholesauwa*, *Pholesouwa*, ten or twelve miles from Passau, which the *Traditiones patavienses* first mention in a document drawn up between 774 and 788 (MB vol 28, pars 2, p 21, no 23), and afterwards many later ones of the same district it is the present village of Pfalsau. Its composition with *auwe* quite fits in with the supposition of an old heathen worship. The gods were worshipped not only on mountains, but on 'eas' inclosed by brooks and rivers, where fertile meadows yielded pasture, and forests shade. Such was the *castum nemus* of Nerthus in an *insula* Oceani, such Fosetesland with its willows and well-springs, of which more presently. *Baldrshagi* (Balderi pascuum), mentioned in the *Friðþrofssaga*, was an enclosed sanctuary (*gríðastaðr*), which none might damage. I find also that convents, for which time-hallowed venerable sites were preferred, were often situated in 'eas', and of one nunnery the very word is used 'in der megde *ouwe*,' in the maids' ea (Dut 1, 357)<sup>1</sup>. The ON mythology supplies us with several eas named after the loftiest gods. *Oðinsey* (Odensee) in Funen, another *Oðinsey* (Onsoe) in Norway, Fornm sog 12, 33, and *Thôrsey*, 7, 234 9, 17, *Hlêssøy* (Lassoe) in the Kattegat, &c, &c. We do not know any OHG *Wuotanesouwa*, *Donaresouwa*, but *Pholesouwa* is equally to the point

Very similar must have been *Pholesprunt* (MB 9, 404 circ 1138

<sup>1</sup> So the Old Bavarian convent of Chiemsee was called *ouwa* (MB 28<sup>a</sup>, 103 an 890), and afterwards the monastery there 'der herren *werd*,' and the nunnery 'der ninnen *werd*.' Stat 'zo gottes *ouwe*' in Lisch, mekl j b 7, 227, from a fragment belonging to Bertholds Crane. Demantm 242

Pfalspiunt, 5, 399 anno 1290), now Pfalzpoint on the Altmühl, between Eichstadt and Kipfenberg, in a considerable forest. Priunt means an enclosed field or garden,<sup>1</sup> and if an ea could be consecrated to a god, so could a field. Graff 3, 342 has a place called Frawûnpriunt, which, to judge by the circumstances, may with like reason be assigned to the goddess Frouwa, no doubt it also belongs to Bavaria (see Suppl.)

In the Fulda Traditions (Schannat p 291, no 85) occurs this remarkable passage. Widerolt comes tradidit sancto Bonifacio quicquid proprietatis habuit in *Pholesbrunnen* in provincia Thuringiae. To this Pholesbrunno, the village of *Phulsborn* has the first claim, lying not far from the Saale, equidistant from the towns Apolda, Dornburg and Sulza, and spelt in Mid Age documents Phulsborn and Pfolczborn, there is however another village, *Falsbrunn* or Falsbronn, on the Rauhe Eberach in the Franconian Steigerwald. Now *Pfolesbrunno* all the more plainly suggests a divinity (and that, Balder), as there are also *Baldersbrunnen*. A Baldebrunno has been produced from the Eifel mts, and from the Rhine Palatinate,<sup>2</sup> and it has been shown that the form ought to be corrected into *Baldersbrunno* as well as the modern Baldenhain to *Baldersham* (Zeitschr f d alt 2, 256), and Bellstadt in the Klingen district of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen was formerly *Balderstetu*, Schannat dioec Fuld p 244, anno 977 (see Suppl.) From the Norse mythos of Balder, as given by Saxo, we learn that Balder in the heat of battle opened a fountain for his languishing army. Victor Balderus, ut afflictum siti militem opportuni liquoris beneficio recrearet, *novos humi latrices terram altius rimatus aperuit, quorum erumpentes scatebras sitibundum agmen hianti passim ore captabat*. Eorundem vestigia sempiterna firmata vocabulo, quamquam pristina admodum scatuigo desierit, nondum prorsus exolevisse creduntur. This spot is the present *Baldersbrond* near Roeskild (note to Muller's Saxo, p 120). But the legend may be the same as old German legends, which at a later time placed to king Charles's account (p 117, and infra, Furious host) that which heathendom had told of

<sup>1</sup> A Salzburg doc of the tenth cent, in Kleinmayr p 196. Curtilem locum cum duobus pratis, quod *priunt* dicimus.

<sup>2</sup> Conf Schopflin's Alsat dipl no. 748, anno 1285 in villa Baldeburne. A Westphal doc of 1203 (Falke trad corb p 566) names a place *Balderbroc*, which might mean palus, campus Balderi.

Balder, in that case the still surviving name has itself proved a fountain, whence the myth of Balder emerges anew<sup>1</sup>

But the name of Phol is established more firmly still. A Heinrich<sup>2</sup> de *Pholing* frequently appears in the Altach records of the 13th century, MB part 11, a Rapoto de *Pholingen*, *Phaling*, in MB 12, 56-60, this place is on the left bank of the Danube below Straubingen, between the two convents of Altach. I doubt if the Polling in other records (and there are several Pollings in the Ammer country) can be the same word, as the aspirate is wanting and the liquid doubled. Pfullendorf or Follendorf near Gotha is in docs of the 14th century *Phulsdorf*. A *Pholenheim* in Schannat, Vind. lit. coll. 1, 48-53. Not far from Scharzfeld, between the Harz mts and Thuringia, is an old village named *Polde*, called in early records and writings *Polidi*, *Fulidi*, *Palithi*, *Pholidi* (Gramm 2, 248), the seat of a well-known convent, which again may have been founded on the site of a heathen sanctuary. If a connexion with the god can be established in this case, we at the same time gather from it the true value of the varying consonant in his name.

Of Phol so many interpretations crowd upon us, that we should be puzzled if they could all be made good. The Chaldaic *bel* or *bal* seems to have been a mere title pertaining to several gods: *bel*=Uranus, *bel*=Jupiter, *bel*=Mars. The Finnish *palo* means fire, the ON *bál*, AS *bael* rokus, and the Slav *páliti* to burn, with which connect Lat *Pales* and the *Palika*. Of *phallus* we have already spoken. We must first make sure of the sounds in our native names for a divinity of whom as yet we know nothing but the bare name (see Suppl.). On the question as to the sense of the word itself, I set aside the notion one might stumble on, that it is merely a fondling form of Paltar, Balder, for such forms invariably preserve the initial of the complete name, we should expect Palzo, Balzo, but not Phol<sup>2</sup>. Nor does the OHG Ph seem here to be equivalent

<sup>1</sup> Greek tradition tells of Herakles and Zeus: *φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα δίφει ποτὲ καταχέοντα εὐχασθαι τὸ Διὶ πατρὶ ἐπιδείξαι αὐτῷ μικρὰν λιβάδα ὃ δὲ μὴ θέλων αὐτὸν κατατρυχέσθαι, ῥίψας κεραυνὸν ἀνέδωκε μικρὰν λιβάδι, ἣν θεασάμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ σκάψας εἰς τὸ πλουσιώτερον ἐποίησε φερεσθαι* (Scholia in Il. 20, 74). This spring was Scamander, and the *λιβάς* Ἡρακλῆος may be set by the side of Pfolesbrunno as well as Pfolesouwa, *λιβάδιον* being both mead and ea, and does not the Grecian demigod's pyre kindled on Oeta suggest that of Balder?

<sup>2</sup> So I explain the proper name *Folz* from Folbreht, Folrat, Folmar, and the like, it therefore stands apart from Phol. [The Suppl. qualifies the sweeping assertion in the text, it also takes notice of several other solutions, as Apollo, Pollux, foal, &c.]

to the ordinary F which corresponds to the Saxon F, but rather to be an aspirate which, answering to the Saxon tenuis P, represents an Old-Aryan media B. But we know that a Saxon initial P=OHG Ph is found almost exclusively in foreign words<sup>1</sup> (porfa, phorta, putti, phuzi, pēda, pheit), it follows that for *Phol*, in case the Sax form *Pol* is really made out, we must either look for such a foreign P, or as a rare exception, in which the law of consonant-change does assert itself, an Old-Aryan B. I incline to this last hypothesis, and connect *Phol* and *Pol* (whose o may very well have sprung from a) with the Celtic *Beal*, *Beul*, *Bel*, *Belenus*, a divinity of light or fire, the Slav *Bělŭbŭgh*, *Bělŭbŭgh* (white-god), the adj. *biel*, *běl* (albus), Lith *baltas*, which last with its extension T makes it probable that *Bældæg* and *Baldr* are of the same root, but have not undergone consonant-change. *Phol* and *Paltar* therefore are in their beginning one, but reveal to us two divergent historical developments of the same word, and a not unimportant difference in the mythology of the several Teutonic races<sup>2</sup>.

So far as we can see, the god was worshipped under the name of *Phol* chiefly by the Thuringians and Bavarians, i.e. according to ancient nomenclature the Heimundun and Marcomanni, yet they seem to have also known his other name *Paltar* or *Balder*, while

<sup>1</sup> That is, really borrowed words, as port, paternal, palace, in which the Low Germ. makes no change (like that in furth, father), and therefore the High Germ. stands only one stage instead of two in advance of Latin. Pforte, Pfalz, &c. Such words stand outside the rule of consonant-change.—TRANS.

<sup>2</sup> I have thus far gone on the assumption, that *Phol* and *Balder* in the Merseberg spell designate one and the same divine being, which is strongly supported by the analogy I have pointed out between *Pholesouwa* and *Baldishagi*, *Pholesbrunno* and *Baldsbrunni*, and his cultus must have been very familiar to the people, for the poem to be able to name him by different names in succession, without fear of being misunderstood. Else one might suppose by the names, that *Phol* and *Balder* were two different gods, and there would be plenty of room left for the question, who can possibly be meant by *Phol*? If PH could here represent V=W, which is contrary to all analogy, and is almost put out of court by the persistent PH, PF in all those names of places, then we might try the ON *Ullr*, *Ollerus* in Saxo, p. 45, which (like ull, OHG *wolla*, *wool*) would be in OHG *Wol*, so that 'Wol endi Wödan (*Ullr* ok Öðinn)' made a perfect alliteration. And *Ullr* was connected with *Baldr*, who in Sam 93<sup>a</sup> is called 'Ullar setr,' sib to U, *Ullr* cognatus (see Suppl.). But the gen. would have to be *Wolles*, and that is contradicted by the invariably single L in *Pholes*. The same reason is conclusive against Wackernagel's proposal to take *Fol* for the god of fulness and plenty, by the side of the goddess *Folla*, I think the weak form *Follo* would be demanded for it by an OHG *Pilmit*, v. Haupts *Zeitschr.* 2, 190. Still more does the internal consistency of the song itself require the identity of *Phol* and *Balder*, it would be odd for *Phol* to be named at the beginning, and no further notice to be taken of him.

*Baldag*, *Bældag* prevailed among the Saxons and Westphalians, and the AS bealdor had passed into a common noun. Now as the Bavarian Eoi stood opposed to the Alamannic Zio, we ought to find out whether Phol was in like manner unknown to the Alamanns and the races most akin to them<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, from eastern Germany we are transported to the north-west by a name appertaining closely to the Balder cultus, and again linking itself with the Edda. The Edda cites among the Ases a son of Baldr and Nanna, *Forseti*, who like his father dwelt in a shining hall *Glttnir* (ghlt, nitor, splendor, OHG kliz) built of gold and silver, and who (as Baldr himself had been called the wisest, most eloquent and mildest god, whose veidicts are final, Sn 27) passed among gods and men for the wisest of judges, he settled all disputed matters (Sæm. 42<sup>a</sup>. Sn 31 103), and we are told no more about him (see Suppl.)

This Forseti is well entitled to be compared with the Frisian god *Fosite*, concerning whom some biographies composed in the ninth century gives us valuable information. The *vita sancti Wilibrordi* († 739), written by the famous Alcuin († 804), relates as follows, cap 10. Cum ergo pius verbi Dei praedicator iter agebat, pervenit in confinio Fiesonum et Danorum ad quamdam insulam, quae a quodam deo suo *Fosite* ab accolis terrae *Fositesland* appellatur, quia in ea ejusdem dei fana fuere constructa. qui locus a paganis in tanta veneratione habebatur, ut nil in ea, vel animalium ibi pascentium, vel aliarum quarumlibet rerum, gentium quisquam tangere audebat, nec etiam a fonte qui ibi ebulliebat aquam haurire nisi tacens praesumebat. Quo cum vir Dei tempestate jactatus est, mansit ibidem aliquot dies, quousque sepositis tempestatibus opportunum navigandi tempus adveniret. sed parvipendens stultam

<sup>1</sup> The inquiry, how far these names reach back into antiquity, is far from exhausted yet. I have called attention to the *Pfolgraben* (-ditch), the *Pfalhecke* (-hedge, -fence), for which devil's dyke is elsewhere used, then the raising of the whirlwind is ascribed in some parts to the devil, in others to Herodias [meaning H's daughter the dancer], in others again to Pfol. Eastern Hesse on the Werra has a 'very queer' name for the whirlwind, beginning with *Bull-* or *Boil-*, and in the neighbouring Eichsfeld *Pulloineke* is pronounced with shyness and reluctance (Munchner gel. anz 1842, p 762). A Niddawitz ordinance of the same district (3, 327) contains the family name *Boylsperg* (Polesberg?), *Pfoylsperg*. The spelling *Bull*, *Boil*, would agree with the conjecture hazarded above, but I do not connect with this the idol Biel in the Harz, for Bielstein leads back to bilstein, i.e. beilstein. Schmid's westerw id 145 has *pollucker*, *bollecker* for spectre, bugbear (see Suppl.).

loci illius religionem, vel ferocissimum regis animum, qui violatores sacrorum illius atrocissima morte damnare solebat, tres homines in eo fonte cum invocatione sanctae Trinitatis baptizavit sed et animalia in ea terra pascentia in cibaria suis mactare<sup>a</sup> praecepit Quod pagani intuentes, alibiabantur eos vel in furorem verti, vel etiam veloci morte perire, quos cum nil mali ceinebant pati, stupore perterriti, regi tamen Radbodo quod viderant factum retulerunt Qui nimio furore succensus in sacerdotem Dei vivi *suorum* injurias *deorum* ulcisci cogitabat, et per tres dies semper *tribus vicibus sortes* suo more *mittebat*, et nunquam damnatorum sors, Deo vero defendente suos, superi servum Dei aut aliquem ex suis cadere potuit, nec nisi unus tantum ex sociis *sorte monstratus* martyrio coronatus est—Radbod feared king Pippin the Frank, and let the evangelist go unhurt<sup>1</sup> What Wilibrord had left unfinished, was accomplished some time after by another priest, as the vita sancti Ludgeri, composed by Altfrið († 849), tells of the year 785 Ipse vero (Ludgerus) . . . studuit *fana* destruere, et omnes erroris pristini abluere sordes curavit quoque ulterius doctrinae derivare flumina, et consilio ab imperatore accepto, transfretavit in confinio Fresonum atque Danorum ad quandam insulam, quae a nomine *dei sui* falsi *Fosete Foseteslant* est appellata . . . . Pervenientes autem ad eandem insulam, destruxerunt *omnia* ejusdem *Fosetis fana*, quae illic fuere constructa, et pro eis Christi fabricaverunt ecclesias, cumque habitatores terrae illius fide Christi imbueret, baptizavit eos cum invocatione sanctae Trinitatis in fonte, qui ibi ebulliebat, in quo sanctus Willibrordus prius homines tres baptizaverat, a quo etiam fonte nemo prius *haurire aquam nisi tacens* praesumebat (Pertz 2, 410)—Altfrið evidently had the work of Alcuin by him From that time the island took the name of *hêlegland*, *Helgoland*, which it bears to this day, here also the evangelists were careful to conserve, in the interest of christianity, the sense of sacredness already attaching to the site Adam of Bremen, in his treatise De situ Daniae (Pertz 9, 369), describes the island thus Ordinavit (archiepiscopus episcopum) in Finne (Fuhnen) Eilbertum, quem tradunt conversum (1 captum) a piratis *Farrnam* insulam, quae in ostio fluminis Albiae longo secessu latet in oceano, primum reperisse constructoque monasterio in ea fecisse habitabilem. haec insula contra Hadeloam sita est cujus longi-

<sup>1</sup> Acta sanctor Bened, sec 3 pars 1, p 609

tudo vix VIII milharia panditur, latitudo quatuor, homines stamine fragmentisque navium pro igne utuntur Sermo est piratas, si quando *praedam inde vel minimam tulerint, aut mox perisse naufragio, aut occisos ab aliquo, nullum redisse indempnem*, quapropter solent *heremitis ibi viventibus decimas praedarum offerre cum magna devotrone* est enim feracissima frugum, ditissima volucrum et pecudum nutrit, collem habet unicum, arborem nullam, scopulis includitur aspernissimis, nullo aditu nisi uno, ubi et *aqua dulcis* (the spring whence they drew water in silence), *locus venerabilis omnibus nautis*, praecipue vero piratis, unde nomen accepit ut *Heligeland* dicatur hanc in vita sancti Willebrodi *Fosetisland* appellam dicimus, quae sita est in confinio Danorum et Fresonum sunt et aliae insulae contra Fresiam et Daniam, sed nulla earum tam memorabilis — The name Farria, appearing here for the first time, either arose from confounding the isle of Fohr with Helgoland, or we must emend the passage, and read ‘a piratis Farrianis’ By the customs of these mariners and vikings even of christian times, we may assure ourselves how holy the place was accounted in the heathen time (see Suppl)

In an island lying between Denmark, Friesland and Saxony, we might expect to find a heathen god who was common to all three It would be strange if the Frisian *Fosite* were unknown to the Norsemen, and stranger still if the Eddic *Forseti* were a totally different god It is true, one would have expected a mention of this deity in particular from Saxo Gram, who is quite silent about it, but then he omits many others, and in his day Fosite’s name may have died out amongst the Frisians

There is some discrepancy between the two names, as was natural in the case of two nations · ON *Forseti* gen *Fosseta*, Fris *Fosite* gen *Fosites* The simplest supposition is, that from Forsite arose by assimilation Fossite, Fosite, or that the R dropt out, as in OHG *mosar* for *morsar*, Low Germ *mosar*, so in the Frisian Angeln, according to Hagerup p 20, *fost*, *foste* = *forste*, *primus* Besides, there is hardly any other way of explaining Fosite In ON *forseti* is *praeses*, *princeps*, apparently translatable into OHG *forasizo*, a fitting name for the god who presides over judgment, and arranges all disputes The Gothic *faúragaggja* bears almost the same sense, which I also find, even in much later writings, attached to our word *vorganger* (now = predecessor) More complete AS

genealogies would perhaps name a *Forseta* or *Forsete* as Bældæg's son <sup>1</sup>

*Forseti*, *Fosite* are a proof of the extent of Balder's worship. If we may infer from Pholesouwa and Baldrshagi that the god loved isles and 'eas,' Helgoland is a case in point, where the flocks of his son grazed, and so is perhaps the worship of the Hercules-pillars, which, following Tacitus, we might fix on some other island near it <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Later writers have turned Fosete into a goddess Foseta, Phoseta, Fosta, to approximate her to the Roman Vesta, maps of Helgoland, in which are found marked a 'templum Fostae vel Phosetae' of the year 768, and a 'templum Vestae' of 692, were made up in Major's *Cimbrien* (Plon, 1692), conf Wiebel's *programm uber Helgoland*, Hamb 1842. The god Foste and Fosteland could easily find their way into the spurious *Vita Suiberti* cap 7.

<sup>2</sup> Another thought has struck my mind about *Fosete*. In the appendix to the *Heldenbuch*, *Ecke*, *Vasat*, *Abentrot* are styled brothers. The form *Fasat* instead of the usual *Fasolt* need not be a mistake, there are several OHG men's names in -at, and OS in -ad, -id, so that *Fasat* and *Fasolt* can hold their ground side by side. Now *Fasolt* (conf ch XX Storm) and *Ecke* were known as god-giants of wind and water, *Abentrot* as a daemon of light. As *Ecke-Oegn* was worshipped on the Eider and in Lassoe, so might *Fosite* be in Helgoland. The connexion with *Forseti* must not be let go, but its meaning as *For-seti*, *Fora-sio* becomes dubious, and I feel inclined to explain it as *Fors-eti* from *fors* [a whirling stream, 'force' in Cumblid], *Dan fos*, and to assume a daemon of the whirlpool, a *Fossegrimm* (conf ch XVII Nidhus), with which *Fosite's* sacred spring would tally. Again, the *Heldenbuch* gives those three brothers a father *Nentigér* (for so we must read for *Mentiger*) = OHG *Nandgér*, and does not he suggest *Forseti's* mother *Nanna* = *Nandá*?



## CHAPTER XII.

### OTHER GODS

In addition to the gods treated of thus far, who could with perfect distinctness be pointed out in all or most of the Teutonic races, the Norse mythology enumerates a series of others, whose track will be harder to pursue, if it does not die out altogether. To a great extent they are those of whom the North itself has little or nothing to tell in later times.

#### 1 (HEIMDALL)

*Heimðallr*, or in the later spelling *Heimdallh*, though no longer mentioned in Saxo, is, like *Baldr*, a bright and gracious god *hvítastir* âsa (whitest of âses, Sæm 72<sup>a</sup>),<sup>1</sup> *sveidâs hvíta*, Sæm 90<sup>a</sup>, *hvitr* âs, Sn 104, he guards the heavenly bridge (the rainbow), and dwells in *Himnbiörg* (the heavenly hills). The *heim* in the first part of his name agrees in sound with *himinn*, *þallr* seems akin to *þoll*, gen *þallar* (pinus), Swed tall, Swiss dale, Engl deal (Stald 1, 259, conf Schm 2, 603-4 on *mantala*), but *þoll* also means a river, Sn 43, and *Freyja* bears the by-name of *Mardoll*, gen *Mardallar*, Sn 37 154. All this remains dark to us. No proper name in the other Teutonic tongues answers to *Heimðallr*, but with *Himnbiörg* (Sæm 41<sup>b</sup> 92<sup>b</sup>) or the common noun *himinfioll* (Sæm 148<sup>a</sup> Yngl saga cap 39), we can connect the names of other hills: a *Himilínberg* (mons coelus) haunted by spirits, in the vita S Galli, Pertz 2, 10, *Himmelberg* in Lichtenstein's *frauend* 199, 10, a *Himmelberg* in the Fulda country, Schannat Buchon vet 336, several in

<sup>1</sup> When this passage says further, '*vissi hann vel fram, sem Vanr aðrir*,' liter 'he foreknew well, like other Vanr,' his wisdom is merely likened to that of the Vanr (Gramm 4, 456 on *ander*), it is not meant that he was one of them, a thing never asserted anywhere [so in Homer, 'Greeks and other Trojans' means 'and Trojans as well']. The Foinald sog 1, 373 calls him, I know not why, '*heimskastr allra âsa*,' *heimskr* usually signifying ignorant, a greenhorn, what the MHG poets mean by tump.

Hesse (Kuchenb anal 11, 137) near Iba and Waldkappel (Niederh wochenbl 1834 pp 106, 2183), a *Himmelsberg* in Vestgotland, and one, alleged to be Heimdall's, in Halland At the same time, *Himnrváangar*, Sæm 150<sup>a</sup>, the OS hebanwang, hebenesswang, a paradise (v ch XXV), the AS *Heofenfeld* coelestis campus, Beda p 158, and the like names, some individual, some general, deserve to be studied, but yield as yet no safe conclusion about the god

Other points about him savour almost of the fairy-tale he is made out to be the son of nine mothers, giantesses, Sæm 118<sup>a,b</sup> Sn 106 Laxd p 392, he wants less sleep than a bird, sees a hundred miles off by night or day, and hears the grass grow on the ground and the wool on the sheep's back (Sn 30)<sup>1</sup> His horse is *Gulltoppr*, gold-tuft, and he himself has golden teeth,<sup>2</sup> hence the by-names *Gullintanni* and *Hallinskiði*, 'tennur Hallinskiða,' Fornm sög 1, 52 It is worthy of remark, that Hallinskiði and Heimdal are quoted among the names for the ram, Sn 221

As watchman and warder of the gods (vorðr goða, Sæm 41), Heimdall winds a powerful horn, *Gjallarhorn*, which is kept under a sacred tree, Sæm 5<sup>b</sup> 8<sup>a</sup> Sn 72-3 What the Voluspå imparts, must be of a high antiquity (see Suppl)

Now at the very outset of that poem, all created beings great and small are called *megir Heimðallar*, sons or children of the god, he appears therefore to have had a hand in the creation of the world, and of men, and to have played a more exalted part than is assigned to him afterwards As, in addition to Wuotan, Zio presided over war, and Frô over fruitfulness, so the creative faculty seems to have been divided between Oðinn and Heimðallr

A song of suggestive design in the Edda makes the first arrangement of mankind in classes proceed from the same *Hermðallr*, who traverses the world under the name of *Rígr* (see Suppl) There is a much later German tradition, very prevalent in the last few centuries, which I have ventured to trace to this heathen one, its origin being difficult to explain otherwise<sup>3</sup> As for the name *Rígr*, it seems to me to have sprung, like *dis* from *idis*, by aphæresis from an older form, which I cannot precisely determine, but would connect with the MHG *Irinc*, as in ON *an n* before *g* or *k* often

<sup>1</sup> Conf KM 3, 125

<sup>2</sup> *Li diente d' oro*, Pentam 3, 1 Of a certain Haraldr tennr voru miklor ok gulls ltr á Fornald sög 1, 366

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift f. d alt* 2, 257—267 Cont ch XIX.

drops out (conf stinga stack, packa panki), and, as will be shown later, Iringes strâza, Iringes wec answers to a Swedish Eriksgata<sup>1</sup> The shining galaxy would suit extremely well the god who descends from heaven to earth, and whose habitation borders on Bifrost

Norwegian names of places bear witness to his cultus *Heimdallarvattn*, a lake in Guldbrandsdalen (Guðbrandsdalr), and *Heimdallshoug*, a hill in Nummedalen (Naumudalr), neither is mentioned in the ON sagas

## 2 (BRAGI, BREGO)

Above any other god, one would like to see a more general veneration of the ON *Bragi* revived, in whom was vested the gift of poetry and eloquence He is called the best of all skalds, Sæm 46<sup>a</sup> Sn 45, frumsmiðr bragar (auctor poeseos), and poetry itself is *bragr*<sup>2</sup> In honour of him the *Bragafull* or *bragarfull* was given (p 60), the form appears to waver between *bragi* gen *biaga*, and *bragr* gen *biagar*, at all events the latter stands in the phrase '*biagr* karla' = vir facundus, praestans, in '*âsa bragr*' deorum princeps = Thôrr (Sæm 85<sup>b</sup> Sn 211<sup>a</sup>, but *Bragi* 211<sup>b</sup>), and even '*bragr* qvenna' femina praestantissima (Sæm 218<sup>a</sup>)<sup>3</sup>

Then a poet and king of old renown, distinct from the god, himself bore the name of *Bragi hinn gamli*, and his descendants were styled Bragningar A minstrel was pictured to the mind as old and long-bearded, siðskeggi and skeggbragi, Sn 105, which recalls Oðinn with his long beard, the inventor of poetry (p 146), and Bragi is even said to be Oðin's son, Sn 105 (see Suppl.)

In the AS poems there occurs, always in the nom sing, the term *brego* or *bregogo*, in the sense of rex or princeps bregostól in Beow 4387 and Andr 209 is thronus regius, bregowearð in Cædm 140, 26 166, 13 is princeps<sup>4</sup> Now, as gen plurals are attached to

<sup>1</sup> Der gammel *Erle*, gammel *Erle* (old E), has now come to mean old Nick in Swedish, conf supra p 124, on *Eichtag*

<sup>2</sup> Sæm 113<sup>b</sup>, of Oðinn gefr hann brag skaldom (dat carmen poetis)

<sup>3</sup> Does not the Engl *brag*, Germ *prahlen* (gloriar) explain everything? Showy high-flown speech would apply equally to boasting and to poetry Then, for the other meaning, 'the boast, glory, master-piece (of men, gods, women, angels, bears),' we can either go back to the more primitive sense (gloria) in *prangen*, *prunk*, *pracht*, *bright*, or still keep to *biag* 'Beauty is nature's brag, and must be shewn,' says Comus —TRANS

<sup>4</sup> In Beda 4, 23 (Stevens p 304) a woman's name Bregoswud, Bregoswið, in Kemble 5, 48 (anno 749) *Bregeswiðestân*, and 1, 133-4 (anno 762), 5, 46 (anno 747), 5, 59 (anno 798) a man's name Biegowine In Beow 3847 biegorot is clarissimus

it brego engla, *Cædm* 12, 7 60, 4 62, 3, brego Dena, *Beow* 848, hæleða brego, *Beow* 3995, gumena brego, *Andr* 61, beoina biego, *Andr* 305 (conf. brego moncynnes, *Cod* exon 457, 3), there grows up an instructive analogy to the above-mentioned 'bragr karla,' and to the genitives similarly connected with the divine names Tȳr, Fieá and Bealdor (pp 196, 211, 220) The AS *brego* equally seems to point to a veiled divinity, though the forms and vowel-relations do not exactly harmonize<sup>1</sup>

Their disagreement rather provokes one to hunt up the root under which they could be reconciled a verb briga brag would suit the purpose The Saxon and Fisian languages, but not the Scandinavian or High German, possess an unexplained term for cerebrum AS biegen (like regen pluvia, therefore better written so than brægen), Engl brain, Fiss brein, Low Sax bregen, I think it answers to the notions 'understanding, cleverness, eloquence, imitation,' and is connected with *φρήν, φρενός, -φρων, -φρονος* Now the ON bragr, beside poesis, means also mos, gestus, and 'braga eftir emum' reffeire aliquem gestu, imitari OHG has nothing like it, nor any such proper name as Prako, Biago, Brego

But, as we detected among the Saxons a faint trace of the god or god's son, we may lay some stress on the fact that in an OS document of 1006 *Burnacker* occurs as the name of a place, v Lunzel's Hildesheim, p 124, conf pref v (see Suppl) Now Bragi and his wife Þunn dwelt in *Brunnaker*, Sn 121<sup>a</sup>, and she is called 'Brunnakrs beckjar gerðr,' Brunnakerinae sedis ornatix, as Sk Thorlacius interprets it (*Spec* 6, pp 65-6) A well or spring, for more than one reason, suits a god of poetry, at the same time a name like 'springfield' is so natural that it might arise without any reference to gods

Bragi appears to have stood in some pretty close relation to *Oegir*, and if an analogy between them could be established, which however is unsupported hitherto on other grounds, then by the side of 'briga brag' the root 'braga brôg' would present itself, and the AS brôga (terror), OHG pruoko, bruogo, be akin to it The connexion of Bragi with *Oegir* may be seen by Bragi appearing prominently in the poem *Oegisdrecka*, and by his sitting next to *Oegir* in Sn 80, so that in intimate converse with him he brings out stories of the gods, which are thence called *Bragaræður*,

<sup>1</sup> The Irish breitheam, brethem (judex) is said to be pronounced almost as 'brehon,' *Trans of Irish acad* 14, 167

speeches of Bragi. It is with great propriety, no doubt, that these narratives, during which Oegir often interrupts him with questions (Sn 93), as Ganglêri does Hâr when holding forth in the first part of the Edda, were put in the mouth of the patron of poetry.

### 3 AKI, UOKI (OEGIR, HLÊR) FIFEL, GEUFON

This Oegir, an older god of the giant kind, not ranked among the Ases, but holding peaceable intercourse with them, bears the name of the terrible, the awful. The root 'aga ôg' had given birth to plenty of derivatives in our ancient speech. Goth *agis fôþsos*, ôg *foþséomai*, OHG *akiso*, *egiso*, AS *egesa* horror, OHG *aki*, *ekî*, AS *ege* (êge? awe) terror, ON *ægja* terror esse, which can only be spelt with œ, not æ. To the proper name *Oegir* would correspond a Goth *Ógeis*, AS *Êge*, OHG *Uœgi*, instead of which I can only lay my hand on the weak form *Uogo*, *Oago*. But œgir also signifies the sea itself *sôl gengr i œginn*, the sun goes into the sea, sets; *œgi-siðr* pelagus is like the Goth *mar-sáivs*, the AS *eagor* and *égor* (mare) is related to êge, as *sigor* to *sige*. I attach weight to the agreement of the Greek *Ὠκεανός*, *Ἰκεανός* and *Ἰγγύς*, whence the Lat *oceanus*, *Oceanus* was borrowed, but *aequor* (mare placidum) seems not cognate, being related to *aequus*, not to *aqua* and Goth *ahva* (see Suppl.)<sup>1</sup>

The boisterous element awakened awe, and the sense of a god's immediate presence. As Wôden was also called Wôma (p 144), and Oðinn Omî and Yggr, so the AS poets use the terms *wôma*, *swêg*, *brôga* and *egesa* almost synonymously for ghostly and divine phenomena (Andr and El pp xxx—xxxii). *Oegir* was therefore a highly appropriate name, and is in keeping with the notions of fear and horror developed on p 207-8.

This interpretation is strikingly confirmed by other mythical conceptions. The Edda tells us of a fear-inspiring helmet, whose name is *Oegishálmr* *er oll qvíkvendi brœðast at síð*, Sn 137, such a one did Hreiðmar wear, and then Fafnir when he lay on the gold and seemed the more terrible to all that looked upon him, Sæm 188<sup>a</sup>, vera (to be) *undir Oegishálmr*, bera *Oegishálm* *yfir*

<sup>1</sup> Oegir is also called *Gymir*, Sæm 59 *Gámmr*, Sn 125 183 possibly epulatur? but I know no other meaning of the ON *gaumr* than *cura*, *attentio*, though the OHG *gouma*, OS *gôma* means both *cura* and *epulae*, the AS *gýming* both *cura* and *nuptiae*.

einum, means to inspire with fear or reverence, Laxd saga, p 130 Islend sog 2, 155, ek bar Oegishialm yfir alla folk, Fornald sog 1, 162, hafa Oegishialm í augum, ibid 1, 406, denotes that terrible piercing look of the eyes, which others cannot stand, and the famous basilisk-glance, ormr í auga, was something similar<sup>1</sup> Now I find a clear trace of this Norse helmet in the OHG man's name *Egghelm* (Trad fuld 1, 97, in Schannat no 126, p 286 Egghelm), *ve Agghelm*, identical with the strengthened-vowel form *Uogghelm*, which I am unable to produce But in the Eckenlied itself Ecke's costly magic helmet, and elsewhere even Ortnit's and Dietrich's, are called *Hildegriem*, *Hildegriin*, and the ON *gríma* mask or helmet (in Sæm 51<sup>a</sup> a name for night) has now turned up in a Fulda gloss, Dionke p 15 'scenicu = *crimān*' presupposes a sing *krimā* larva, persona, galea, so we can now understand *Krimhilt* (Gramm 1, 188) the name of a Walkurie armed with the helmet of terror, and also why 'daemon' in another gloss is rendered by *egsgrime* The AS *egesgrime* is equally a mask, and in El 260 the helmet that frightens by its figure of a boar is called a *grim-helm* I venture to guess, that the wolf in our ancient apologue was imagined wearing such a helmet of dread, and hence his name of *Isangrim*, non-mask, Reinh cexlu (see Suppl) Nor have we yet come to the end of fancies variously playing into one another as the god's or hero's helmet awakened terror, so must his shield and sword, and it looks significant, that a terrific sword fashioned by dwarfs should likewise be named in the two forms, viz in the Vilknasaga *Eckisax*, in Veldek's Eneit *Uokesahs* (not a letter may we alter), in the Eckenlied *Ecken sahs*, as Hildegriin was Ecken helm, Eckes helm In the Greek *aiyís* I do not look for any verbal affinity, but this shield of *Zeús aiyíoxos* (Il 15, 310 17, 593), wielded at times by Athena (2, 447 5, 738) and Apollo (15, 229. 318 361 24, 20), spreads dismay around, like Oegishialmr, Hildegriin and Eckisahs, Pluto's helmet too, which rendered invisible, may be called to mind —That ancient god of sea, Oceanus and Oegir (see Suppl), whose hall glittered with gold, Sæm 50,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fornm sog 9, 513 gekk alvaldr und *Ygishialmr* The spelling with *ŷ* goes to confirm our æ, and relate æ, as an *ŷ* can only stand for *ŷ*, not for the latter, conf mór and the deriv mýri = mœri, Gramm 1, 473

<sup>2</sup> In the great feast which he gave to the gods, the ale came up of itself (sialft barse þær ol, Sæm 59), as Hephaestus's tripods ran *αὐτομάτοι* in and out of the *θεῖον ἀγῶνα*, Il 18, 376 Even so Freyr had a sword *er sialft vegur* (that swings itself), Sæm 82<sup>a</sup>, and Thór's Mjolnir comes back of itself everytime it is thrown

would of all others wear the glittering helmet which takes its name from him. From all we can find, his name in OHG must have been *Aki* or *Uoki*, and it requires no great boldness to suppose that in the *Ecke* of our heroic legend, a giant all over, we see a precipitate of the heathen god. *Ecke's* mythical nature is confirmed by that of his brothers *Fasolt* and *Abentiôt*, of whom more hereafter. As the Greek *Okeanos* has rivers given him for sons and daughters, the Norse *Oegir* has by *Rân* nine daughters, whose names the *Edda* applies to waters and waves. We might expect to find that similar relations to the seagod were of old ascribed to our own rivers also, most of which were conceived of as female [and still bear feminine names].

And there is one such local name in which he may be clearly recognised. The *Eider*, a river which divides the Saxons from the Northmen, is called by the Frankish annalists in the eighth and ninth centuries *Egidora*, *Agadora*, *Aegidora* (Pertz 1, 355-70-86 2, 620-31), *Helmold* 1, 12 50 spells *Egdora*. The ON writers more plainly write *Oegisdyr* (Fornm sog 11, 28 31, conf *Geogr* of a Northman, ed by Werlauff p 15), i.e., ocean's door, sea-outlet, ostium, perhaps even here with a collateral sense of the awful. Again, a place called *Oegisdyr* is mentioned in Iceland, *Landn* 5, 2, where we also find 3, 1 an *Oegissíða*, *latus oceani*. Further, it comes out that by the AS name *Fifeldor* in *Cod* exon 321, 8 and by the *Wieglesdor* in *Dietmar* of *Meiseb* ad ann 975, p 760 is meant the *Eider* again, still the aforesaid *Oegisdyr*, while a various reading in *Dietmar* agrees with the annalist *Saxo* ad ann 975 in giving *Heggedor* = *Eggedor*, *Egidor*. Now, seeing that elsewhere the AS poems use *Fifelstreám*, *Fifelwæg* (*Boeth* 26, 51 *El* 237) for the ocean, and *Fifelcynnes eard* (*Beow* 208) for the land of the ocean-sprites, we may suppose *Fifel* and its corruption *Wiegel* to be another and an obsolete name of *Oegir*.

The same may hold good of the AS *Geofon*, OS *Geban*, a being whose godhead is sufficiently manifest from the ON *Gefjun*, who is reckoned among the *Asynior*, though she bore sons to a giant. The Saxon *Geban* however was a god, the *Heland* shows only the compound *Gebenesstrôm* 90, 7 131, 22, but the AS poets, in addition to *Geofenes begang*, *Beow* 721, *Geofenes stað*, *Cædm* 215, 8, and the less personal *geofonhûs* (*navis*), *Cædm* 79, 34, *geofonflôd*, *Cod* exon 193, 21, have also a *Geofon* standing independently in

the nom, Cædm 206, 6, and gifen geotende, Beow 3378. An OHG *Kepan* is nowhere found, even in proper names, though Stahlin 1, 598 gives a *Gebeneswîlare*. I know not whether to take for the root the verb *giban* to give, in which case *Gibika* (p 137) and Wuotan's relation to Neptune (pp 122, 148) would come in here, or to look away to the Greek *χίων* fem [*χίων*, *hib-ernus*?] and the notion of snow and ice giants.

And the North itself furnishes some names which are synonymous with Oegir. In the Fundinn Noregr (Sn 369 Fornald sog 2, 17) we read Forniothr átti 3 syni, hêtt einn *Hlér*, *er ver kollum Oegr* (one hight Hler, whom we call Oegr), annarr Logi, þridji Kari (Rask, afh 1, 95 Kâri). *Hlér*, gen *Hlêr*, appears from this to have been the older name, in use among the giants, by which Oegr is spoken of in Sn 79, and after which his dwelling-place was named *Hlêr-ey* (Sæm 78<sup>b</sup> 159<sup>b</sup> 243<sup>b</sup>), now Lassoë in the Cattegat.

#### 4. (FORNIOTR)

Of this *Hlér* I have nothing more to tell (see Suppl), but his father *Forniothr* has left a notable trace of himself behind, he belongs even less than Oegr to the circle of Ases, being one of the older demonic giants, and proving that even these demigods or personified powers of nature must also have borne sway among the Teutonic races outside of Scandinavia. Forniothr is to be explained, not as *for-moti primus occupans*, but rather as *for-niothr*, the ancient Iotr (Rask, afhand 1, 78), a particularly apt expression for those giants, and closely connected with *iotunn* itself, AS *eoton*, as will be shown further on. Now in the AS *Liber medicinalis*, from which Wanley, pp 176—80 gives insufficient extracts, there is according to Lye's dictionary a plant of healing virtue spoken of (twice apparently, from the various spelling) by the name of *Forneotes folme*, *Fornetes folme* (*ie* *Forneoti manus*). As none of the ON writings allude to this herb, its name must be a remnant of the Saxon people's own mythology. In OHG the giant may have been called *Firnez*, and the plant *Firnezes folma*. We remember how, in Beow 1662, Grendel has torn off the hand of a water-sprite, and presents it as *tâcen* of his victory, just as Tristan chops off the giant Urgan's hand, and takes it with him to certify the deed, 16055-65-85. The amputation of the huge giant-hand seems therefore part of an ancient myth, and to have been fitly



retained in the name of a broad-leaved vegetable, there is also a plant called *devil's-hand*, and in more than one legend the Evil one leaves the print of his hand on rocks and walls

If these last allusions have led us away from the beneficent deities rather to hurtful demons and malignant spirits, we have here an easy transit to the only god whom the teaching of the Edda represents as wicked and malevolent, though it still reckons him among the Ases

### 5 (LOKI, GRENDEL), SATURN

*Logi*, as we have seen, was a second son of Fornioth, and the three brothers *Hlér*, *Logi*, *Kari* on the whole seem to represent water, fire and air as elements. Now a striking narrative (Sn 54. 60) places *Logi* by the side of *Loki*, a being from the giant province beside a kinsman and companion of the gods. This is no mere play upon words, the two really signify the same thing from different points of view, *Logi* the natural force of fire, and *Loki*, with a shifting of the sound, a shifting of the sense of the burly giant has been made a sly seducing villain. The two may be compared to the Prometheus and the Hephæstus (Vulcan) of the Greeks, Okeanos was a friend and kinsman of the former. But the two get mixed up. In *Loki*, *så er flestu illu ræðr* (Sn 46), who devises the most of ill, we see also the giant demon who, like Hephæstus, sets the gods a-laughing, his limping reminds us of Hephæstus and the lame fire (N Cap 76), his chaining of Prometheus's, for *Loki* is put in chains like his son Fenrir. As Hephæstus forges the net for Ares and Aphrodite, *Loki* too prepares a net (Sn 69), in which he is caught himself. Most salient of all is the analogy between Hephæstus being hurled down from Olympus by Zeus (Il 1, 591-3) and the devil being cast out of heaven into hell by God (ch XXXIII, Devil), though the Edda neither relates such a fall of *Loki*, nor sets him forth as a cunning smith and master of dwarfs, probably the stories of *Loki* and *Logi* were much fuller once. *Loki*'s former fellowship with Óðinn is clearly seen, both from Sæm 61<sup>b</sup>, and from the juxtaposition of three creative deities on their travels, *Óðinn*, *Hænar*, *Loðr*, Sæm 3<sup>a</sup>, instead of which we have also *Óðinn*, *Hænar*, *Loki*, Sæm 180, or in a different order *Óðinn*, *Loki*, *Hænar*, Sn 80 135 (conf supra, p 162). This trilogy I do not venture to identify with that of *Hlér*, *Logi*, *Kari* above, strikingly as Óðinn corresponds to the *ἰς ἀνέμοιο*; and though from the creating Óðinn

proceed breath and spirit (ond), as from *Loðr* (blaze, glow) come blood and colour (*lâ ok litr*), the connexion of *Hœnn*, who imparts sense (*ðð*), with water is not so clear this *Hœnir* is one of the most unmanageable phenomena of the Norse mythology, and with us in Germany he has vanished without leaving a trace. But the fire-god too, who according to that gradation of sounds ought either to be in Goth *Laúha* and OHG *Loho*, or in Goth *Luka* and OHG *Locho*, seems with the loss of his name to have come up again purely in the character of the later devil. He lasted longer in Scandinavia, and myths everywhere show how nearly *Loki* the *âs* approaches *Logi* the giant. *Thorlacius* (spec 7, 43) has proved that in the phrase '*Loki fer yfir akra*' (passes over the fields), and in the Danish '*Locke dricker vand*' (drinks water), fire and the burning sun are meant, just as we say the sun is drawing water, when he shines through in bright streaks between two clouds. *Loka dau*n (*Loki odor*) is Icelandic for the ignis fatuus exhaling brimstone (ibid 44), *Lokabrenna* (*Loki incendium*) for Sirius, *Loka spœnir* are chips for firing. In the north of Jutland, a weed very noxious to cattle (*polytrichum comm*) is called *Lokkens havre*, and there is a proverb '*Nu saær Lokken sin havre*,' now *Locke* sows his oats, *æ*, the devil his tares, the Danish lexicon translates *Lokeshavre* *avena fatua*, others make it the *rhinanthus crista galli*. When the fire crackles, they say '*Lokje smacks his children*,' Faye p 6. Molbech's Dial lex p 330 says, the Jutland phrase '*Lokke saær havre idag* (to-day),' or what is equivalent '*Lokke drive* idag med sine geder (drives out his goats),' is spoken of vapours that hang about the ground in the heat of the sun. When birds drop their feathers in moulting time, people say they '*gaae i Lokkens arr* (pass under L's harrow?)', '*at hore paa Lockens eventyr* (adventures)' means to listen to lies or idle tales (P Syv's *gamle danske ordsprog* 2, 72). According to Sjoborg's *Nomenklatur*, there is in *Vesteigotland* a giant's grave named *Lokehall*. All of them conceptions well deserving notice, which linger to this day among the common people, and in which *Loki* is by turns taken for a beneficent and for a hurtful being, for sun, fire, giant or devil. Exactly the same sort of harm is in Germany ascribed to the devil, and the kindly god of light is thought of as a devastating flame (see Suppl.)

On this identity between *Logi* and *Loki* rests another vestige

of the Norse dæmon, which is found among the other Teutonic races. If Logi comes from *luhan* (lucere), *Loki* will apparently fall to the root *lukan* (claudere, conf. *claudus* lame), the ON. *lok* means *finis*, consummatio, and *loka* repagulum, because a bolt or bar closes. In *Beowulf* we come upon an odious devilish spirit, a *thyr*s (Beow 846) named *Grendel*, and his mother, *Grendeles môdor* (4232-74), a veritable devil's mother and giant's mother. An AS document of 931 in *Kemble 2*, 172 mentions a place called *Grendles mêre* (*Grendeli palus*). Now the AS *grendel*, OHG *hrintil*, MHG. *grintel* is precisely repagulum, pessulus, so the name *Grendel* seems related to *gündel* (obex) in the same way as *Loki* to *loka*, the ON *grind* is a grating, which shuts one in like bolt and bar. Gervase of Tilbury (in *Leibn 1*, 980) tells of an English fire-demon named *Giant*. It is very remarkable, that we Germans have still in use a third synonymous expression for a diabolic being, its meaning heightened no doubt by composition with 'hell', *hollriegel* vectis infernalis, hell-bar, a hell-brand, devil or the devil's own, a shrewish old hag is styled *hollriegel* or the devil's grandmother, and Hugo von Langenstein (*Martina 4<sup>b</sup>*) already used this *hellerriegel* as a term of abuse. Now hell was imagined as being tightly bolted and barred, when Christ, says *Fundgr 1*, 178, went down to Hades in the strength of a lion, he made 'die grintel brechen'. Lastly, we may even connect the OHG *dremil* (pessulus, *Graff 5*, 531) with the ON *trami* or *tremull*, which mean both cacodaemon and also, it seems, clathri, cancelli. 'tramar gneypa þik skulo<sup>1</sup>'. *Sæm 85<sup>a</sup>*, and in the Swedish song of Torkar, *trolltram* is an epithet of the devil who stole the hammer. As this is the *Thrymr* of the Edda, one might guess that *trami* stands for *þrami*, with which our *dremil* would more exactly accord. Thus from several sides we see the mythical notions that prevailed on this subject joining hands, and the merging of Logi into Loki must be of high antiquity. Foersom (on *Jutl* superstit. p 32) alleges, that the devil is conceived of in the form of a lassetra, *ve*, the pole with which a load is tied down.

Beside Loki the *âs*, Snorri sets another before us in the Edda, *Utgardaloki*, as a king whose arts and power deceive even godlike Thôir, it was one of his household that outdid the other Loki himself, Sn 54 seq<sup>1</sup>. Saxo, who in the whole of his work

<sup>1</sup> 'Thorlacius's theory, of an older nature-worship supplanted by the *âses*, rests mainly on the antithesis of an Okupôrr to Asapôrr, of Logi to Loki, and probably of Hlêr to Oegir, each pair respectively standing for thunder, fire,

never once names the Eddic Lóki, tells wonderful things of this 'Ugarthilocus,' pp 163-6 he paints him as a gigantic semi-divine monster, who dwells in a distant land, is invoked in a storm like other gods, and grants his aid. A valiant hero, named Thorkill, brooks the adventurous journey to Ugarthilocus all this is but legendary variation of the visit which, in Snorri, Thórr pays to Utgarðaloki. Still it is worth noticing, that Thorkill plucks out one of Ugarthilocus's huge spear-like hairs, and takes it home with him (Saxo 165-6). The *utgarðar* were the uttermost borders of the habitable world, where antiquity fixed the abode of giants and monsters, *i.e.*, hell, and here also may have been present that notion of the bar, closing up as it were the entrance to that inaccessible region of ghosts and demons.

Whether in very early times there was also a Saxon *Loko* and an Alamannic *Lohho*, or only a *Grendil* and *Krental*, what is of capital importance is the agreement in the myths themselves. To what was cited above, I will here add something more. Our nursery-*tales* have made us familiar with the incident of the hair plucked off the devil as he lay asleep in his grandmother's lap (Kinderm 29). The corresponding Norwegian tale makes three feathers be pulled out of the dragon's tail, not while he sleeps, but after he is dead.

Loki, in punishment of his misdeeds, is put in chains, like Prometheus who brought fire to men, but he is to be released again at the end of the world. One of his children, *Fenrir*,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, himself in a second birth, pursues the moon in the *shape of a wolf*, and threatens to swallow her. According to Sn 12-13, an old giantess in the forest gave birth to these giants in wolfskin girdles, the mightiest of them being *Mánagarmr* (lunae canis) who is to devour the moon, but in another place, while *Skoll* chases the sun, *Hati*, *Hróðvitrnis* sonr (Sæm 45<sup>a</sup>) dogs the moon. Probably there were fuller legends about them all, which were never written down, an old Scotch story is still remembered about 'the tayl of

water. To the elder series must be added Sif = earth, and the *miðgarðsormr* (world-snake). But what nature-god can Óðinn have taken the place of? None? And was his being not one of the primeval ones? &c [Quoted from Suppl., vol III.]

<sup>1</sup> Goth *Fanarais*? OHG *Fanari*, *Feniri*? can it be our *fahnen-träger*, *pannifer*? But the early Norse does not seem to have the word answering to the Goth *fana*, OHG *fano* (flag). [Has the fox holding up his tail as a standard, in the unrighteous war of beasts against birds, anything to do with this?]

the wolfe and the warldis end' (see Suppl) But the popular belief seems to have extended generally, and that from the earliest times, all over Germany, and beyond it We still say, when baneful and perilous disturbances arise, 'the *devil* is broke loose,' as in the North they used to say '*Lohr* er or bondum' (ch XXIII) In the Life of Goz von Berlichingen, p 201 'the *devil* was everywhere at large', in Detmar's chronik 1, 298 'do was de *duvel* los geworden,' *i e*, disorder and violence prevailed Of any one who threatened from a safe distance, the folk in Burgundy used the ironical phrase 'Dieu garde *la lune des loups*'<sup>1</sup> meaning, such threats would not be fulfilled till the end of the world, in the same way the French popular song on Henry IV expresses the far end of the future as the time when the wolf's teeth shall get at the moon *jusqu' à ce que l'on prenne la lune avec les dents*<sup>2</sup> Fischart in several places speaks of this '*wolf des mons*,' and most fully in his Aller piactik grossmutter 'derhalben doift ihr nicht mehr fur ihn betten, dass ihn Gott *vor den wolfen wolle behuten*, denn sie werden ihn diss jahr nicht erhaschen' (need not pray for the moon, they won't get her this year)<sup>3</sup> In several places there circulate among the people rhymes about the twelve hours, the last two being thus distinguished 'um elfe kommen die *wolfe*, um zwolfe bricht das *gewolbe*,' at 11 come the wolves, at 12 bursts the vault, *i e*, death out of the vault Can there be an echo in this of the old belief in the appearing of the wolf or wolves at the destruction of the world and the bursting of heaven's vault? In a lighted candle, if a piece of the wick gets half detached and makes it burn away too fast, they say 'a *wolf* (as well as thief) is in the candle,' this too is like the wolf devouring the sun or moon Eclipses of sun or moon have been a terror to many heathen nations, the incipient and increasing obscuration of the lumnous orb marks for them the moment when the gaping jaws of the wolf threaten to devour it, and they think by loud cries to bring it succour (ch XXII, Eclipses) The breaking loose of the wolf and the ultimate enlargement of Loki from his chains, who at the time of the Ragnarok will war against and overcome the gods, is in striking accord with the release of the chained Prometheus, by whom Zeus is then to be overthrowen.

<sup>1</sup> Lamonnaye, glossaire to the noel bourguignon, Dijon 1776, p 242

<sup>2</sup> Conf Ps 72, 7 donec auferetur luna.

<sup>3</sup> May we in this connexion think of the fable of the *wolf* who goes down the well to eat up the *moon*, which he takes for a cheese?

The formula, 'unz Loki verðr lauss' (= unz rufaz regin, till the gods be destroyed), answers exactly to the Greek *πρὶν ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν χαλάσθῃ Προμηθεύς* (Aesch Prom 176 770 991), the writhings of the fettered Loki make the earth to quake (Sæm 69 Sn 70), just as *χθὼν σεσάλευται* in the case of Prometheus (Aesch 1081) Only the Greek Titan excites our noblest sympathy, while the Edda presents Loki as a hateful monster

Loki was fair in form, evil in disposition, his father, a giant, was named *Farbauti* (boatman?), his mother *Laufey* (leaf-ea) and *Nál* (needle, thin and insinuating, *mið ok auðþreiflig*, 355), all of them words easy to translate into OHG as *Farpôzo* (remex), *Loupouwa*, *Nâdala*, though such names are nowhere found He is never called *Farbauta* sonr, but always after his mother, *Loki Laufeyjar sonr* (Sæm 67<sup>a</sup> 72<sup>b</sup> 73<sup>a</sup>), which had its origin in alliteration, but held its ground even in prose (Sn 64) and in the Locke *Loje*, *Loke Lovmand*, *Loke Lejemand* of the later folk-songs This *Laufey* (Swed *Lofo*) is first of all the name of a place, which was personified, and here again there is doubtless reference to an element By his wife *Sigyn* Loki had a son *Nari* or *Narvi*, and by a giantess *Angrboða* three children, the aforesaid *Fenrir*, the serpent *Jormungandi* and a daughter *Hel* It is worthy of notice, that he himself is also called *Loptir* (aerius), and one of his brothers *Helblindi*, which is likewise a name of *Óðinn* I just throw out these names, mostly foreign to our German mythology, in the hope of enlisting for them future inquiry.

Once again we must turn our attention to a name already brought forward among the gods of the week (pp 125-6), for which a rare concurrence of isolated facts seems almost to secure a place in our native antiquities The High German week leaves two days, one in the middle and one at the end, not named after gods But *sambaztag* for Saturday, as well as *mittwoch* for Wuotanstag, was a sheer innovation, which the church had achieved or gladly accepted for those two days at all events The first six days were called after the sun, the moon, *Zio*, *Wuotân*, *Donar* and *Fria*, what god was entitled to have the naming of the seventh day? Four German deities were available for Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, but how was *Saturn* to be put into German? The Mid Ages went on explaining the seventh day by the Roman god. our *Kaiserchronik*,

which even for the third, fourth, fifth and sixth days names no German gods, but only Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, expresses itself thus clumsily

An dem sâmeztagē sâ	Then on the Saturday
emez heizet rotundâ,	Is a thing named rotunda
daz was ein hêrez betehûs,	That was a lofty temple,
der got hiez <i>Saturnûs</i> ,	The god was named Saturnus,
darnâch was iz allei truvel êre	Thereafter was it to all devils'
	honour

Here the worship of Saturn is connected with the pantheon built in honour of all the gods or devils, which Boniface converted into a church of St Mary. The Anglo-Saxons, English, Frisians, Dutch and Low Saxons have left to the 'dies Saturni' the god's very name *Sæteresday* or *Sæternesdæg*, *Saturday*, *Saterdei*, *Saterdach*, *Satensdag*, and even the Irish have adopted *día Saturn* or *Satarn*, whereas the French *samedi*, Span *sabado*, Ital *sabato*, agrees with our High Germ *samstag*. Here is identity, not only of idea, as in the case of the other gods, but of name, and the absence of consonant-change seems to betray downright borrowing or may the resemblance have been accidental, and a genuine German name have been modified in imitation of the foreign one? In OHG neither a *Sâtarnes-* nor a *Sâzarnestac* can be found, but in AS *sætere* means insidiator (OHG *sâzan*, conf *sâza*, MHG *sâze* insidiae, a sitting in wait, as *lâga*, *lâge* is lying in wait), and what is still more remarkable, a document of Edward the Confessor (chart antiq rot M no 1 Kemble 4, 157) supplies us with the name of a place *Sæteresbyrig*, quite on a par with *Wôdnesbyrig*, further, the plant *gallicus*, our *hahnenfuss*, Engl *crowfoot*, was in AS *sâtorlâðe* *Saturni taedium* as it were (-loathing, ON *leiði*, OHG *leidi*)<sup>1</sup>. I call to mind, that even the ancient Franks spoke of *Saturnus* (p 88) as a heathen god, and of *Saturni dolium*, though that may have referred to the mere planetary god (see Suppl.)

The last name for the 'sabbath' brings us to the ON *laugar-*

<sup>1</sup> In the AS are preserved various dialogues between *Saturn* and Solomon, similar to those between Solomon and Marculf in continental Germany, but more antique and, apart from their christian setting or dressing up, not unlike the questions and discourses carried on in the Edda between Óðinn and Vafþrúðnir, between Víngþórr and Alvið, between Hár and Gångleri. Here also the name Saturn seems to make for my point, and to designate a god of Teutonic paganism

dagr, Swed logerdag, Dan love.dag, by which in later times no doubt washing or bathing day was meant, as the equivalent þvottdagr shows, but originally *Logadagr*, *Lokadagr* may have been in use,<sup>1</sup> and Logi, Loki might answer to the Latin *Saturnus*,<sup>2</sup> as the idea of devil which lay in Loki was popularly transferred to the Jewish *Satan* and [what seemed to be the same thing] the heathen *Saturn*, and *Locki* in ON is likewise seducer, tempter, trapper. We might even take into consideration a by-name of Óðinn in Sæm 46<sup>a</sup>, *Saðr* or perhaps *Sâðr*, though I prefer to take the first form as equivalent to Sannr (true) and Sanngetall.

But that AS *Sætesbyrg* from the middle of the 11th century irresistibly recalls the 'burg' on the Harz mts, built (according to our hitherto despised accounts of the 15th century in Bothe's *Sachsenchronik*) to the idol *Saturn*, which Saturn, it is added, the common people called *Krodo*, to this we may add the name touched upon in p. 206 (*Hrêðe*, *Hrêðemônað*), for which an older *Hruodo*, *Chródo* was conjectured.<sup>3</sup> We are told of an image of this Saturn or Krodo, which represented the idol as a man standing on a great fish, holding a pot of flowers in his right hand, and a wheel erect in his left, the Roman Saturn was furnished with the sickle, not a wheel (see Suppl.)<sup>4</sup>

Here some Slav conceptions appear to overlap. Widukind (Pertz 5, 463) mentions a brazen *simulacrum Saturni* among the Slavs of the tenth century, without at all describing it, but Old Bohemian glosses in Hanka 14<sup>a</sup> and 17<sup>a</sup> carry us farther. In the first, Mercurius is called 'Radihost vnuk Kirtov' (Radigast grandson of Kirt), in the second, Picus Saturni filius is glossed 'ztracec

<sup>1</sup> Conf Finn Magnusen, lex pp 1041-2, dagens tider p 7

<sup>2</sup> I suppose the author had in his mind Homer's constant epithet, *Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης* wily, crooked-counselled Kronos—TRANS

<sup>3</sup> To *Hródo* might now be referred those names *Royzel* (later spelling Reusel) and *Roydach* in Gramaye, who understands them of Mars, ancient documents must first place it beyond doubt, which day of the week is meant. There is an actual *Hruodiac*, a man's name in OHG (Graff 5, 362), and an OS *Hrôddag* is found in Trad corb § 424, ed Wigand, these may be related to Hruodo, Hródo as Baldag to Balder, and the contraction Roydag, Rodag would be like Roswith for Hródsurth. If Roydag should turn out to be the seventh day of the week, it would be a strong testimony to the worship of Chrodo, if it remain the third, we have to add, that the third month also was sacred to Mars, and was called *Hrêðemonað* by the Anglo-Saxons.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Kaiserchr 3750 says, to Saturn we offer quicksilver, whereas now Saturn's symbol signifies lead. In Meigenberg, Saturn is called *Satâr*. The Saxon Saturn is supported by Hengest's reference to that god'. (Extracted from Suppl., vol ii.)



Sitivrato<sup>v</sup> zin' (woodpecker, Sitivrat's son), and in a third 20<sup>a</sup>, Saturn is again called Sitivrat. Who does not see that Sitivrat is the Slavic name for Saturn, which leads us at the first glance to sit = satur? Radigast = Mercury (p 130n) is the son of Stražec = Picus, and in fact Greek myths treat Picus (*Ilīkos*) as Zeus, making him give up the kingdom to his son Heimes. Picus is Jupiter, son of Saturn, but beside Sitivrat we have learnt another name for Saturn, namely *Kirt*, which certainly seems to be our *Krodo* and *Hruodo*. Sitivrat and Kirt confirm *Saturn* and *Krodo*, I do not know whether the Slavic word is to be connected with the Boh kit, Pol kret, Russ krot, *ie*, the mole<sup>1</sup>. I should prefer to put into the other name Sitivrat the subordinate meaning of sito-vrat, sieve-turner, so that it would be almost the same as kolo-vrat, wheel-turner, and afford a solution of that wheel in Krodo's hand, both wheel (kolo) and sieve (sito) move round, and an ancient spell rested on sieve-turning. Slav mythologists have identified Sitivrat with the Hindu *Satyāvrata*, who in a great deluge is saved by Vishnu in the form of a fish. Krodo stands on a fish, and Vishnu is represented wearing wreaths of flowers about his neck, and holding a wheel (chakra) in his fourth hand<sup>2</sup>. All these coincidences are still meagre and insecure, but they suffice to establish the high antiquity of a Slavo-Teutonic myth which starts up thus from more than one quarter.

<sup>1</sup> Hardly with Crete, where Kronos ruled and Zeus was born.

<sup>2</sup> Edw Moore's Hindu Pantheon, Lond 1810, tab 13 and 23 — 'Sitivrat, who corresponds to Saturn, is the Indian Satyavrata, *ie*, according to Kuhn, he that hath veracious (fulfilled) vows, so Dhrtavrata, he that hath kept-vows = Varunas, Ouranos' (Quoted from Suppl, vol iii)

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GODDESSES

In treating of gods, the course of our inquiry could aim at separating the several personalities, the goddesses<sup>1</sup> it seems advisable to take by themselves and all at one view, because there is a common idea underlying them, which will come out more clearly by that method. They are thought of chiefly as *divine mothers who travel round and visit houses*, from whom the human race learns the occupations and arts of housekeeping and husbandry. *spinning, weaving, tending the hearth, sowing and reaping*. These labours bring with them peace and quiet in the land, and the memory of them abides in charming traditions even more lastingly than that of wars and battles, from which most goddesses as well as women hold themselves aloof.

But as some goddesses also take kindly to war, so do gods on the other hand favour peace and agriculture, and there arises an interchange of names or offices between the sexes.

#### 1 ERDA, NIRDU, GAUE, FIRGUNIA, HLUODANA.

In almost all languages the *Earth* is regarded as female, and (in contrast to the father sky encircling her) as the breeding, teeming fruit-bearing mother. Goth *airþa*, OHG *erada*, *erda*, AS *eorðe*, ON *eorð*, Gr *ἔρα* (inferred from *ἔραζε*), Lat *terra*, *tellus*, *humus* = Slav *země*, *ziemia*, *zemlia*, Lith *zieme*, Gr *χὰμῆ* (<sup>?</sup> whence *χαμᾶζε*), *αἰᾶ*, *γαῖα*, *γῆ* the 'mother' subjoined in *Δημήτηρ*, *Zemate*, indicates the goddess. The form *airþa*, *erda* (also *herda*) is itself a derivative, the simpler OHG *ero* (in the Wessobr prayer *ero noh ūfhimil*, earth nor heaven)<sup>2</sup> and *hero* (in a gloss, for *solum*,

<sup>1</sup> OHG in Notker has only the strong form *gutin* gen *gutinno*, MHG *gotinne*, Trist 4807 15812 Barl 246-7 seldomer *gutinne*, MS 2, 65<sup>b</sup>, AS *gyden* pl *gydena*, but also weak *gydene* pl *gydenan*, Mones gl 4185 Proserpinam = to *gidenan* (l *tōgydenan*, additional goddess), ON *gyðja* (which might be *dea* or *sacerdos fem.*), better *ðsynja* (see Suppl.)

Graff 4, 999) might be masc (like heid = solum, Graff 4, 1026) or fem still<sup>1</sup> The Goth *mulda*, OHG *molta*, AS *molde*, ON *mold*, contain only the material sense of soil, dust, equally impersonal is the OS *folda*, AS *folda*, ON *fold*, conf *feld*, field, Finn *peldo* (campus), Hung *fold* (terra) But the ON *Iorð* appears in the flesh at once wife and daughter of Óðinn, and mother of Thórr (Sn 11 39 123), who is often called Iaiðar burr Distinct from her was *Rindr*, another wife of Óðinn, and mother of Vali (Sæm 91<sup>a</sup> 95<sup>a</sup> 97<sup>b</sup>), called *Rinda* in Saxo, and more coarsely painted, her name is the OHG *rinta*, AS *rind* = cortex, hence *crusta soli vel terrae*, and to *crusta* the AS *hruse* (terra) is closely related As this literal sense is not found in the North, neither is the mythical meaning in Germany (see Suppl)

But neither in Iorð nor in Rindr has the Edda brought out in clear relief her specially maternal character, nowhere is this more purely and simply expressed than in the very oldest account we possess of the goddess It is not to all the Germans that Tacitus imputes the worship of *Nerthus*, only to the Langobardi (?), Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones and Vuithones (Germ 40) *Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum*,<sup>2</sup> id est *Terram matrem* colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, inveni populis, arbitrantur Est in insula oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contextum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum Is adesse penetrali *deam* intelligit, vectamque *bubus feminis* multa cum veneratione prosequitur Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecunque adventu hospitioque dignatur Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne feirum pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium *deam* templo reddat Mox *vehiculum* et vestes, et, si credere velis, *numen* ipsum *secreto lacu abluitur* Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit<sup>3</sup> Aicanus hinc

<sup>1</sup> The two forms *ero* and *hero* remind one of the name *Eor*, *Cheru*, attributed to Mars (supra, pp 203-4)

<sup>2</sup> The MSS collated have this reading, one has *nehertum* (Massmann in *Aufsatz und Mones anzeiger*, 1834, p 216), I should prefer *Nertus* to *Nerthus*, because no other German words in Tacitus have TH, except *Gothini* and *Vuithones*. As for the conjectural *Herthus*, though the aspirate in *herda* might seem to plead for it, the termination *-us* is against it, the Gothic having *airþa*, not *airþus* Besides, *Aventin* already (Frankf 1580, p 19<sup>a</sup>) spells *Nerth*

<sup>3</sup> The lake swallows the slaves who had assisted at the secret bathing More than once this incident turns up, of putting to death the servants employed in any secret work, as those who dug the river out of its bed for

terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident (see Suppl)<sup>1</sup>

This beautiful description agrees with what we find in other notices of the worship of a godhead to whom peace and fruitfulness were attributed. In Sweden it was *Freyr*, son of *Njordr*, whose curtained car went round the country in spring, with the people all praying and holding feasts (p 213), but *Freyr* is altogether like his father, and he again like his namesake the goddess *Nerthus*. The spring-truces, harvest-truces, plough-truces, fixed for certain seasons and implements of husbandry, have struck deep roots in our German law and land-usages. Wuotan and Donar also make their appearance in their wains, and are invoked for increase to the crops and kindly rain, on p 107, anent the car of a Gothic god whose name *Sozomen* withholds, I have hinted at *Nerthus*.

The interchange of male and female deities is, luckily for us here, set in a clear light, by the prayers and rhymes to Wuotan as god of harvest, which we have quoted above (p 155 seq.), being in other Low German districts handed over straight to a goddess. When the cottagers, we are told, are mowing rye, they let some of the stalks stand, tie flowers among them, and when they have finished work, assemble round the clump left standing, take hold of the ears of rye, and shout three times over

*En Gaue*, haltet ju fauer,      Lady Gaue, keep you some fodder,  
dut jai up den wagen,      This year on the waggon,  
dat ander jai up der kare!<sup>2</sup>      Next year on the wheelbarrow

Whereas Wode had better fodder promised him for the next year, Dame Gaue seems to receive notice of a falling off in the quantity of the gift presented. In both cases I see the shyness of the christians at retaining a heathen sacrifice as far as words go, the old gods are to think no great things of themselves in future.

In the district about Hameln, it was the custom, when a reaper in binding sheaves passed one over, or left anything standing in the

Alaric's funeral (Jornand cap 29), or those who have hidden a treasure, Landn 5, 12 (see Suppl)

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of *Nerthus*, we ought to notice Ptolemy's *Nertereans*, though he places them in a very different locality from that occupied by the races who revere *Nerthus* in Tacitus.

<sup>2</sup> Braunsch. anz 1751, p 900. Hannov. gel. anz 1751, p 662 [is not 'haltet' a mistake for 'hal' and something else?] In the Altenburg country they call this harvest-custom *building a barn*. Arch. des. henn. vereins 2, 91.

field, to jeer at him by calling out 'scholl dut dei *gaue fru* (or, de *fru Gauen*) hebben (is that for dame G) ?<sup>21</sup>

In the Pignitz they say *fru Gode*, and call the bunch of ears left standing in each field *vergodendeelsstrüss*, i e., dame Gode's portion bunch<sup>2</sup> *Ver* is a common contraction for *fiau* [as in *jungfer*], but a dialect which says *fauer* instead of *foer*, *foder*, will equally have *Gaue* for *Gode*, *Guode*. This *Guode* can be no other than *Gwode*, *Wode*, and, explaining *fru* by the older *fro*, *fro Woden* or *fro Gaue* (conf *Gaunsdag* for *Wonsdag*, p 125) will denote a lord and god, not a goddess, so that the form of prayer completely coincides with those addressed to *Wuotan*, and the *fruh Wod* subjoined in the note on p 156 (see Suppl.) If one prefer the notion of a female divinity, which, later at all events, was undoubtedly attached to the term *fru*, we might perhaps bring in the ON *Góðr* (Sn 358 Fornald sog 2, 17), a mythic maiden, after whom February was named. The Greek *Taia* or *Tē* is, I consider, out of the question here.

In an AS formulary for restoring fertility to fields that have been bewitched, there occur two remarkable addresses, the first is '*erce, erce, erce, erþan móðor!*' by which not the earth herself, but her mother seems to be meant, however, the expression is still enigmatical. Can there lie disguised in *erce* a proper name *Erce* gen. *Ercan*, connected with the OHG adj *erchan*, simplex, genuinus, germanus? it would surely be more correct to write *Eorce*? ought it to suggest the lady *Erche*, *Heilja*, *Heiche*, *Helche* renowned in our heroic legend? The distinct traces in Low Saxon districts of a divine dame, *Heike* or *Harke* by name, are significant. In Jessen, a little town on the Elster, not far from Wittenberg, they relate of *frau Heike* what in other places, as will be shown, holds good of *Fieke*, *Behta* and *Holda*. In the Mark she is called *frau Harke*, and is said to fly through the country between Christmas and Twelfth-day, dispensing earthly goods in abundance, by Epiphany the maids have to finish spinning their flax, else *frau Harke* gives

<sup>1</sup> Hannov gel anz 1751, p 726. More pleasing to the ear is the short prayer of the heathen Lithuanians, to their earth-goddess when in drinking they spilt some of the ale on the ground. *Zemenyle riedekie, pakylek musu ranku darbus!* 'blooming Earth, bless the work of our hands'

<sup>2</sup> Adalb Kuhns markische sagen, pp. 337-372, pref p vii. Conf in ch XXII the cry of the dwarfs '*de gaue fru is nu dot* (dead)'

them a good scratching or soils their distaff (see Suppl)<sup>1</sup> In earlier times a simpler form of the name was current, we find in Gobelinus Persona (Meibom 1, 235) the following account, which therefore reaches back beyond 1418 Quod autem *Hera* colebatur a Saxonibus, videtur ex eo quod quidam vulgares recitant se audivisse ab antiquis, prout et ego audivi, quod inter festum nativitatis Christi ad festum epiphaniae Domini *domina Hera volat per aera*, quoniam apud gentes Junoni aer deputabatur Et quod Juno quandoque *Hera* appellabatur et depingebatur cum tintinnabulis et alis, dicebant vulgares praedicto tempore *wrowe Hera* seu corrupto nomine *vro Here de vluget*, et credebant illam sibi conferre rerum temporalium abundantiam Have we here still extant the old *Ero*, "*Epa*, *Hero* meaning earth<sup>2</sup> and does "*Hpa* belong to it? If the AS *Erce* also contains the same, then even the diminutive form *Herke* must be of high antiquity

The second address in the same AS ritual is a call to the earth 'hâl wes thu *folde*, *fira mōdor* ' 'hale (whole) be thou earth, mother of men, which agrees with the expression *terra mater* in Tacitus

The widely extended worship of the teeming nourishing earth would no doubt give rise to a variety of names among our forefathers, just as the service of Gaia and her daughter Rhea mixed itself up with that of Ops mater, Ceres and Cybele<sup>2</sup> To me the resemblance between the cultus of Nerthus and that of the Phrygian mother of gods appears well worthy of notice Lucretius 2, 597—641 describes the peregrination of the *magna deūm mater* in her lion-drawn *car* through the lands of the earth

Quo nunc insigni per magnas praedita terras  
horrifice fertur divinae matris imago .  
Ergo quom primum magnas invecta per urbeis  
munificat tacita mortaleis muta salute,  
aere atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum,  
largifica stipe ditantes, nunguntque rosarum  
floribus, umbrantes matrem comitumque catervam

The Romans called the VI kal Apr *lavatio matris deūm*, and kept it as a feast, Ovid. fast 4, 337

<sup>1</sup> Adalb Kuhn in the Markische forschungen 1, 123-4, and Mark sagen pp. 371-2, conf Singularia magdeburg. 1740 12, 768

<sup>2</sup> Ops mater = *terra mater*, Ceres = *Geres*, quod *geri* fruges, antiquis enim C quod nunc G, Varro de ling lat, ed O Muller p 25 Her Greek appellation Δημήτηρ seems also to lead to γῆ μήτηρ (see Suppl).

Est locus, in Tiberin qua lubicus influit Almo,  
 et nomen magno perdit ab amne minor,  
 illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos  
 Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis

Ammian Marcell 23, 3 (Paris 1681, p 355) Ad Callinicum,—ubi ante diem sextum kal quo Romae matri deorum pompae celebrantur annales, et *carpentum quo vehitur simulacrum* Almonis undis ablui perhibetur Conf Prudentius, hymn 10, 154.

Nudae plantas ante *carpentum* scio  
 proceres togatos *matris Idaeae* sacris.  
 Lapis nigellus evehendus essedo  
 mulhebris oris clausus argento sedet,  
 quem dum ad lavacrum praeundo ducitis  
 pedes remotis atterentes calceis  
 Almonis usque perventis rivulum

Exactly in the same way Nerthus, after she has travelled round the country, is bathed in the sacred lake in her waggon, and I find it noted, that the Indian *Bhavan*, wife of Shiva, is likewise driven round on her feast-day, and *bathed in a secret lake* by the Brahmins (see Suppl.)<sup>1</sup>

Nerthus's 'island in the ocean' has been supposed to mean Rugen, in the middle of which there is actually a lake, called the Schwarze see, or Burgsee What is told as a legend, that there in ancient times the devil was adored, that a maiden was maintained in his service, and that when he was *weary* of her, she was *drowned*

<sup>1</sup> Gregor Turon de glor conf cap 77 compares or confounds with the Phrygian *Cybele* some Gallic goddess, whose worship he describes as follows — 'Ferunt etiam in hac urbe (Augustoduno) *simulacrum* fuisse *Berecynthiae*, sicut sancti martyris Symphoriani passionis declarat historia Hanc cum *in carpento*, pro *salvatione agrorum et vinearum suarum*, misero gentilitatis more *deferrent*, adfuit supradictus Simplicius episcopus, haud procul adspiciens *cantantes atque psallentes ante hoc simulacrum*, gemitumque pro stultitia plebis ad Deum emittens ait illumina quaeso, Domine, oculos hujus populi, ut cognoscat, quia *simulacrum Berecynthiae* nihil est<sup>1</sup> et facto signo crucis contra protinus *simulacrum* in terram ruit Ac defixa solo animalia, quae plaustrum hoc quo *vehebatur* trahebant, moveri non poterant Stupet etiam numerus et *deam laesam* omnis caterva conclamat, *immolantur* etiam, etiam, etiam verberantur, sed moveri non possunt Tunc quadringenti de illa stulta multitudo viri conjuncti simul agunt ad invicem si virtus est ulla deitatis, erigatur sponte, jubeatque boves, qui telluri sunt stabiliti, procedere, certe si moveri nequit, nihil est deitatis in ea Tunc accedentes, et *immolantes unum de pecoribus*, cum viderent *deam* suam nullatenus posse moveri, relicto gentilitatis errore, inquisitoque antistite loci, conversi ad unitatem, ecclesiae, cognoscentes veri Dei magnitudinem, sancto sunt baptismate consecrati' Compare the *Legenda aurea* cap. 117, where a festum *Veneris* is mentioned

in the black lake,<sup>1</sup> must have arisen, gross as the perversion may be, out of the account in Tacitus, who makes the goddess, when *saturated* with the converse of men, *disappear in the lake* with her attendants. But there are no other local features to turn the scale in its favour,<sup>2</sup> and the Danish islands in the Baltic have at least as good a claim to have been erewhile the sacred seat of the goddess.

We have yet more names for the earth-goddess, that demand investigation partly Old Norse, partly to be gathered from the Romans. In the *Skâldskaparmâl*, p. 178, she is named both *Frørgyn* and *Hlôðyn*.

Of *Frørgyn* I have treated already, p. 172, if by the side of this goddess there could stand a god *Frørgynn* and a neuter common noun *frørgunn*, if the idea of Thôr's mother at the same time passes into that of the thundergod, it exactly parallels and confirms a female *Nerthus* (Goth *Nairþus*, gen *Nairþaus*) by the side of the masculine *Niorðr* (*Nerthus*), just as *Frøya* goes with *Frøyr*. If it was not wrong to infer from *Perkunas* a mountain-god *Faîrguneis*, Lithuanian mythology has equally a goddess *Perkunatėle*.

*Hlôðyn* is derived in the same way as *Frørgyn*, so that we may safely infer a Goth *Hlôþunja* and OHG *Hluodunna*. In *Voluspâ* 56 Thôr is called 'mogr *Hlôðynjar*,' which is son of earth again, and *Fornald. sog.* 1, 469 says 'i *Hlôðynjar skaut*. In the ON language *hlôð* is a hearth,<sup>3</sup> the goddess's name therefore means protectress of the fireplace, and our OHG *herd* (p. 251), beside *solum* or *terra*, also denotes precisely *focus*, *arula*, *foinacula*, the hearth being to us the very basis of a human habitation, a paternal *Lar*, so to speak, corresponding to the mother earth. The Romans also worshipped a goddess of earth and of fire under the common name of *Fornax*, *dea fornacalis*.<sup>4</sup> But what is still more important to us, there was discovered on Low Rhenish ground a stone, first kept at Cleve and afterwards at Xanten, with the remarkable inscription

<sup>1</sup> Deutsche sagen, num 132

<sup>2</sup> Of *Hertha* a proverb is said to be current in Pomerania 'de *Hertha* gift gras, und fullt schun und fass (barn and vessel),' Hall allg lit z 1823, p. 375. But the un-Saxon rhyme of *gras* with *fass* (for *fat*) sufficiently betrays the workmanship. It is clumsily made up after the well-known rule of the farmer. 'Mai kuhl und nass fullt scheunen und fass' (see Suppl.)

<sup>3</sup> Later *strues*, ara, from *hlaðan hlôð*, *struere*, Gramm 2, 10, num 83

<sup>4</sup> Ovid fast 2, 513



DEAE HLUDANAE SACRVM C TIBERIVS VERVS *Hludana* is neither a Roman nor a Celtic goddess, but her name answers perfectly to that of the Norse divinity, and Sk Thorlacius has the merit of having recognised and learnedly proved the identity of the two<sup>1</sup> In this inscription I see striking evidence of the oneness of Norse and German mythology Thorlacius, not without reason, compares the name with *Λητώ* and *Latona* Might not *Hlóðrriði*, an epithet of Thóir the son of Hlóðyn, be explained as *Hlóðrriði*?

## 2 TANFANA. NEHALENNIA

Another goddess stands wrapt in thicker darkness, whom Tacitus calls *Tanfana*, and a stone inscription *Tamfana* (TAM-FANAE SACRUM, p 80) We are sure of her name, and the termination *-ana* is the same as in *Hludana* and other fem proper names, *Bertana*, *Rapana*, *Madana* The sense of the word, and with it any sure insight into the significance of her being, are locked up from us

We must also allude briefly to the Belgian or Frisian dea *Nehalennia*, about whose name several inscriptions of like import<sup>2</sup> remove all doubt, but the word has also given rise to forced and unsatisfying interpretations In other inscriptions found on the lower part of the Rhine there occur compounds, whose termination (*-nehs*, *-nehabus*, dat plurals fem) seems to contain the same word that forms the first half of *Nehalennia*, their plural number appears to indicate nymphs rather than a goddess, yet there also hangs about them the notion of a mother (see ch XVI, the *Walachurnun*)

## 3 (ISIS)

The account in Tacitus of the goddess *Isis* carries us much farther, because it can be linked with living traditions of a cultus that still lingered in the Mid Ages Immediately after mentioning the worship of *Mercurius*, *Hercules*, and *Mars*, he adds (cap 9) *Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino*

<sup>1</sup> Antiq bor spec 3 Hafn 1782 Conf Fiedler, gesch und alt des untern Germaniens, 1, 226 Steiner's cod inser Rheni no 632 Gotfr Schütze, in his essay *De dea Hludana*, Lips 1748, perceived the value of the stone, but could not discern the bearings of the matter

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon ant expl 2, 443 Vredn hist Flandr 1, xlv. Mém de l'acad celt 1, 199—245 Mone, heidenth 2, 346

sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod *signum* ipsum, *in modum liburnae figuratum*, docet advectam religionem The importation from abroad can hardly consist in the name *Isis*, seeing that Mercury, Maïs, Hercules, names that must have sounded equally un-German, raised no difficulty, what looked foreign was the symbol, the figure of a *ship*, reminding the writer of the Roman *navigrum Isidis*

When spring had set in, and the sea, untraversed during winter, was once more navigable, the Greeks and Romans used to hold a solemn procession, and present a *ship* to Isis This was done on the fifth of March (III non Mart), and the day is marked in the kalendarium rusticum as *Isidis navigrum*<sup>1</sup> The principal evidence is found in Apuleius and Lactantius,<sup>2</sup> two writers who are later than Tacitus, but the custom must have reached back to a much older date On Alexandrian coins Isis appears walking by the side of Pharus, unfurling a sail

Say that from Egypt the worship of Isis had penetrated to Greece, to Rome, how are we to imagine, that in the first century, or before, it had got itself conveyed to one particular race inhabiting the heart of Germany? It must have been a similar cultus, not the same, and perhaps long established amongst other Germans as well

I will here draw attention to a strange custom of a much later time, which appears to me to be connected with this About the year 1133, in a forest near Inda (in Ripuaria), a *ship* was built, set upon wheels, and *drawn about the country* by men who were yoked to it, first to Aachen (Aix), then to Maestricht, where mast and sail were added, and up the river to Tongres, Looz and so on, everywhere with crowds of people assembling and escorting it Wherever it halted, there were *joyful shouts, songs of triumph and dancing*

<sup>1</sup> Gesner, script rei rust., ed Lips 1773 1, 886, so also in the Calend vallense, and in the Cal lambec (Graevii thes 8, 98)

<sup>2</sup> Apuleii met lib 11 (Ruhnken p 764-5) Diem, qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur, aeterna mihi nuncupavit religio, quo sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lentis maris procellosis fluctibus, navigabili jam pelago *rudem dedicantes carnem* primitias commeatus libant mei sacerdotes Id sacrum sollicita nec profana mente debebis operiri, nam meo monitu sacerdos in ipso procinctu pompae roseam manu dextra sistro (Egyptian timbrel) cohaerentem gestabit coronam Ircontanter ergo dimotis turbulis alacer continuare pompam meam, volentia fretus, et de proximo dementer velut manum sacerdotis deosculabundus rosis decerptis, pessimae mihi que detestabilis dudum belluae istius conio te protinus exue Lactantius, instit 1, 27 Certus dies habetur in fastis, quo *Isidis navigrum* celebratur, quae res docet illam non tranasse, sed navigasse

*round the ship* kept up till far into the night. The approach of the ship was notified to the towns, which opened their gates and went out to meet it

We have a detailed, yet not complete, report of it in Rodulfi *chronicon abbatiae S Trudonis*, lib xi, which on account of its importance I will here insert, from Pertz 12, 309 seq

Est genus mercenariorum, quorum officium est ex lino et lana texere telas, hoc piocax et superbum super alios mercenarios vulgo reputatur, ad quorum procacitatem et superbiam humiliandam et propriam injuriam de eis ulciscendam pauper quidam iusticus ex villa nomine Inda<sup>1</sup> hanc diabolicam excogitavit technam. Accepta a iudicibus fiducia et a levibus hominibus auxilio, qui gaudent jocis et novitatibus, *in proxima silva navem composuit*, et eam *rotis suppositis affigens vehibilem super terram effecit*, obtinuit quoque a potestatibus, ut *injectis funibus textorum humeris* ex Inda Aquisgranum traheeretur<sup>2</sup>. Aquis suscepta cum *utriusque sexus grandi hominum processione* nihilominus a textoribus Trajectum [Maes- tricht] est provecta, ibi emendata, *malo veloque insignita* Tungris [Tongies] est inducta, de Tungris Los [Looz]. Audiens abbas (sancti Trudonis)<sup>3</sup> Rodulfus *navim illam infausto omine compactam* malaque solutam alite cum *hujusmodi gentilitatis studio* nostro oppido adventare, praesago spiritu hominibus praedicabat, ut ejus susceptione abstinerent, quia *maligni spiritus* sub hac ludificatione in ea traherentur, in proximoque seditio per eam moveretur, unde caedes, incendia rapinaeque fierent, et humanus sanguis multus funderetur. Quem ista declamantem omnibus diebus, quibus *malignorum spirituum* illud *simulacrum* loci morabatur, oppidani nostri audire noluerunt, sed eo studio et gaudio excipientes, quo perturi Trojani fatalem equum in medio fori sui dedicaverunt, statimque *proscriptionis sententiam* accipiunt villae textores, qui *ad profanas hujus simulacri excubras venient tardiores*. Pape! Quis vidit unquam tantam (ut ita liceat latinisare) in rationalibus animalibus brutitatem<sup>2</sup> quis tantam in renatis in Christo *gentili-*

<sup>1</sup> Inden in the Julich country, afterwards Cornelmunster, not far from AIX, conf Pertz 1, 394 488 514 592 2, 299 489

<sup>2</sup> This of ships being built in a wood and *carried on men's shoulders* reminds one of Saxo Gram p 93, and of the 'Argo humeris travecta Alpes' (Pliny N H 3, 18, their being set on wheels, of Nestor's story about Oleg, conf the ship of Fro above [An inadvertence on the author's part the ship is not 'carried,' but 'drawn by ropes thrown over the weavers shoulders']

<sup>3</sup> St Tron between Liège and Louvain.

*tatem?* Cogebant sententia proscriptionis textores, nocte et die *navim strigare omni armaturae genere*, sollicitasque ei excubias nocte et die continuare Mirumque fuit, quod non cogebant eos ante navim *Neptuno* hostias immolare, de cujus naves esse solent regione, sed *Neptunus* eas *Marti* reservabat, quod postea multipliciter factum est

Textores interim occulto sed praecordiali gemitu Deum justum iudicem super eos vindicem invocabant, qui ad hanc ignominiam eos detrudebant, cum juxta rectam vitam antiquorum Christianorum et apostolicorum virorum manuum suarum laboribus viverent, nocte et die operantes, unde alerentur et vestirentur, liberisque suis idipsum providerent Quaerebant et conquerebantur ad invicem lacrymabiliter, unde illis magis quam alius mercenarius haec ignominia et vis contumeliosa, cum inter Christianos alia plura essent officia suo multum aspernabiliora, cum tamen nullum dicerent aspernabile, de quo Christianus posset se sine peccato conducere, illudque solum esset vitabile et ignobile quod immunditiam peccati contraheret animae, meliorque sit iusticus textor et pauper, quam exactor orphanorum et spoliator viduarum urbanus et nobilis iudex Cumque haec et eorum similia secum, ut dixi, lacrymabiliter conquererentur, concrepabant ante illud, nescio cujus potius dicam, *Bacchi* an *Veneris*, *Neptuni* sive *Martis*, sed ut verius dicam ante omnium *malignorum spirituum* execrabile domicilium genera diversorum *musicorum*, *turpia cantica* et religioni Christianae indigna *concinentium* Sanctum quoque erat a iudicibus, ut *praeter textores*, quicumque ad tactum navis appropinquarent, *pignus de collo eorum ereptum textoribus* relinquerent, nisi se ad libitum redimerent Sed quid faciam? loquarne an sileam? utinam spiritus mendacii stillaret de labus meis sub fugitiva adhuc luce diei imminente luna *matronarum catervae* abjecto femineo pudore *audientes strepitum huius vanitatis*, *passis capillis de stratis suis exultabant*, *aliae seminudae*, *aliae simplice tantum clamide circumdatae*, *chorosque ducentibus circa navim impudenter irruendo se admiscebant* Videres ibi aliquando mille hominum animas sexus utriusque *prodigiosum et infaustum celusma usque ad noctis medium* celebrare Quando vero execrabilis illa chorea rumpebatur, emissio *ingenti clamore vocum inconditarum* sexus uterque hac illacque bacchando ferebatur, quae tunc videres agere, nostrum est tacere et deflere, quibus modo contingit graviter luere Istis tam nefandis factis *plur quam duo-*

*decem diebus* supradicto ritu celebratis, conferebant simul oppidani quid agerent amodo de *deducenda a se navē*

Qui sanioris erant consilii, et qui eam *susceptam* fuisse dolebant, *timentes* Deum pro his quae facta viderant et audierunt, et sibi pro his futura conjiciebant, *hortabantur ut comburatur* (combureretur) aut isto vel illo modo de medio tolleretur, sed stulta quorundam coecitas huic salubri consilio contumeliose renitebatur. Nam *maligni spiritus, qui in illa ferebantur*, disseminaverant in populo, quod locus ille et inhabitantes *probroso nomine amplius notarentur, apud quos remansisse inveniretur*. Deducendam igitur eam ad villam, quae juxta nos est, Leugues decreverunt. Interea Lovaniensis dominus audiens de *daemonioso navis* illius *ridiculo*, instructusque a religiosis viis terrae suae de illo vitando et teriae suae arcendo *monstro*, gratiam suam et amicitiam mandat oppidanis nostris, commonefaciens eos humiliter, ut pacem illam quae inter illos et se erat refoimata et sacramentis confirmata non infingerent, et inde praecipue illud *diaboli ludibrium* viciniae suae inferrent, quod si *ludum* esse dicerent, quaererent alium cum quo inde luderent. Quod si ultra hoc mandatum committerent, pacem praedictam in eum infringerent et ipse vindictam in eos ferro et igne exsequeretur. Id ipsum mandaverat Durachiensibus dominis, qui et homines ejus fuerant manuatum, et interpositis sacramentis et obsidibus datis sibi confoederati. Hoc cum jam tertio fecisset, spretus est tam ab oppidanis nostris quam Durachiensibus dominis. Nam propter peccata inhabitantium volebat Dominus mittere super locum nostrum ignem et arma Lovaniensium. Ad hanc igitur *pleberam fatuatam* adjunxit se dominus Gislebertus (advocatus abbatae S Trudonis) contra generis sui nobilitatem, *trahendamque* decrevit *navem* illam *terream* usque Leugues ultra Durachiensem villam, quod et fecit malo nostro omine cum omni oppidanorum nostrorum multitudine et ingenti *debacchantium vociferatione*. Leuguenses, oppidanis nostris prudentiores et Lovaniensis domini mandatis obsequentes, portas suas clausurunt et *infausti omnis monstrum intrare non permiserunt*.

Lovaniensis autem dominus precum suarum et mandatorum contemptum nolens esse multum, diem constituit comitibus tanquam suis hominibus, qui neque ad primum, neque ad secundum, sed nec ad tertium venire voluerunt. Eduxit ergo contra eos et contra

nos multorum multitudinis exercitum armatorum tam peditum quam militum Nostro igitur oppido seposito, tanquam firmius munito et bellicosorum hominum pleno, primum impetum in Durachienses fecit, quibus vniliter resistentibus castellum, nescio quare, cum posset non obsedit, sed inter Leugues et Durachium pernoctavit Cumque sequenti die exercitum applicare disponderet et ex quatuor partibus assultum faceret, habebat enim ingentem multitudinem, supervenit Adelbero Metensium pumicerius filiorum Lovaniensis domini avunculus, cujus interventu, quia comitissa Durachiensis erat soror ejus, et Durachiense erat castellum sancti Lamberti, Lovaniensis dominus ab impugnatione cessavit et ab obsidione se amovit, promisso ei quod Durachienses paulo post ei ad justitiam suam educerentur Et cum ista et alia de dominis et inter dominos tractarentur, pedites et milites per omnia nostra circumjacentia se diffuderunt, villas nostras, ecclesias, molendina et quaecumque occurrebant combustioni et perditioni tradentes, recedentes vero quae longe a nobis fuerant prout cuique adjacebant inter se diviserunt

Obviously, throughout the narrative everything is put in an odious light, but the proceeding derives its full significance from this very fact, that it was so utterly repugnant to the clergy, and that they tried in every way to suppress it as a sinful and heathenish piece of work On the other hand, the secular power had authorized the procession, and was protecting it; it rested with the several townships, whether to grant admission to the approaching ship, and the popular feeling seems to have ruled that it would be shabby *not to forward it on its way*

Mere dancing and singing, common as they must have been on all sorts of occasions with the people of that time, could not have so exasperated the clergy They call the ship 'malignorum spirituum simulacrum' and 'diaboli ludibrium,' take for granted it was knocked together 'infausto omine' and 'gentilitatis studio,' that 'maligni spiritus' travel inside it, nay, that it may well be called a ship of Neptune or Mars, of Bacchus or Venus, they must burn it, or make away with it somehow

Probably among the common people of that region there still survived some recollections of an ancient heathen worship, which, though checked and circumscribed for centuries, had never yet been entirely uprooted. I consider this ship, travelling about the

country, welcomed by streaming multitudes, and honoured with festive song and dance, to be the car of the god, or rather of that goddess whom Tacitus identifies with Isis, and who (like Nerthus) brought peace and fertility to mortals. As the car was covered up, so entrance to the interior of the ship seems to have been denied to men, there need not have been an image of the divinity inside. Her name the people had long ago forgotten, it was only the learned monks that still fancied something about Neptune or Mars, Bacchus or Venus, but to the externals of the old festivity the people's appetite kept returning from time to time. How should that 'pauper rusticus' in the wood at Inden have lighted on the thought of building a ship, had there not been floating in his mind recollections of former processions, perhaps of some in neighbouring districts?

It is worthy of note, that the *weavers*, a numerous and arrogant craft in the Netherlands, but hateful to the common herd, were compelled to draw the ship by ropes tied to their shoulders, and to guard it, in return, they could keep the rest of the people from coming too near it, and fine or take pledges from those who did so.<sup>1</sup>

Rodulf does not say what became at last of the 'terrea navis,' after it had made that circuit, it is enough for him to relate, how, on a reception being demanded for it and refused, heats and quarrels arose, which could only be cooled in open war. This proves the warm interest taken by contemporaries, fanned as it was to a flame for or against the festival by the secular and the clerical party.

There are traces to be found of similar *ship-processions* at the beginning of spring in other parts of Germany, especially in Swabia, which had then become the seat of those very Suevi of Tacitus (see Suppl.) A minute of the town-council of Ulm, dated St Nicholas' eve, 1530, contains this prohibition: 'Item, there shall none, by day nor night, trick or disguise him, nor put on any carnival raiment, moreover shall keep him from the *going about* of the *plough* and *with ships* on pain of 1 gulden.'<sup>2</sup> The custom of *drawing the plough about* seems to have been the more widely spread, having

<sup>1</sup> Does the author imply that the favour of the peasantry, as opposed to artisans, makes it likely that this was a relic of the worship of Earth? Supposing even that the procession was that of the German Isis, Tacitus nowhere tells us what the functions of this Isis were, or that she brought peace and fertility' —TRANS

<sup>2</sup> Carl Jäger, Schwab stadtwesen des MA (Mid Ages), I, 525

originally no doubt been performed in honour of the divinity from whom a fruitful year and the thriving of crops was looked for. Like the ship-procession, it was accompanied by dances and bonfires. Sebast. Frank, p. 51<sup>a</sup> of his *Weltbuch* 'On the Rhine, Franconia and divers other places, the young men do gather all the *dance-maidens* and *put them in a plough*, and draw their pipe, who sitteth on the plough piping, into the water, in other parts they draw a *fiery plough* kindled with a fire very artificial made thereon, until it fall to wrack'. Enoch Wiedemann's *chronik von Hof* tells how 'On Shrove-Tuesday evil-minded lads *drove a plough about*, yoking to it such damsels as did not pay ransom, others went behind them sprinkling chopped straw and sawdust' (*Sachs provinz* bl. 8, 347). Pfeiffer, *chron. lips.* lib. 2, § 53 'Mos erat antiquitus Lipsiae, ut liberalibus (feast of Liber or Bacchus, *i.e.*, carnival) personati juvenes per vicos oppidi *aratrum circum ducerent*, puellas obvias per lasciviam ad illius jugum accedere etiam repugnantes cogerent, hoc veluti ludicio poenam expetentes ab iis quae *innuptae* ad eum usque diem mansissent'.<sup>1</sup> On these and similar processions, more details will be given hereafter, I only wish at present to shew that the driving of the *plough* and that of the *ship* over the country seem both to rest on the same old-heathen idea, which after the dislodgement of the gods by christianity could only maintain itself in unintelligible customs of the people, and so by degrees evaporate—namely, on the visible manifestation of a beneficent benign divinity among men, who everywhere approached it with demonstrations of joy, when in springtime the soil was loose again and the rivers released from ice, so that agriculture and navigation could begin anew.<sup>2</sup> In this way the

<sup>1</sup> Scheffer's *Haltaus*, 202. Hans Sachs also relates I. 5, 508<sup>a</sup>, how the maids who *had not taken men*, were forced to do so (see Suppl.).

<sup>2</sup> To this day, in the churches of some of the Holstein, largely inhabited by seamen, there hang *little ships*, which in springtime, when navigation re-opens, are decorated with ribbons and flowers—quite the Roman custom in the case of Isis (p. 258). We also find at times *silver ships* hung up in churches, which voyagers in stress of weather have vowed in case of a safe arrival home, an old instance of this I will borrow from the *Vita Godehardi Hildesimensis*. Fuit tunc temporis in Traiectensi episcopatu vir quidam arti mercatoriae dedicatus, qui frequenter mare transiret, hic quodam tempore maxima tempestate in medio mari deprehenditur, ab omnibus conclamatur, et nil nisi ultimus vitae terminus timetur. Tandem finito aliquanto tempore auxilium beati Godehardi implorabant, et *argenteam navem* delaturos, si evaderent, devoverunt. Hos in ecclesia nostra *navem argenteam* deferentes postea vidimus (in King Lothar's time). In a storm at sea, sailors take vows. E chi dice, *una nave vo far fare*, e poi portarla in Vienna al gran barone, *Buovo d'Antona* 5, 32. The Lapps at



Sueves of Tacitus's time must have done honour to their goddess by carrying her ship about. The forcing of unmarried young women to take part in the festival is like the constraint put upon the weavers in Ripuaria, and seems to indicate that the divine mother in her progress at once looked kindly on the bond of *love* and *wedlock*, and punished the backward, in this sense she might fairly stand for Dame Venus, Holda and Frecke.

The Greeks dedicated a ship not only to Isis, but to *Athene*. At the Panathenæa her sacred peplos was conveyed by ship to the Acropolis: the *ship*, to whose mast it was suspended as a sail, was built on the Kerameikos, and moved on dry land by an underground mechanism, first to the temple of Demeter and all round it, past the Pelasgian to the Pythian, and lastly to the citadel. The people followed in solemnly ordered procession.<sup>1</sup>

We must not omit to mention, that Aventin, after transforming the Tacitean Isis into a *frau Eisen*, and making iron (*eisen*) take its name from her, expands the account of her worship, and in addition to the little ship, states further, that on the death of her father (Hercules) she travelled through all countries, came to the German king Schwab, and staid for a time with him, that she taught him the forging of iron, the sowing of seed, reaping, grinding, kneading and baking, the cultivation of flax and hemp, spinning, weaving and needle work, and that the people esteemed her a holy woman.<sup>2</sup> We shall in due time investigate a goddess *Zisa*, and her claims to a connexion with Isis.

#### 4 HOLDA, HOLLE

Can the name under which the Suevi worshipped that goddess

yule-tide offer to their jauloherra small *ships* smeared with reindeer's blood, and hang them on trees, Hogstrom, *etterretninger om Lapland*, p. 511. These votive gifts to saints fill the place of older ones of the heathen time to gods, as the voyagers to Helgoland continued long to respect Fosete's sanctuary (p. 231). Now, as *silver ploughs* too were placed in churches, and later in the Mid Ages were even demanded as dues, these *ships* and *ploughs* together lend a welcome support to the ancient worship of a maternal deity (see Suppl.)

<sup>1</sup> Philostr. *de vitis sophist* lib. 2 cap. 1, ed. Paris 1608, p. 549.

<sup>2</sup> So Jean le Maire de Belges in his *Illustrations de Gaule*, Paris, 1548, bk. 3 p. xxviii: 'Au temps duquel (Hercules Allemannus) la deesse Isis, royne d'Egypte, vint en Allemagne et montra au rude peuple l'usage de moudre la farine et faire du pain'. J. le Maire finished his work in 1512, Aventin not till 1522, did they both borrow from the spurious Berosus that came out in the 15th century? Humbald makes a queen *Cambra*, who may be compared with the Langobardic Gambara, introduce the arts of building, sowing and weaving (see Suppl.)

whom the Romans identified with Isis—may not at least one of her secondary names—have been *Holda*? The name has a purely Teutonic meaning, and is firmly grounded in the living traditions of our people to this day

*Holda* is the kind, benignant, merciful goddess or lady, from hold (propitius), Goth hulps (Luke 18, 13, root, hilpan halp hulpun, to bend, bow), ON hollr, the Gothic form of it would be *Hulþō*. For the opposite notion of a malignant diabolic being, Ulphilas employs both the fem *unhulþō* and the masc *unhulþa*, from which I infer a *hulþa* by the side of *hulþō*—one more confirmation of the double sex running through the idea of these divinities. It is true, such a by-name could be shared by several gods or spirits. Notker in the Capella 81 renders verus genius by 'min wære holdo'. And in MHG pailance, *holde* (fem and masc) must have been known and commonly used for ghostly beings. Albrecht of Halberstadt, in translating Ovid's Metamorphoses, uses *wazzerholde* (gen -en) for nymph, rhyme has protected the exact words from corruption in Wikram's poetic paraphrase<sup>1</sup>. In the largely expanded Low German version of the Ship of Fools (Narragonia, Rostock 1519, 96<sup>a</sup>) we find the following passage which is wanting in the HG text 'Mannich narre lovet (believeth) an vogelgeschrei, und der *guden hollen* (bonorum geniorum) gunst'. Of more frequent occurrence is the MHG *unholde* (fem), our modern *unhold* (masc), in the sense of a dark, malign, yet mighty being.

The earliest example of the more restricted use of the name *Holda* is furnished by Burchard, bp of Worms, p 194<sup>a</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Credidisti

<sup>1</sup> Frankf 1631, 4, 171<sup>a</sup> von einer wazzerholden, rh. solden, 176<sup>a</sup> wazzerholde, rh. solde

<sup>2</sup> If, in the inscription 'deae *Hludanae*' quoted p 257, we might by a slight transposition substitute *Huldanae*, this would be even more welcome than the analogy to ON *Hlökkyn*, it would be the most ancient evidence for *Hulda*, supported as she already is by the Goth *unhulþō* and the OHG female name *Holda*, a rare one, yet forthcoming in Schannat, trad fuld no 445, also *Holdasind* in Graff 4, 915. Schutze's treatise De dea *Hludana* first appeared Lips 1741, and when Wolf (in Wodana, p 50) mentions a Dutch one *De dea Huldea*, Trajecti 1746, if that be really the title, this can be no other than a very tempting conjecture by Cannegieter founded on our '*Hulda*' which occurs in Eccard. A Latin dative *Huldanae* would mean our weak form, OHG *Holdún*, AS *Holdan*, just as Berta, Hildegarda are in Latin docs inflected Bertanae, Hildegardanae, though there may also have sprung up a nom Bertana, *Huldanae*. So the dat Tanfanae too would lead us to at all events a German nom *Tanfa*, and cut short all the attempts to make out of -fana a Celtic word or the Latin fanum. *Tanfa* suggests an ON man's name *Danpr*, or the OHG.

ut aliqua femina sit, quae hoc facere possit, quod quaedam a diabolo deceptae se affirmant necessario et ex praecepto facere debere, id est cum daemonum turba in similitudinem mulierum transformata, quam vulgaris stultitia *Holdam* (al *unholdam*) vocat, certis noctibus equitare debere super quasdam bestias, et in eorum se consortio annumeratam esse The remarkable varia lectio '*unholda*' is taken from the Cod vindob univ 633 Burchard has here put the German word in the place of the more usual '*Diana* paganorum dea,' who in other passages is named in a like sense and in the same connexion [A still earlier notice of Holda is found in Walafrid Strabo, see Suppl.]

In popular legends and nursery-tales, *frau Holda* (Hulda, Holle,<sup>1</sup> Hulle, frau Holl) appears as a superior being, who manifests a kind and helpful disposition towards men, and is never cross except when she notices disorder in household affairs None of the German races appear to have cherished these oral traditions so extensively as the Hessians and Thuringians (that Worms bishop was a native of Hesse) At the same time, dame Holle is found as far as the Voigtländ,<sup>2</sup> past the Rhon mts in northern Franconia,<sup>3</sup> in the Wetterau up to the Westerwald,<sup>4</sup> and from Thuringia she crosses the frontier of Lower Saxony Swabia, Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, North Saxony and Friesland do not know her by that name.

From what tradition has still preserved for us,<sup>5</sup> we gather the following characteristics *Frau Holle* is represented as a being of *the sky*, begirdling the earth · when it snows, she is making her

root dampn, granted a change of F into CH or TH [*f* has become *ch* in *sachte*, *nichte*, *achter*, *ruchtbar* or *ruchbar*, &c.] there would arise yet further possibilities, e.g. a female name *Tancha* (grata) would correspond to the OHG masc Dancho (gratus) Graff 5, 169, conf Dankrat = Gibicho, Haupt's zeitschr 1, 573—I am not convinced of Huldana, and confess that *Hludana* may also maintain itself, and be explained as *Hlāda* (clara, praeclara), the weight of other arguments must turn the scale Among these however, the use of *gute holden* and *hollar vættir* (Sæm 240<sup>b</sup>) for spirits, and of *holl* regin (Sæm. 60<sup>a</sup>) for gods, is especially worthy of notice In ON the adj *holhr* had undergone assimilation (Goth hulps, OHG hold), while the proper name *Huldr* retained the old form, for to me the explanation *huldr* = occultus, celatus, looks very dubious

<sup>1</sup> Holle from Hulda, as Felle from Fulda.

<sup>2</sup> Jul Schmidt's Reichenfels p 152

<sup>3</sup> Reinwald, Henneb id 1, 68 2, 62 Schmeller 2, 174.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt's Westerwald idiot 73 341

<sup>5</sup> Kinderm no 24 Deutsche sagen, nos 4—8 Falkenstein's Thur. chronica 1, 165-6 (see Suppl.)

bed, and the feathers of it fly<sup>1</sup> She stirs up *snow*, as Donar does rain the Greeks ascribed the production of snow and rain to their Zeus Διὸς ὄμβρος, Il 5, 91 11, 493 as well as νεφέδες Διός, Il 19, 357, so that Holda comes before us as a goddess of no mean rank<sup>2</sup> The comparison of snowflakes to feathers is very old, the Scythians pronounced the regions north of them inaccessible, because they were filled with feathers (Herod 4, 7 conf 31) Holda then must be able to move through the air, like dame Herke

She loves to haunt the *lake* and *fountain*, at the hour of noon she may be seen, a fair white lady, *bathing* in the flood and *disappearing*, a trait in which she resembles Nerthus Mortals, to reach her dwelling, pass through the well, conf the name *wasserholde*<sup>3</sup>

Another point of resemblance is, that she *drives about in a waggon* She had a linchpin put in it by a peasant whom she met, when he picked up the chips, they were gold<sup>4</sup> Her annual *progress*, which, like those of Herke and Berhta, is made to fall between Christmas and Twelfth-day, when the supernatural has sway,<sup>5</sup> and wild beasts like the wolf are not mentioned by their names, brings *fertility* to the land Not otherwise does 'Derk with the boar,' that Freyr of the Netherlands (p 214), appear to *go his rounds* and look after the ploughs At the same time Holda, like Wuotan, can also ride on the winds, clothed in terror, and she, like the god, belongs to the 'wutende heer'. From this arose the fancy, that *witches* ride in Holla's company (ch. XXXIV, snow-

<sup>1</sup> Dame Holle shakes her bed, *Modejourn* 1816, p 283 They say in Scotland, when the first flakes fall 'The men o' the East are pyking their geese, and sending their feathers here awa' there awa' In Prussian Samland, when it snows The angels shake their little bed, the flakes are the down-feathers, but many drop past, and get down to our earth

<sup>2</sup> As other attributes of Holda have passed to Mary, we may here also bring into comparison the *Maria ad nives*, notre dame *aux neiges*, whose feast was held on Aug 5, on that day the lace-makers of Brussels pray to her, that their work may keep as white as snow In a folk-song of Bretagne Notre dame Marie, sur votre trône de neige' (Barzas breiz 1, 27) May not the otherwise unintelligible Hildesheim legend of Hillesnee (DS no 456) have arisen out of a *Holde snē*?

<sup>3</sup> If the name *brunnenhold* in the *Marchenbuch* of Alb Ludw Grimm 1, 221 is a genuine piece of tradition, it signifies a fountain-sprite [Newborn babes are fetched by the nurse out of *dame Holle's pond*, Suppl]

<sup>4</sup> A similar legend in Jul Schmidt's *Reichenfels* p 152

<sup>5</sup> This must be a purely heathen view I suppose the christian sentiment was that expressed by Marcellus in Hamlet 1. 1 'no spirit dares stir abroad, the nights are wholesome, &c' —TRANS

wives), it was already known to Burchard, and now in Upper Hesse and the Westerwald, *Holle-riding*, to ride with Holle, is equivalent to a witches' ride<sup>1</sup> Into the same 'furious host,' according to a wide-spread popular belief, were adopted the souls of *infants dying unbaptized*, not having been christian'd, they remained heathen, and fell to heathen gods, to Wuotan or to Hulda

The next step is, that Hulda, instead of her divine shape, assumes the appearance of an *ugly old woman*, long-nosed, big-toothed, with bristling and thick-matted hair 'He's had a jaunt with Holle,' they say of a man whose hair sticks up in tangled disorder, so *children* are frightened with her or her equally hideous train<sup>2</sup> 'hush, there's *Hulle-betz* (-bruin), *Hulle-popel* (-bogie) coming' *Holle-peter*, as well as Hersche, Harsche, Hescheklas, Rupiecht, Rupper (ch XVII, house-spites), is among the names given to the muffled servitor who goes about in Holle's train at the time of the winter solstice In a nursery-tale (Marchen no 24) she is depicted as an *old witch with long teeth*, according to the difference of story, her kind and gracious aspect is exchanged for a dark and dreadful one

Again, *Holla* is set before us as a *spinning*-wife, the cultivation of flax is assigned to her Industrious maids she presents with *spindles*, and spins their reels full for them over night, a slothful spinner's distaff she *sets on fire*, or *soots* it<sup>3</sup> The girl whose spindle dropt into her fountain, she rewarded bountifully When she

<sup>1</sup> Estor's oberh idiot, sub v

<sup>2</sup> Eiasm Alberus, fable 16 'Es kamen auch zu diesem heer Viel weiber die sich forchten sehr (were sore afraid), Und trugen *sicheln* in der hand, *Fraw Hulda* hat sie ausgesandt' Luther's Expos of the Epistles, Basel 1522 fol 69<sup>a</sup> 'Here cometh up *dame Hulse* with the *snout* (potznase, botch-nose), to wit, nature, and goeth about to gainsay her God and give him the lie, hangeth her old ragfar about her, the *straw-harness* (stroharass), then falls to work, and scrapes it fealty on her *fiddle*' He compares nature rebelling against God to the heathenish Hulda with the frightful nose (Ochlm, -ub v potzmannchen), as she enters, muffled up in straw and frippery, to the fiddle's playing

<sup>3</sup> Bruckner, Contrib to the Henneberg idiomicon, p 9, mentions a popular belief in that part of Franconia 'On the high day comes the *Hollefrau* (Hollefra, Hullefra), and *throws in reels*, whoever does not spin them full, she breaks their necks,' (conf infra *Beihita* and *Berhtolt* and the *Devil*) 'On the high day she is *burnt*,' which reminds one of 'Causing Death out' in Teutonic and Slav countries, and 'Sawing the old woman' in Italy and Spain By the addition of -frau after the name (conf *gaue fru*, p 253) we perceive its originally adjective character Cod pal 355<sup>b</sup> 'ich wen, kain *schusel* in kain *rocken* wart nie als hesslich als du list,' I ween no scarecrow on a distaff was ever as ugly as thou

enters the land at Christmas, all the *distaffs* are well stocked, and left standing for her, by Carnival, when she turns homeward, all spinning must be finished off, and the *stuffs* are now kept out of her sight (Superst 683), if she finds everything as it should be, she pronounces her blessing, and contrariwise her curse, the formulas 'so many hairs, so many good years!' and 'so many hairs, so many bad years!' have an oldworld sound. Apparently two things have been run into one, when we are also told, that during the 'twelve-nights' no flax must be left in the *dresse*, or dame Holla will come<sup>1</sup>. The concealment of the implements shows at the same time the sacredness of her holiday, which ought to be a time of rest<sup>2</sup>. In the Rhon mts, they do no farm-work on *Hulla's* Saturday, neither hoe, nor manure, nor 'drive the team a-field'. In the North too, from Yule-day to New-year's day, neither wheel nor windlass must go round (see Superst, Danish, 134, Suppl.)

This superintendence of agriculture and of strict order in the household marks exactly the office of a *motherly deity*, such as we got acquainted with in Neithus and Isis. Then her special care of *flax* and *spinning* (the main business of German housewives, who are named after spindle and distaff,<sup>3</sup> as men are after sword and spear), leads us directly to the ON *Frigg*, Odin's wife, whose being melts into the notion of an earth-goddess, and after whom a constellation in the sky, Orion's belt, is called *Friggjar rockr*, Friggæ colus. Though Icelandic writings do not contain this name, it has remained in use among the Swedish country-folk (Ihre, sub v *Friggerock*). The constellation is however called *Marnacock*, Dan *Marnock* (Magnusen, gloss 361-376), the christians having passed the same old idea on to Mary the heavenly mother. The Greeks put spindle and distaff in the hands of several goddesses, especially Artemis (*χρυσήλακρος*, Il 20, 70) and her mother Leto, but also Athene, Amphitrite and the Nereids. All this fits in with Holda, who is a goddess of the chase (the wild host), and of water-springs.

<sup>1</sup> Braunschweig 1760, no 86, the *dresse* is the bundle of flax on the *dis-staff*.

<sup>2</sup> This makes one think of Gertrude. The peasants' almanacks in Carniola represent that *saint* by two little mice nibbling at the thread on a spindle (*vreteno*), as a sign that there ought to be *no spinning* on her day. The same holds good of the Russian *pratinisa*, Friday (Kopitar's rec von Strahls gel Russland).

<sup>3</sup> RA 163-8 470. Women are called in AS *fríðowebban*, peace-weavers.

One might be tempted to derive dame Holda from a character in the Old Testament. In 2 Kings 22, 14 and 2 Chron 34, 22 we read of a prophetess הַלְדָּה Huleddah, Huldah, for which Luther puts *Hulda*, the Septuagint has 'Ολδα, the Vulgate *Olda*, but the Lat Bible Viteb 1529 (and probably others since) *Hulda*, following Luther, who, with the German Holda in his mind, thus domesticated the Jewish prophetess among his countrymen. Several times in his writings he brings up the old heathen life, we had an instance a page or two back<sup>1</sup>. I do not know if any one before him had put the two names together, but certainly the whole conception of a dame Holda was not first drawn from the 'Olda' of the Vulgate, which stands there without any special significance, this is proved by the deep-rootedness of the name in our language, by its general application [as adj and com noun] to several kinds of spirits, and by the very ancient negative unholda.

Were it only for the kinship of the Norse traditions with our own, we should bid adieu to such a notion as that True, the Eddic mythology has not a Holla answering to our Holda, but Snorri (Yngl saga c 16 17) speaks of a wise woman (volva, seiðkona) named *Huldr*, and a later Icelandic saga composed in the 14th century gives a circumstantial account of the enchantress *Hulda*, beloved of Óðinn, and mother of the well-known half-goddesses Thorgerðr and Irpa<sup>2</sup>. Of still more weight perhaps are some Norwegian and Danish folk-tales about a wood or mountain wife *Hulla*, *Huldra*, *Huldre*, whom they set forth, now as young and lovely, then again as old and gloomy. In a blue garment and white veil she visits the pasture-grounds of herdsmen, and mingles in the dances of men, but her shape is disfigured by a tail, which she takes great pains to conceal. Some accounts make her beautiful in front and ugly behind. She loves music and song, her lay has a doleful melody and is called *huldreslaat*. In the forests you see *Huldra* as an old woman clothed in gray, marching at the head of her flock, milkpail in hand. She is said to carry off people's unchristened infants from them. Often she appears, not alone, but as mistress or queen of the mountain-sprites, who are

<sup>1</sup> I believe Luther followed the Hebrew, merely dropping the final *h*, as he does in Jehova, Juda, &c.—TRANS

<sup>2</sup> Muller's sagabibl 1, 363—6

called *huldrefolk*<sup>1</sup> In Iceland too they know of this *Huldufólk*, of the *Huldumenn*, and here we find another point of agreement with the popular faith of Germany, namely, that by the side of our dame Holde there are also *holden*, *ie*, friendly spirits, a silent subterranean people, of whom dame Holde, so to speak, is the princess (see Suppl.) For this reason, if no other, it must be more correct to explain the Norse name *Hulla*, *Huldra* from the ON. *hollr* (fidus, fidelis, propitius) which is *huld* in Dan. and Swed., and not from the ON *hulda* (obscuritas) as referring to the subterranean abode of the mountain-sprites In Swedish folk-songs I find 'huldmoder, hulda moder' said of one's real mother in the same sense as *kära* (dear) *moder* (Sv. vis. 1, 2, 9), so that *huld* must have quite the meaning of our German word It is likely that the term *huldufólk* was imported into the Icelandic tongue from the Danish or Norwegian It is harder to explain the *R* inserted in the forms *Huldra*, *Huldræ*, did it spring out of the plural form *hulder* (boni genii, hollar vættir)<sup>2</sup> or result from composition?

The German *Holda* presides over spinning and agriculture, the Norse *Hulle* over cattle-grazing and milking

## 5 PERAHTA, BERCHTE

A being similar to *Holda*, or the same under another name, makes her appearance precisely in those Upper German regions where *Holda* leaves off, in Swabia, in Alsace, in Switzerland, in Bavaria and Austria<sup>2</sup> She is called *frau Berchte*, *ie*, in OHG *Perahta*, the bright,<sup>3</sup> luminous, glorious (as *Holda* produces the glittering snow) by the very meaning of the word a benign and gladdening influence, yet she is now rarely represented as such, as a rule, the awe-inspiring side is brought into prominence, and she

<sup>1</sup> Details to be found in Muller's sagab. 1, 367-8 Hallager p. 48 Faye pp. 39-43 and 10 15 25 26 36 Frigge, nyttaarsgave for 1813, p. 85 Strom's Søndmor 1, 538-59 Vilses Spydeberg 2, 419 Villes Sillejord p. 230 Asbjørnsen, passim

<sup>2</sup> A portion of Franconia and Thuringia knows both *Berchta* and *Holda*, there at all events is the boundary between the two Matthesius, in his Exposition of the gospels for feastdays, p. 22, names dame *Hulda* and *old Berchte* side by side

<sup>3</sup> Among the celebrated maidens of Mengloð is a *Þvori* (Sæm 111\*), Mengloð herself is called 'sú in sólbiarta' (111<sup>b</sup>), and the father of her betrothed Svipdagr Sólbiartr (sun-bright, 112\*) A Mengloð in a later story appears to some one in a dream (Fornm. sog. 3, 222-3), and leaves him a marvellous pair of gloves



appears as a grim bugbear to frighten children with In the stories of *dame Berchta* the bad meaning predominates, as the good one does in those of *dame Holda*, that is to say, the popular christian view had degraded Berchta lower than Holda But she too is evidently one with Herke, Fieke and some others (see Suppl)

Where their identity comes out most plainly is in the fact that they all go their rounds at the same time, in the so-called 'twelfths' between Christmas and New-year Berchta however has a particular day assigned her at the end of that period, which I never find named after Holda And no less similar are their functions

*Berchta*, like *Holda*, has the oversight of *spinners*, whatever spinning she finds unfinished the last day of the year, she spoils (Supeist 512) Her festival has to be kept with a certain traditional food *gruel and fish* Thôrr says he has had *sildr ok hafra* (herrings and oats) for supper, Sæm 75<sup>a</sup>, our *white lady* has prescribed the country folk a dish of *fish and oat-grits* for evermore, and is angry whenever it is omitted (Deutsche sagen, no 267) The Thuringians in the Saalfeld country wind up the last day of the year with *dumplings and herrings* Fish and farinaceous food were considered by christians the proper thing for a fast<sup>1</sup>

The revenge taken by the wiathful *Berchta*, when she misses the fish and dumplings, has a quaint and primitive sound whoever has partaken of other food on her day, she cuts his belly open, fills it with chopped straw, and sews up the gash with a *ploughshare* for a needle and an *iron chain* by way of thread (Superst 525)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Braunschw anz 1760, p 1392, says *no leguminous plants* are to be eaten when *dame Holla* is *going round* in the 'twelve-nights' Either a mistake, or to be understood of *particular* kinds of pulse

<sup>2</sup> Almost the same is told in the Voigtland of the *Werre* or *dame Holle* The *Herre*, on the holy eve of the high New-year, holds a strict inquiry whether all the *distaffs are spun off*, if they are not, she defiles the flax And on that evening you must eat *pöke*, a thick pap of flour and water prepared in a peculiar way, if any one omits it, she *rips his body open*, Jul Schmidt, Reichenfels, p 152 The name *Werra* (from her 'gewirrt,' tangled shaggy hair?) is found in Thom Reinesius, Lect var, Altenbg 1640, p 579 (in the critical notes on Rhyakinus's, *see* Andr Rivinus or Bachmann's Liber Kirani-dum Kirani, Lips 1638) Nostrates hodieque petulantioribus et refractariis manducum aliquem cum ore hiantem freudentem dentibus, aut fuitbundam silvescente coma, facie lurida, et cetero habitu terribilem cum comitatu maenadum *Werram* interminantur Reinesius (1587-1667) came from Gotha, but lived at Hof in the Voigtland A *werre* is also a noisome chirping insect of the cricket kind (Popowitsch 620) In MHG 'sæjet diu *Werre* (Discordia) ir sâmen dar,' sows her seed, Ms 2, 251<sup>b</sup>, conl. Troj 385 (see Suppl), and in

And the same threat is held out in other districts also (see Suppl)

Borner's Folk-tales of the Orlagau (between the Saale and the Orle) furnish abundant details At p 153 The night before Twelfthday, *Perchtha* always examines the spinning-rooms of the whole neighbourhood, she brings the spinners empty reels, with directions to spin them full within a very brief time, and if all she demands cannot be delivered, she punishes them by tangling and befouling the flax On the same occasion she cuts open any one's body, that has not eaten *zemmede*<sup>1</sup> that day, takes out any other food he has had, and fills the empty space with hay or straw wisps and bucks, and at last sews his body up again, using a *ploughshare* for a needle, and for thread a *rohm chain*—P 159 At Oppuig, the same night of the year, *Perchtha* found the spinning-room full of merrymaking guests, and *in a towering rage she handed in through the window twelve empty reels*, which were to be spun full to the rim within an hour, when she would come back, one quarter of an hour had passed after another in fearful expectation, when a saucy girl ran up to the garret, reached down a roll of tow, and wrapped it round the empty reels, then they spun two or three thicknesses of thread over the tow, so that the reels looked full *Perchtha* came, they handed over to her their finished work, and she walked off with it, shaking her head (Conf the similar story of the *white manikin* in Bader, p 369)—P 167 At Langendembach lived an old spinning-wife, who swiftly wound the thread all the winter through, and did not so much as leave off on Twelfthday-eve, though son and daughter-in-law warned her 'If *Perchtha* comes, it will go hard with you' 'Heyday!' was her answer, '*Perchtha* brings me no shirts, I must spin them myself' After a while *the window is pushed open, Perchtha looks into the room*, and throws some empty

Selphartes regel (Wackernagel's Ib 903), there is exhibited, together with bruoder Zornli and bruoder Ergerli, a bruoder *Werra*, 'der sin herze mit weltlichen dingen also *bevorren* hat (has so entangled his heart with worldly things), daz da niht mē in mag' And that notion of *tangled thread and hair*, which prevails about *Bertha* and *Holda*, may after all be akin to this On L Zurich she is called *de Chlungere*, because she puts *chlungel* (knots, lumps) in the unfinished yarn of slothful maidens, Alb Schott, Deutsche colonien in Piedmont, p 282 In Bavaria and German Bohemia, *Bertha* is often represented by St *Lucia*, though her day comes on Dec 13 Frau *Lutz* cuts the belly open, Schmeller 2, 532 Jos. Rank, Bohmerwald, p 137 Conf the *Lusse* in Sweden, Wieselgren 386-7

<sup>1</sup> Made of flour and milk or water, and baked in a pan fasting fare, evidently.

spools to her, which she must have back, spun full, in an hour's time. The spinner took heart of grace, spun a few rounds on each spool for dear life, and *threw* them, one and all, *into the brook* that ran past the house (and by that, Perchtha seems to have been appeased)—P. 173. As a miner was returning from Bucha to Konitz on Perchtha's night, she came up to him at the cross-roads, and demanded with threats, that he should *put a wedge in her waggon*. He took his knife, cut the wedge as well as he could, and fitted it into Perchtha's waggon, who made him a present of the *fallen chips*. He picked them up, and at home he drew gold out of every pocket in which he had put Perchtha's gifts—P. 182. Two peasants of Judewein, after stopping at the alehouse in Kostritz till late on Perchtha's eve, had gone but a little way, when *Perchtha* came driving in a waggon, and called to them to put a peg in the pole of her waggon. One of the men had a knife, and Perchtha supplied him with wood, the peg was let in, and the handy man carried home several pieces of money in his shoe as a reward.—P. 113. Between Bucha and Wilhelmsdorf in the fruitful vale of the Saale, Perchtha queen of the *heimchen* had her dwelling of old, at her command the *heimchen* had to water the fields of men, while she worked underground with her plough. At last the people fell out with her, and she determined to quit the country, on Perchtha's eve the ferryman at Altar village received notice to be ready late in the night, and when he came to the Saale bank, his eyes beheld a *tall stately dame* surrounded by weeping children, and demanding to be *ferried over*. She stepped into the craft, the little ones dragged a *plough* and a number of other tools in, loudly lamenting that they had to leave that lovely region. Arrived at the other side, Perchtha bade the boatman cross once more and fetch the *heimchen* that had been left behind, which under compulsion he did. She in the meantime had been *mending the plough*, she pointed to the *chips*, and said to the ferryman, 'There, take that to reward thy trouble'. Grumbling, he pocketed three of the chips, and at home flung them on the window-shelf, and himself, ill at ease, into bed. In the morning, three gold-pieces lay where he had thrown the chips. The memory of *Perchtha's passage* is also preserved at Kaulsdorf on the Saale, and at Kostritz on the Elster, not far from Gera—P. 126. Late one night, the master wheelwright at Colba was coming home from Oppurg, where he had

been to work, it was the eve of the Three-kings (Twelfthday), and on the bank of the rivulet Orla he came upon *Perchtha*, her *broken plough* surrounded by weeping *hermchen*. 'Hast thou a hatchet with thee, so help me mend!' she cried to the terrified traveller. He gave what help he could, but the *fallen chips* offered him for wages he would not touch. 'I have plenty of them at home,' says he. When he got home, he told what had happened to him, and while his people shook their heads incredulously, he pulled off one of his shoes, which something had got into, that hurt his foot, and out rolled a bright new gold-piece. A twelvemonth passed, and one of his men, who had heard him tell the tale, set out on *Perchtha's* night, and waited by the Orla, just where his master had met *Perchtha*, in a little while, on she came with her *infant train*. 'What seekest thou here at this hour?' she cried in anger, and when he stammered out an answer, she continued 'I am better provided with tools this time, so take thou thy due!' and with those words she dug her hatchet into the fellow's shoulder. The same story is repeated near Kaulsdorf at a part of the brook which is called the water over the way, at Presswitz near the Saal-house, and on the sandhill between Possneck and the forester's lodge of Reichenbach. Below the Gleitsch, a curiously shaped rock near Tischdorf, the story varies in so far, that there *Perchtha* along with the *hermchen* was driving a waggon, and had just broken the axle, when she fell in with a countryman, who helped her out with a makeshift axle, and was paid in chips, which however he disdained, and only carried a piece home in his shoe—P 133. A spinning-girl walked over from the Neidenberg during that night, she had done every bit of her spinning, and was in high spirits, when *Perchtha* came marching up the hill towards her, with a great troop of the *hermchen-folk*, all children of one sort and size, one set of them toiling to push a heavy *plough*, another party loaded with farming-tools, they loudly complained that they had no longer a home. At this singular procession the spinner began to laugh out loud, *Perchtha* enraged stepped up to the giddy thing, blew upon her, and struck her blind on the spot. The poor girl had a trouble to find her way into the village, she led a wretched life, could no longer work, but sat mournful by the wayside begging. When the year was past and *Perchtha* visited Altai again, the blind one, not knowing one from another, asked an alms of the high dame as she

swept by, Perchtha spoke graciously 'Here last year I blew a pair of lights out, this year I will blow them in again' With these words she blew into the maid's eyes, which immediately began to see again The same legend is found in the so-called *Sorge*, near Neustadt on the Orla Touching stories of the weeping children, who tramp along in Perchtha's great troop, will be given when we come to treat minutely of the 'wutende heer' (See Suppl.)

To these significant traditions of Thuringia, others can be added from Bavaria and Austria In the mountain district about Trauenstein (Up Bavaria, opposite Salzburg) they tell the children on the eve of Epiphany, that if they are naughty, *Berche* will come and cut their bellies open *Greasy cakes* are baked that day, and the workmen say you must grease your stomach well with them, so that *dame Berche's knife* may glance off (Schm 1, 194) Is that the reason why she is called *wild Bertha*, *wron Bertha*?<sup>1</sup> Crusius, Ann Suev p 2, lib 8, cap 7, p 266, relates, as his explanation of the origin of the name, that Henry IV bestowed privileges on the city of Padua Inde, in signa libertatis, amato carocio uti coeperunt in bello, *Bertha* nominato Hinc dictum ortum puto, quo terrentur inquieti pueri, 'Schweig, oder die *eiserne Bertha* kommt!'<sup>1</sup> In other places, Franconian and Swabian, she is named *Huldaberta* (apparently a combination of the two names Holda and Berta), and *Bildaberta*, with hair all shaggy she walks round the houses at night, and tears the bad boys to pieces (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup>

*Dame Precht with the long nose* is what Vintler calls her. and even a MHG poem, which in one MS is entitled 'daz mære von der Stempen,' has in another the heading 'von *Berchten mit der langen nas*' (Haupt's Altd bl 1, 105) It is only from the former (with corrected spelling) that I am able to extract what has a bearing on our subject.

nu merket reht-waz (ich) iu sage	Now mark aught what I you tell
nâchwihennaht am zwelften tage,	after Christmas the twelfth day,
nâch dem heiligen ebenwihe <sup>3</sup>	after the holy New-year's day
(gotgeb, daz er uns gedîhe),	(God grant we prosper in it),
dô man ezzen solt ze nahte,	* when they should eat supper

<sup>1</sup> Conf Crusius p 1, lib 12, cap 6, p 329, where Bertha the mother of Charles is meant The Lombards called a carrocium *Berta* and *Berteciola* (Ducange sub v), perhaps the carriage of the travelling goddess or queen?

<sup>2</sup> Joach. Camerarius, chronol Nicephori, p 129

<sup>3</sup> Even-holy, equally-holy day, Scheffer's *Haltaus*, p 68.

und man ze tische brâhte  
 allez daz man ezzen solde,  
 swaz der wirt geben wolde  
 dô sprach er zem gesinde  
 und zuo sîn selbes kinde  
 ‘ezzet *hînte fast* durch mîn bete,  
*daz nûch die Stempe niht entrete*<sup>1</sup>  
 daz kintlîn dô von forhten az,  
 er sprach. ‘veterlîn, waz ist daz,  
 daz du die *Stempen* nennest?  
 sag mir, ob dus erkennest’  
 der vater sprach ‘daz sag ich dir,  
 du solt ez wol gelouben mir,  
 ez ist so gruwelîch getân,  
 daz ich dirz niht gesagen kan :  
 wan swer des vergizzet,  
*daz er niht fast izzet,*  
*ûf den kumt ez und trit in*’

and had to table brought  
 all that they should eat,  
 whatso the master would give,  
 then spake he to his men  
 and to his own child  
 ‘eat fast (hard) to night, I pray,  
 that the Stempe tread you not’  
 The child then ate from fear,  
 he said ‘father, what is this  
 that thou the Stempe callest?  
 tell me, if thou it knowest’  
 The father said ‘this tell I thee,  
 thou mayest well believe me,  
 there is a thing so gruesome done,  
 that I cannot tell it thee :  
 for whoso forgets this,  
 so that he eats not fast,  
 on him it comes, and treads him’

Here also children and servants are warned by the master of the house to eat up clean all that is brought on the table, and are threatened with a trampling from *Stempe*. This cognomen of Berchte must have come from stamping (step, tap, thump, &c), and perhaps it ought to be spelt *Stempfe* (German stampfen, to stamp); but in Bavaria there is a proper name *Stempo* (MB 2, 280, anno 1130), not Stempho, and both stampen and stampfen seem to be correct for trampling and squeezing, Ital stampare she is the night hag, similar to alp and schrat [old scratch?]. Add to this, that in the Nordgau of Franconia, dame Holda is called the *Trempe* (Doderlein, Antiq nordg 41), i.e., the trampling racketing one, Stalder defines tiampeln as walking with short, measured steps (tripping), and the Drut (night-goblin) approaches with soft foot-fall, at the same time, trampel, tiampelthier, is a heavy clumsy woman. Now, as S is occasionally added before an initial T, it is surely not going too far, to connect Stempe with the more ancient *Tamfana*, *Tanfana*, p 257 (see Suppl.)

Martin of Amberg<sup>1</sup> calls her *Percht mit der ersten nasen* (with

<sup>1</sup> His *Gewissenspiegel* (mid of 14th cent) is in two MSS at Vienna (Hoffm pp 335-6), conf Schm 4, 188 216, and the Jahrb. der Berliner gesellsch für deutsche spr 2, 63-65

iron nose), and says that people leave meat and drink standing for her, which means a downright sacrifice

In the mountains of Salzburg there is kept up to this day, in honour of the terrible *Perchtel*, a so called *Perchta-running*, *Perchta-leaping* at the time of the *rauchnachte* [incense-nights ?]<sup>1</sup> In the Pinzgau, from 100 to 300 young fellows (styled the *Berchten*) will roam about in broad daylight in the oddest disguises, carrying cows' bells, and cracking whips<sup>2</sup> In the Gastein valley the procession, headed by from 50 or 100 to 300 stout fellows, goes hopping and skipping from village to village, from house to house, all through the valley (Muchar, Gastein pp 145-7) In the north of Switzerland, where in addition to *Berchli* the softened form *Bechtli* or *Bechteli* is in use, *Bechteli's day* is the 2nd (or, if New-year's day falls on a Saturday, the 3rd) of January, and is honoured by the young people in general with social merrymakings, they call the practice *berchteln*, *bechteln* In the 16th century it was still the custom at Zurich, for men to intercept and press one another to take wine, this was called 'conducting to *Berchtold*' (Stald 1, 150-6) There was thus a masculine *Bercht* or *Berchtolt*, related to Wuotan, as Berhta was to Freke, and from this again there arose in Swabia a new feminine, *Brechtolterin*, *Prechtolterin* (Schmid, Schwab wtb 93) In Alsace the *bechten* was performed by prentices and journeymen running from one house or room to another, and keeping up a racket (see passages in Oberlin, sub v *Bechten*). Cunrat of Dankrozheim says in his *Namenbuch*, composed 1435.<sup>3</sup>

darnauch so komet die milde *Behte*,

die noch hat ein gar gross geslehte (great kindred)

He describes her as the *mild*, gracious to men, not as the terrible *Berchtolt* however is in Swabian legend the *white mannikin*, who brings spools to be filled with spinning (Mone's anz 8, 179), exactly like Berchta, p 274 (see Suppl)

And as a kind benevolent being she appears in many other descriptions, which undoubtedly reach far back into the Mid. Ages The *white lady*, by her very name, has altogether the same meaning,

<sup>1</sup> This *Perchtenspringen* is like the *hexentusch* in the Bohmerwald, which, Jos Rank p 76-7 says, is performed at Whitsuntide, when young men and boys provide themselves with loud cracking whips, and chase all the witches out of houses, stables and barns

<sup>2</sup> Journey through Upper Germany, p 243 Schm 1, 195

<sup>3</sup> Ad Walt. Strobel's beitr, Strasb 1827, p. 123.

for *peraht*, *berht* or *brecht*, signifies bright, light, white. This white lady usually attaches herself to particular families, but even then she keeps the name of *Berta*, e.g., Berta of Rosenberg. In snow-white garments she shows herself by night in princely houses, she rocks or dandles the babies, while their nurses sleep: she acts the old *grandmother* or *ancestress* of the family (see Suppl.)

There is a good deal in the fact, that several women of that name, who are famed in our national traditions, stand connected with the ghostly *Berhta*, they have been adopted out of the divine legend into the heroic legend. In Italy and France, a far distant past is expressed by the phrase '*nel tempo ove Berta flava*,' when B span (Pentamerone Liebrecht 2, 259), '*au tems que la reine Berthe flait*:' the same idea still, of the spinning matron<sup>1</sup> *Berta*, the daughter of king Flower and of Whiteflower, afterwards the wife of king Pippin and mother of the great hero Charles, she who in the MLG poem of Flos is called both *Vredeling* and *Brehte* (1555. 7825), does not belie her mythic origin<sup>2</sup>. She is called *Berhte mit dem fuoze* (foot), Flore 309, in French, *Berthe au grand pied*, and acc to the *Reali di Franza* 6, 1 '*Berta del gran pie*, perche ella aveva un pie un poco maggior dell altro, e quello era il pie destro,' had the right foot larger. The French poet Adenez tries apparently to extenuate the deformity by making both her feet large, he calls her '*Berte as grans pres*' (Paris ed LII 78 104), so the Mid Dutch, '*Baerte met ten breiden voeten*,' Floris 3966. But the one big foot is more genuine, as may be seen by the far

<sup>1</sup> I can produce another *spinning Bertha*. The Vita S Berthae Avennensis in diocesi Remensi (conf Flodoardus 4, 47) says (Acta Sanctor, Mai p 114<sup>b</sup>). Quae dum lustraret situs loci illius, pervenit ad quandam hortum, in quo erat fons mirae pulchritudinis. Quem ut vidit Deo devota femina, minime concupivit, sed possessoribus ipsius praedii sic locuta est. O fratres, hunc fontem praedii vestri vendite mihi, et accepta digna pecunia cedite usibus nostris. Cui sic aiunt. En praesto sumus, si tamen detur pretium a nobis taxatum. Sancta autem, videntibus qui aderant, libram unam denariorum posuit super lapidem qui erat super os ejusdem fontis, domini vero ac venditores receperunt aes. Tunc sancta mater, Deo plena, colo quam manu tenebat coepit terram fodere, et in modum sulci rigam facere, orans ac dicens. Ostende nobis, Domine misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis. Revertens namque monasterium, colum eadem post se trahebat, tantaque abundantia aquae eam sequebatur, ut ad usus omnes hominibus pertinentes sufficeret, sicut usque hodie apparet. Nomen quoque sancta mater fluviolo ipsi composuit, dicens. *Libra* vocaberis, quia una libra pro emptione tua data est.

<sup>2</sup> How firmly she is rooted, may be seen by her being the link that joins the Carolingian legend to the Langobardic: she is mother of Carl, wife of Pippin the son of Rother (4789), and daughter of Flore and Blanche-flor, whose name again contains the notion of whiteness.



more ancient tradition of a 'reine *Pédauque*, regina *pede aucae*,' whose figure stands carved in stone on old churches<sup>1</sup> It is apparently a *swan-maiden's* foot, which as a mark of her higher nature she cannot lay aside (any more than Huldra her tail, or the devil his horse hoof), and at the same time the spinning-woman's splay-foot that worked the treadle, and that of the tampling dame Stempe or Trempe If we had older and minuter descriptions of 'frau Berhta' in Germany, perhaps this foot would also be mentioned in them (see Suppl)

It still remains for us to explain her precise connexion with a particular day of the year It is either on Dec 25 (dies natalis), or twelve days after Christmas, on Jan 6, when the star appeared to the Three Kings (magi), that the christian church celebrates the feast of the manifestation of Christ under the name of *epiphania* (v Ducange, sub v), *bethphania* or *theophania* (O Fr tiephaine, tiaphagne) In an OHG gloss (Emm 394), theophania is rendered *giperahta naht*, the bright night of the heavenly vision that appeared to the shepherds in the field<sup>2</sup> Documents of the Mid Ages give dates in the dative case 'perchtentag, perhtennaht' (for OHG *zi demo perahtin taga, zi deru Perahtûn naht*), again, 'an der berechnaht,' M Beham (Mone, anz. 4, 451), 'ze perhnahten,' MB 8, 540 (an 1302), 'unze an den ahtodin tac nâh der Perhtage,' till the eighth day after the Perht's (fem) day, Fundgr 110, 22, 'von dem nehsten Berhtag,' MB 9, 138 (an 1317), 'an dem Prehentag,' MB 7, 256 (an 1349),—these and other contracted forms are cited with references in Scheffer's *Haltaus* p 75, and Schm 1, 194<sup>3</sup> Now from this there might very easily grow up a personification, *Perchtentac*, *Perhtennaht*, the bright day becoming Bright's, *ze*, dame Bright's, day (Conrad of Dankrotsheim, p 123, puts his *milde Behte* down a week earlier, on Dec 30)<sup>4</sup>

Two hypotheses present themselves Either the entire fabulous existence of a Perhta *first arose* accidentally and by misunderstanding, out of such personification, or the analogy of the 'bright' day was tacked on to a *previously existing* Perhta Now it is true we

<sup>1</sup> Altd w 3, 47-8, Paris too connects this *Pédauque* with Berte, in iv 198, *reine Pédauque*, Michelet hist de France 1, 496-8 2, 152.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 2, 9 O 1 12, 3 4 Hel 12, 8 Maria 182

<sup>3</sup> The OHG '*pherintac*' = *parasceve* (Graff 5, 360) is Good Friday, and distinct from Prehentag, Perchtentag

<sup>4</sup> Dec 28 is Innocents', 29 St. Thomas's, 31 St. Silvester's

cannot point out a dame Perhta before the 15th or 14th century, or at earliest the 13th, but the first supposition need not break down, even if we did manage to hunt up her personal name in older authorities even in the 9th century the expression 'perahtûn naht' might have developed into 'Perahtûn naht'. Still the characteristics we have specified of a mythical Berta, and above all, her identity with Holda, seem to me to decide the matter the other way. If, independently of the christian calendar, there was a Holda, then neither can Perahta be purely a product of it, on the contrary, both of these adjective names lead up to a heathen deity, who made her peregrination at that very season of yule, and whom therefore the christians readily connected with the sacredness of Christmas and New-year

I will here group together the features which unmistakably make Holda and Bertha appear in this light. They drive about in *waggons*, like mother Earth, and promote agriculture and navigation among men, a *plough*, from which there fall chips of gold, is their sacred implement. This too is like the gods, that they appear *suddenly*, and Berhta especially hands her gifts *in at the window*. Both have spinning and weaving at heart, they insist on diligence and the keeping of festivals holy, on the transgressor grim penalties are executed. The souls of *infant children* are found in their host, as they likewise rule over *elves* and *dwarfs*, but *night-hags* and *enchantresses* also follow in their train — all this savours of heathenism.

It is very remarkable, that the Italians too have a mis-shapen fairy *Befana*, a terror to children, who has sprung out of epiphania (befania) on that day the women and children set a doll made of old rags in the window, she is black and ugly, and brings presents. Some say, she is *Herod's daughter*, Ranke's hist zeitschr 1, 717 'La *Befana*' (Pulci's Morg 5, 42) Berni says 'il di di Befania vo porla per *Befana* alla fenestra, perche qualcun le dia d' una ballestra'<sup>1</sup> It would be astonishing, if twice over, in two different nations, a name in the calendar had caused the invention of a supernatural being, it is more likely that, both in Italy, and among us, older traditions of the people have sought to blend themselves with the christian name of the day.

<sup>1</sup> Franc Berni, rime 105 Crusca sub v befana.

## 6 (HERODIAS DIANA ABUNDIA)

*Herodias*, of whom we have just been reminded by Befana, will illustrate this even better. The story of Herod's daughter, whose dancing brought about the beheading of John the Baptist, must have produced a peculiarly deep impression in the early part of the Mid Ages, and in more than one way got mixed up with fables. Religious poets treat the subject in full, and with relish (Hel 83-5), Otfried seems to leave it out designedly. It was imagined, that on account of her thoughtless rather than malicious act (for the proposal came from her revengeful mother), *Herodias* (the daughter) was condemned to roam about in company with evil and devilish spirits. She is placed at the head of the 'furious host' or of witches' nightly expeditions, together with Diana, with Holda and Perahta, or in their stead. In Burcard of Worms 10, 1 we read *Illud etiam non omittendum, quod quaedam sceleratae mulieres retio post Satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus et phantasmatibus seductae, credunt se et profitentur nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea vel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multa teriarum spatia intempestae noctis silentio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut dominae obedire, et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari* — Joh Salisberiensis († 1182) in Polyer 2, 17 *Quale est, quod noctilucam quandam, vel Herodiadem vel praesidem noctis dominam, concilia et conventus de nocte asserunt convocare, varia celebrari convivia, &c* — Angerius, episcopus Conseranus (an 1280) *Nulla mulier de nocturnis equitare cum Diana dea paganorum vel cum Herodiade seu Bensozia*<sup>1</sup> *et innumera mulierum multitudine profiteatur* — Similar statements have passed into later writings, such as those of Martin von Amberg, and Vintler. It is worth noticing, that to the worship of this *Herodias*, *one third of the whole world* is ceded, and so a most respectable diffusion allowed. Ratherius (bishop of Verona, but a Frank, b at Lobi near Cambray, d 974) in his *Praeloquia* (Martene and Durand 9, 798 opp edit Ballerini pp 20-21) *Quis enim eorum, qui hodie in talibus usque ad perditionem animae in tantum decipiuntur, ut etiam eis, quas (Ball*

<sup>1</sup> Ducange sub v Diana spells Benzonia, but has the true meaning under Bensozia itself, it seems to mean bona socia, friendly propitious being. Bona dea, Dio Cass 37, 35-45. Conf ch XXVIII, *dobra sretia*, bona Fortuna, ch. XVI, good wife, under Wood-women.

de quibus) ait Gen<sup>1</sup>, *Herodiam* illam baptistae Christi interfectricem, quasi *reginam* imo *deam* proponant, asserentes, *tertiā totius mundi partem* illi traditam quasi haec merces fuerit prophetae occisi, cum potius sint daemones, talibus praestigus infelices mulierculas, hisque multum vituperabiliore viros, quia perditissimos, decipientes—A full and remarkable account of the medieval tradition, that was tacked on to Herodias, is contained in the Reinardus 1, 1139—1164

Praecipue *sodus* celebrant, ope cujus, ubi omnes  
 defuerant testes, est data Roma Petro,  
 traditaque injusto *Pharauldis* virgo labori,  
 sed sanctifaciunt qualiacunque volunt  
 Hac famosus erat felixque fuisset *Herodes*  
 prole, sed infelix hanc quoque laesit amor:  
 haec virgo, thalamos *Baptistae* solius ardens,  
 voverat hoc demto nullus esse viri.  
 Offensus genitor, comperto prolis amore,  
 insontem sanctum decapitavit atrox  
 Postulat afferri virgo sibi tristis, et affert  
 regius in disco tempora trunca cliens  
 Mollihus allatum stringens caput illa lacertis  
 perfundit lacrimis, osculaque addere avet,  
 oscula captantem *caput aufugit* atque *resufflat*,  
 illa per impluvium turbine flantis abit  
 Ex illo nimium memor ira *Johannis* eandem  
*per vacuum coeli* flabilis urget iter:  
 mortuus infestat miseram, nec vivus amarat,  
 non tamen hanc penitus fata perisse sinunt  
 Lenit honor luctum, minuit reverentia poenam,  
*pars hominum moestae tertia servit herae*  
*Quercubus et corylis a noctis parte secunda*  
*usque nigri ad galli carmina prima sedet.*  
 Nunc ea nomen habet *Pharauldis*, *Herodias* ante  
 saltria, nec subiens nec subeunda pari.

Conf. Aelfrici homiliae 1, 486. Here we have Herodias described as *moesta hera*, cui *pars tertia hominum* servit, the reverential homage she receives assuages her bitter lot, only from midnight

<sup>1</sup> Ballerini cannot understand this Gen.; is it Gennadius (Massiliensis), a writer at the end of the fifth century?

till first cockcrow she sits on oaks and hazel-trees, the rest of her time she floats through the empty air. She was inflamed by love for John, which he did not return, when his head is brought in on a charger, she would fain have covered it with tears and kisses, but it draws back, and begins to blow hard at her, the hapless maid is whirled into empty space, and there she hangs for ever<sup>1</sup>. Why she was afterwards (in the twelfth century) called *Pharaldis*, is not explained by the life of a saint of that name in Flanders (Acta sanct 4 Jan), nor does anything that the church tells of John the Baptist and Herodias (Acta sanct 24 Jun) at all resemble the contents of the above story. Herodias is Herod's wife, and the daughter is named Salome. *Pharaldis* on the contrary, M Dutch *Verelde*,<sup>2</sup> leads us to ver Elde = *frau Hilde* or *frau Hulde*, as in a doc of 1213 (Bodmanns Rheing alterth p 94) there occurs a 'miles dictus *Verhildeburg*,' and in a Frisian doc of the 14th century a *Fenhildema*, evidently referring to the mythic Hildburg. Still more remarkable seems a M Dutch name for the milky way, *Vroneldenstræct* = *frauen Hilde* or *Hulde strasse* (street, highway). So that the poet of the Remardus is entirely in the right, when Herodias sets him thinking of *Pharaldis*, and she again of the milky way, the *sidus* in his first line.

There is no doubt whatever, that quite early in the Mid Ages the christian mythus of *Herodias* got mixed up with our native heathen fables. Those notions about dame *Holda* and the 'furious host' and the nightly jaunts of sorceresses were grafted on it, the Jewish king's daughter had the part of a *heathen goddess* assigned her (Rathenius says expressly *imo dea*), and her worship found numerous adherents. In the same circle moves *Diana*, the lunar deity of night, the wild huntress, *Diana*, *Herodias* and *Holda*.

<sup>1</sup> This reference to the *turbo* (the whirlwind of his blast), looks mythical and of high antiquity. Not only did *Ziu* or *Zio*, once a deity, become with the christians a name for the whirlwind p 203 (and Pulloneken too may have to do with *Phol*, p 229), but to this day such a wind is accounted for in Lower Saxony (about Celle) by the dancing *Herodias* whirling about in the air. Elsewhere the raising of it is ascribed to the *devil*, and offensive epithets are hurled at him, as in the Saalfeld country 'Schweinezahl iahret,' there goes swine-tail (Praetorius, Rubezahl 3, 120), and on the Rhon mts 'Sauzägel,' sow-tail (Schm 4, 110), to shew contempt for the demon, and abate his fury (see Suppl.). I shall bring in some other stories, when treating of the wind-sprites.

<sup>2</sup> Canneart, strafrecht 153-5 Belg mus 6, 319 Conf *Vengode* for *frau Gaude*.

stand for one another, or side by side *Diana* is denounced by Eligius (Superst A), the passage in the decrees of councils (Superst C) has found its way into many later writings (Superst D, G) like Herodias, she appears as *domina* and *hera* The life of St Caesarius Arelatensis mentions a 'daemonium, quod rustici *Dianam* vocant,' so that the name was familiar to the common people, that statue of Diana in Greg Tur 8, 15 I have spoken of on p 110 But the strongest testimony to the wide diffusion of Diana's cultus seems to be a passage in the life of St Kilian, the apostle of the East Franks († 689) Gozbertus dux Franciae volens crebra apud se tractare inquisitione, utrum Ejus quem (Kilianus) praedicabat, vel *Dianae* potius cultus praeferendus esset *Diana* namque apud illum in summa veneratione habebatur (Surius 4, 133, Acta sanct Bolland 8 Jul (p 616) As it is principally in Thuringia, Fianconia and Hesse that *fiaru Holda* survives, it is not incredible that by *Diana* in the neighbourhood of Wurzburg, so far back as the 7th century, was meant no other than she

Lastly, the retrospective connexion of this Herodias or Diana with personages in the native paganism, whether of Celtic or Teutonic nations, receives a welcome confirmation from the legend of a *domina Abundra* or *dame Habonde*, supplied by French authorities of the Mid Ages A bishop of Paris, Guilielmus Alvernus (Guillaume d' Auvergne), who died 1248, speaks thus of nymphs and lamiae (opera, Par 1674, fol I 1036) 'Sic et daemon, qui praetextu mulieris, cum alius de nocte domos et cellaria dicitur frequentare, et vocant eam *Satram* a satietate, et *dominam Abundram* pro abundantia,<sup>1</sup> quam eam praestare dicunt domibus, quas frequentaverit hujusmodi etiam daemones, quas *dominas* vocant vetulae, penes quas error iste remansit, et a quibus solis creditur et somniatur Dicunt has *dominas* edere et bibere de escis et potibus, quos in domibus inveniunt, nec tamen consumptionem aut imminutionem eas facere escarum et potuum, maxime si vasa escarum sint discooperta et vasa poculorum non obstructa eis in nocte relinquuntur Si vere operata vel clausa inveniunt seu obstructa, inde nec comedunt nec bibunt, propter quod infaustas et infortunatas relinquunt, nec *satietatem* nec *abun-*

<sup>1</sup> The Romans also personified *Abundantia* as a superior being, but she only appears on coins, she had neither temples nor altars

*dantiam* eis praestantes' The like is repeated on p 1068, but on p 1066 we read 'Sunt et aliae ludificationes malignorum spirituum, quas faciunt interdum in nemoribus et locis amoenis et frondosis arboribus, ubi apparent in similitudine *puellarum* aut *matronarum* ornatu muliebris et *candido*, interdum etiam in stabulis, cum luminaribus cereis, ex quibus apparent distillationes in comis et collis equorum, et comae ipsorum diligenter tricatae, et audies eos, qui talia se vidisse fatentur, dicentes veram ceram esse, quae de luminaribus hujusmodi stillaverat<sup>1</sup> De illis vero substantis, quae apparent in domibus, quas *dominas nocturnas*, et *principem* earum vocant *dominam Abundiam*, pro eo quod domibus, quas frequentant, abundantiam bonorum temporalium praestare putantur, non aliter tibi sentiendum est, neque aliter quam quemadmodum de illis audivisti Quapropter eo usque invaluit stultitia hominum et insania vetularum, ut vasa vini et receptacula ciborum discoperita relinquant, et omnino nec obstruant neque claudant eis noctibus, quibus ad domos suas eas credunt adventuras, ea de causa videlicet, ut cibos et potus quasi paratos inveniant et eos absque difficultate apparitionis pro beneplacito sumant

The Roman de la rose (Méon 18622 seq) informs us :

qui les cinc sens ainsinc deçoit  
 par les fantomes, quil reçoit,  
 dont maintes gens par lor folie  
 euident estre par nuit estries  
*erians* avecques *dame Habonde*,  
 et dient, que par tout le monde  
*la tiers enfant* de nacion  
*sunt de ceste condicion*  
 qu'il vont trois fois en la semaine,  
 si cum destinee les maine,  
 et par tous ces ostex se boutent,  
 ne cles ne barres ne redoutent,  
 ains sen entrent par les fendaces,  
 par chatieres et par crevaces,  
 et se partent des cors les ames  
 et vont avec les *bonnes dames*  
 par leus forains et par maisons,  
 et le pruevent par tiex raisons

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Deutsche sagen, no 122.

que les diversités veues  
 ne sunt pas en lor liz venues,  
 ains sunt lor ames qui laborent  
 et par le monde ainsinc sen corent, &c.

18686 Dautre part, que *le tiers du monde*  
*aille ainsinc avec dame Habonde,*  
 si cum voles vielles le pruevent  
 par les visions que truevent,  
 dont convient il sans nule faille  
 que trestous li mondes i aille

As Ratherius and the Reinardus represent a third part of the world as given up to the service of Herodias, the same statement is here applied to dame Habonde, *Herodias* and *Abundia* are therefore one. A connexion between Abundia and our native *Folla*, *Fulla* (fulness) will presently be made apparent. The term *enfans* may refer either to the *unchristened babes* above, or to the great multitude of heathen, who remained shut out of the christian community. It had long been the custom to divide the known world into three parts<sup>1</sup>. The *domina clothed in white* reminds one of Perahta the bright, the *bona domina* or *bona socia*<sup>2</sup> of Holda the gracious, and Herodias haunting the oaks by night of the Old German tree-worship. They are originally benignant beings all, whose presence brings prosperity and plenty to mankind, hence to them, as to friendly spirits or gods, meat and drink are set for a sacrifice in the night season. Holda, Beihta and Werra seem to love a particular kind of food, and look for it on their feast-day.

#### 7. HRUODA (HREDE) OSTARA (EASTRE).

Thus far we have got acquainted with the names and worship of several goddesses, who were honoured under different names by particular tribes of Teutondom (Nerdu, Hludana, Tanfana, Holda, Beihta), and others resembling them have only become known to us under foreign appellations (Isis, Diana, Herodias, Abundia) of all these (so long as I consider still doubtful the connexion of

<sup>1</sup> Agitur pars tertia mundi, Ovid met 5, 372, tertia pars mundi fumans pent Africa flammis, Comp 1, 47 tertia pars orbis Europa vocatur, Walther 1

<sup>2</sup> Is the name *socia* connected with the *Satira* in Guilelmus Alvernus?



'Erce' with our Herke) *not one* is to be found among the Anglo-Saxons

On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon historian tells us the names of two beings, whom he expressly calls ancient goddesses of his people, but of whose existence not a trace is left amongst other Germans. A clear proof, that here as well as there, heathenism was crowded with divinities of various shape and varying name, but who in their characteristics and cultus corresponded to one another. Why this multiplicity of form should prevail more in the case of the female deities than of the male, can be fairly explained, I think, by the greater respect paid to the chief masculine divinities. They were too famous and too highly thought of, for their principal names not to have penetrated all branches of the nation.

The two goddesses, whom Beda (*De temporum ratione* cap. 13) cites very briefly, without any description, merely to explain the months named after them, are *Hrede* and *Eástre*, March taking its Saxon name from the first, and April from the second. '*Rhedmonath* a *dea* illorum *Rheda*, cui in illo sacrificabant, nominatur'—'*Antiqui Anglorum populi, gens mea . . . apud eos Aprilis Esturmonath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum, quae Eostra vocabatur et cui in illo festa celebrantur (?)*, nomen habuit, a cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto *antiquae observationis* vocabulo gaudia novae solennitatis vocantes' <sup>1</sup>

It would be uncritical to saddle this father of the church, who everywhere keeps heathenism at a distance, and tells us less of it than he knows, with the invention of these goddesses. There is nothing improbable in them, nay the first of them is justified by clear traces in the vocabularies of other German tribes. March is in OHG *lenzinmânôt*, named after the season *lenzo*, *leugizo* [lengthening of days], <sup>2</sup> but it may have borne other names as well. Oberlin quotes, from Chorion's *Ehrenkranz der deutschen sprach*, Strassb. 1644, p. 91, *Retmonat* for March, and a doc. of 1404

<sup>1</sup> One MS (Kolmesen opusc. p. 287, this ref. given in Rathlef's *Hoya* and Diepholz 3, 16) reads: *Veteres Anglicani populi vocant Esturmonath paschalem mensē, idque a dea quadam cui Tevtonia populi in paganismo sacrificia fecerunt tempore mensis Aprilis, quae Eostra est appellata.*

<sup>2</sup> Gramm. 2, 510. Langez. Drut. 3, 88.

(Weisth 1, 175) has *Redtmonet*, it is not clear for what month. When we find in the Appenzeller reimechronik p 174 .

In dem *Redtmonet*  
die puren kamen donet,  
do der merzenmonat gieng heizu  
an ainem morgen fru  
do zudentz Rorschach an ,

here *Redtmonet* seems, by the displacement so common in the names of months, to be the month before March, as Chorion uses his *Retmonat* for February as well. Von Arx explains the word quite differently, and I think untenably, by a mountain. Apart from the Swiss term altogether, I believe the AS name was really *Hrēð* or *Hrēðe* = OHG *Hruod* or *Hruodâ*, and derived, as I said on p 206, from *hruod* gloria, fama, so that we get the meaning of a shining and renowned goddess. The Trad fuld 2, 196, furnish a female name *Hruadâ*, gen *Hruadûn*, and in 1, 42 2, 26, another nom *Hruadun*, this last apparently formed like ON *Florgyn* and *Hlôðyn*. The AS adj *hrēð* or *hrēðe* means crudelis (Cædm 136, 21 198, 2), perhaps victoriosus? I am in doubt about *hrēð*, *sigehrēð*, *guðhrēð*, Beow 5146 974 1631, they waver between an adj and a subst sense, and in the last passage, 'Beowulfe wearð guðhrēð gifeðe,' victoria is evidently meant. When the AS Menologue, line 70, translates Martius by *reðe*, this may stand for *hrēðe*.

We Germans to this day call April *ostermonat*, and *ôstarmânoth* is found as early as Eginhart (temp Car Mag). The great christian festival, which usually falls in April or the end of March, bears in the oldest of OHG remains the name *ôstarâ* gen -ûn,<sup>1</sup> it is mostly found in the plural, because two days (*ôstartagâ*, *aostortagâ*, Diut 1, 266\*) were kept at Easter. This *Ostarâ*, like the AS *Eástre*, must in the heathen religion have denoted a higher being, whose worship was so firmly rooted, that the christian teachers tolerated the name, and applied it to one of their own grandest anniversaries.<sup>2</sup> All the nations bordering on us have retained the Biblical 'pascha', even Ulphilas writes *paska*, not

<sup>1</sup> T 157, 1 3 5 O 1 22, 8 III 6, 16 IV. 9, 8 Hymn 21, 4. Fragm. theol XIV 17

<sup>2</sup> Conf Ideler's chronologie 1, 516

áustrô, though he must have known the word,<sup>1</sup> the Norse tongue also has imported its pâskir, Swed pâsk, Dan. paaske The OHG adv *ôstar* expresses movement toward the rising sun (Gramm 3, 205), likewise the ON *austr*, and probably an AS *eástor* and Goth *áustr* In Latin the identical *auster* has been pushed round to the noonday quarter, the South In the Edda a male being, a spirit of light, bears the name of *Austri*, so a female one might have been called *Austra*, the High German and Saxon tribes seem on the contrary to have formed only an *Ostará*, *Eástre* (fem), not *Ostaro*, *Eástra* (masc)<sup>2</sup> And that may be the reason why the Norsemen said pâskir and not austrur they had never worshipped a goddess *Austra*, or her cultus was already extinct

*Ostara*, *Eástre* seems therefore to have been the divinity of the radiant dawn, of upspringing light, a spectacle that brings joy and blessing,<sup>3</sup> whose meaning could be easily adapted to the resurrection-day of the christian's God *Bonfires* were lighted at Easter, and according to a popular belief of long standing, the moment the sun rises on Easter Sunday morning, he gives *three joyful leaps*, he dances for joy (Superst 813) Water drawn on the Easter morning is, like that at Christmas, holy and healing (Superst 775 804), here also heathen notions seems to have grafted themselves on great christian festivals Maidens clothed in white, who at Easter, at the season of returning spring, show themselves in clefts of the rock and on mountains, are suggestive of the ancient goddess (see Suppl.)

### 8. ZISA.

Beda's account of Hrede and Eástre<sup>4</sup> shall be followed now by a statement reaching back to the 11th century, and deserving attention if only for its great age, concerning a goddess *Zisa* worshipped at Augsburg in the heathen time.

<sup>1</sup> For oriens he chooses *urruns*, for occidens *sagqs*, *æ*, rising and sinking of the sun, not that he did not know *vistr* (versus occidentem), root *vis* (repose, stillness, evening)

<sup>2</sup> Composite proper names Ostroberht, Austroberta, Anstregisil, Ostrogotha (like Visigotha, Vistrimund, Westeralap, Sundarolt, Nordberaht, &c &c)

<sup>3</sup> In the Basque language *ostara* means May the budding leafing time, from *ostoa*, leaf, foliage a mere accidental resemblance

<sup>4</sup> I might introduce into the text an AS *Bicen*, if I knew any more about her than what Lye's glossary quotes from Cod Cot 65, 87. *Bucenne* Diana It is formed like *pinen* (ancilla), *wylpen* (bellona), &c

The Cod Monach Lat 2 (of 1135), and the Cod Emmeran F IX fol 4<sup>a</sup> (of 12-13th cent) contain identic 'Excerpta ex Gallica historia' <sup>1</sup>

'Dum hec circa *renum* geruntur, in *norcorum* (interlined bawariorum, Cod Vind CII pauwariorum) finibus grave vulnus romanus populus accepit quippe *germanorum* gentes (interlined *suevi*), que *ietras* occupaveiant, non longe ab alpihus tractu pari patentibus campis, ubi duo rapidissimi amnes [interlined *licus* et *werthaha* (CII vuerdaha)] inter se confluunt, in ipsis *norcis* finibus (interlined terminis *bawariorum* et *suevorum*) civitatem non quidem muro sed vallo fossaque cinxerant, quam appellabant *zizarum* (CII *cizarum*) ex nomine dee *cize*,<sup>2</sup> quam religiosissime colebant cujus templum quoque ex lignis *baibarico* ritu constrictum, postquam eo<sup>3</sup> colonia *romana* deducta est, inviolatum permansit, ac vetustate collapsum nomen<sup>4</sup> colli servavit hanc urbem *titus annius* pretor ad arcendas barbarorum excursiones kal sextilibus (interlined exacta jam estate) exercitu circumvenit ad meridianam oppidi partem, que sola a continenti (interlined littoribus) erat, pretor ipse cum *legione mantia* castra operosissime communivit ad occidentem vero, qua barbarorum adventus erat, *avar*, *bogudis* regis filius, cum equitatu omni et auxiliariis *macedonum* copus inter flumen et vallum loco castris parum amplo infelici temeritate extra flumen (interlined *werthaha*) consedit pulchra indoles, non minus *romanus* quam *grecois* disciplinis instructa igitur quinquagesimo nono die, qua eo ventum est, cum is dies *dee cize* (CII *dee cize*) apud *barbaros* celeberrimus, ludum et lasciviam magis quam fornicationem ostentaret, immanis *barbarorum* (interlined *suevorum*, CII *svivorum*) multitudo, ex proximis silvis repente erumpens ex improvise castra irrupit, equitatum omnem, et quod miserius erat, auxilia sociorum delevit *avar*,<sup>5</sup> cum in hostium potestatem regio habitu vivus venisset, [sed

<sup>1</sup> I owe their communication to Schmeller's kindness. The same piece is found at Vienna in two forms. in the Cod Lat. CII (olim hist prof 652) sec xi ineuntis fol 79 80, and in the Cod CCXXVI (olim univ 237) sec xii. In both it stands between Jorn De reb get and De regn suce. CII has interlinear glosses and marginal notes (exactly like the Munich MSS) by a scarcely later hand, which also writes the heading 'Excerptum ex Gallica historia'. CCXXVI adopts the interlinears into the text, but otherwise agrees.

<sup>2</sup> On margin 'Quem male polluerat cultura nefaria dudum  
*gallus monticulum hunc tibi ciza tulit*'

<sup>3</sup> On margin 'post conditam urbem *augustam* a *romanus*'.

<sup>4</sup> Marg note 'ut usque hodie ab incolis *cizumberc* nominetur'.

<sup>5</sup> Marg note 'ex cujus vocabulo, quia ibi mactatus et tumultus est *chrikesaveron* (CII *chrekasaver*) nomen accepit *grecois* enim erat'

que apud *barbaros* reverentia ?] more pecudis ibidem mactatur<sup>1</sup> oppidan vero non minori fortuna sed maiori virtute pretorem in auxilium socis properantem adoriuntur *romani* haud segniter resistunt, duo principes oppidanorum *habino*<sup>2</sup> et *caccus*<sup>3</sup> in primis pugnantes cadunt et inclinata jam res oppidanorum esset, ni maturassent auxilium ferre socii in altera ripa jam victoria potiti denique coadunatis viribus castra irrumpunt, pretorem, qui paulo altiore tumulum (interlined *perleik*) frustra ceperat, *romana* vi resistantem obtruncant legionem<sup>4</sup> divinam (interlined *martiam*), ut ne nuncius cladis superesset, funditus delent *Verris* solus tribunus militum amne transmissio in proximis paludibus se occultans<sup>5</sup> honestam mortem subterfugit nec multo post *sicilre* proconsul immani avaricia turpem mortem promeruit nam cum se magistratu abdicaret, iudicio civium damnatus est'

The same fragment, only without the interlined words and without marginal additions, stands in Goldast's *Rerum suev script aliquot veteres*, Ulm 1727 fol p 3 under the rubric '*Vellen Galli* fragmentum de victoria Suevorum contra Romanos' (conf *Haupts zeitschr* 10, 291) It has the readings '*dea Cisa*' and '*Cisara*,' and for Caccus '*Cacus*,' but agrees in the other names Further, for loco parum *amplo*, I find the better reading *apto* The parenthesis '*sed—reverentia*' is wanting, so is the concluding sentence '*nam—damnatus est*' I should believe that Goldast had borrowed it all from Wolfg Lazius's *Reip Rom libri xii* Francof 1591 p 52, if this copy had not some variations too, the heading runs '*Vellen excerpta ex Gallica historia*', it has *Cisara*, but *Cize*, also '*Habbino, Caccus, amplo*,' and concludes with *promeruit* Lazius

<sup>1</sup> On margin

'Hoc nomen terris *bogudis* dat regia proles  
*grecavan* (CII *grecus auar*), pecudis de *suevis* more litatus'

<sup>2</sup> On margin

'*Prefectus habeno* se victum hique sepultum  
perpetuo montis nomine notificat  
qui juxta montem occisus et sepultus nomen monti *habenonberch* dedit, quem  
rustici *havenenberch* (CII *havenonperch*) dicunt'

<sup>3</sup> CII 'a cuius nomine putamus *rehingen* nominari'

<sup>4</sup> On margin 'de hac ibi perita legione adhuc *perleik* nominatur.'  
Then in smaller but contemporaneous writing

'Indicat hic collis *romanam* nomine eladem  
*martia* quo legio tota simul perit  
subdidit hunc *rome* prepes victoria *petro*,  
hoc sibi met templum qui modo constituit'

<sup>5</sup> On margin 'hic quia in paludibus adjacentibus latuit, lacui *uernisse* huc  
usque nomen dedit'.

says 'quam nos historiam in pervetusto codice membran literis antiquissimis scriptam reperimus', that would be the sixth MS known hitherto, and copies must have been pretty numerous in the 11-12th centuries. The one that Goldast had before him may probably have been the oldest.

Either one or the other of them, both Otto von Freisingen and the author (or continuator) of the Auersberg chronicle seem to have had before them. The former tries to connect the story with Quintilius Varus (instead of Verres), and after relating his overthrow, adds (chron 3, 4) 'Tiadunt Augustenses hanc caedem ibi factam, ostenduntque in argumentum collem ex ossibus mortuorum compactum, quem in vulgari *perleirch* (Mone, anz 1, 256), eo quod legio ibi perierit, usque hodie vocant, vicumque ex nomine Vari appellatum monstrant'. The Auersberg chronicler's account, though he almost verbally adopts the older fragment, I hold it needful to insert here, because the marginal glosses are curiously interwoven with the text, and referred to 'discovered inscriptions on stone'.<sup>1</sup>

De Augusta Vindelicorum vel Rhetiae sicut ex scriptis veterum colligitur haec civitas tria nomina accepit. Germanorum quippe gentes primum considentes in partibus Rhetiae, quae nunc est pars Sueviae, non longe ab alpihus in planitie, loco tamen munito propter concursum duorum rapidorum fluminum, hanc urbem construxerunt, et non muris sed fossatis eam firmaverunt, et ex nomine *deae Zizae*, quam religiosissime colebant, *Zizerim* eam nominabant. hujus quoque *deae* templum ex lignis barbarico ritu constructum, etiam postquam Romani eam incolere coeperunt, inviolatum permansit at vetustate collapsum nomen colli servavit, in quo postmodum in lapide exsculpti hi versus sunt reperti

quem male polluerat cultura nefaria dudum  
gallus monticulum hunc tibi *Ziza* tulit

unde usque in praesens ab incolis idem monticulus *Zizenberg* nominatur. apud hanc urbem Romani deleti sunt magna caede nam *Titus Annus* praetor ad arcendas barbarorum excursiones cum exercitu in kal. Augusti eam circumdedit, ipseque ad meridiana[m] oppidi partem, quae sola patebat, castra sua cum legione Martia operosissime communivit ad occidentem vero ultra fluvium, ubi Suevis aut barbaris aditus patebat, *Avan Bogudis* regis

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Conradi ursperg Argent 1532, p. 308 ed 1609, p. 225.

filius cum omni equitatu et auxilio *macedonico* consedit igitur quinquagesimo nono die, quam eo ventum est, cum is dies *deae Zize* apud barbaros celeberrimus esset, ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem cives ostentarunt tunc etiam immanis barbarorum multitudo, quae de partibus Sueviae illuc convenerat, de proximis silvis repente erumpens ex improvise castra irrupit et *Avaris* exercitum delevit ipsum quoque *Avar* regio habitu indutum vivum comprehedentes crudeliter in modum pecoris mactaverunt a quo in loco, ubi mactatus est, vicus usque hodie appellatus est *Criechesavenon*, in quo hi versus reperti sunt

his nomen terris *Bogudis* dat regia proles

*Graecus Avar*, pecudis de *Suevis* more litatus.

oppidani vero non minori fortuna sed majori virtute praetorem in auxilium sociis properantem invadunt, quibus Romani haud segniter resistunt in quo conflictu duo principes oppidanorum *Habino* et *Caccus* in primis pugnantes cadunt, et inclinata jam res esset oppidanorum, ni maturassent auxilium ferre *Suevi* in altera ripa victoria jam potiti de nominibus autem illorum principum interfectorum exstant adhuc loca denominata, nam rustici de *Habinone* vocant monticulum *Habinoberg*, in quo hi versus reperti sunt:

praefectus *Habino* se victum atque sepultum

perpetuo montis nomine notificat

a *Cacco* vero dicunt *Gegginen* denominari. denique coadunatis *Suevis* et oppidanis castra irrumpunt, et praetorem, qui paulo altiore tumulum frustra ceperat, romana vi resistantem obtruncant, legionemque divinam, ut nec nuncius cladis superesset, funditus delent de hac perdita legione adhuc *perlarch*, quasi perdita legio, nominatur, ubi postmodum hi versus sunt reperti.

indicat hic collis romanam nomine cladem,

martia quo legio tota simul perit

solus *Verres* tribunus militum amne transmissio in proximis paludibus se occultans honestam mortem subterfugit, lacui *Vernse* hucusque nomen dedit. versus

das nomen lacui *Verres* quo tu latuisti.

hic tamen non multo post Siciliae proconsul effectus turpem mortem promeruit nam cum se magistratu abdicaret iudicio civium damnatus est propter hunc *Verrem* tradunt Augustenses hanc caedem fuisse eandem, quam sub Augusto factam quidam descri-

bunt, sed *Varum* illum nominant his verbis ea tempestate *Varus*, romano more, superbe et avaro erga subditos se gerens a Germanis deletus est

Some later writers also mention the tradition. About 1373—91, an ecclesiastic, Kuchlin, composed in rhyme a history of Augsburg<sup>1</sup> for the burgomaster Peter Egen the Young, who wished to have his house painted with illustrations from it. Cap 2, fol 99 says of the Swabians

Sie bawten einen tempel gross darein  
zu eren (in honour of) *Zise* der abgottin,  
die sie nach heidnischen sitten (after heathen ways)  
anbetten zu denselben zeiten (adored in those days)  
Die stat ward genennt (city got named) auch *Zisaris*  
nach der abgottin (after the goddess), das was der pris.  
Der tempel als lang stünd unverseert (stood uninjured),  
bis im von alter was der val beschert (its fall decreed),  
und da er von alter abgieng (as from age it passed away),  
der berg namen von im empfieng (the hill took name),  
daruf gestanden was (whereon had stood) das werck,  
und haist noch hut (hight still to-day) der *Zisenberck*

Conf Keller's *Fastn* sp, p 1361. Sigism Meisterlin, in his Augsburg chronicle<sup>2</sup> (which is in print from the 8th chap of bk 1), treats of this *Cisa* in chaps 5-6 of bk 2. In the unprinted chap 4 of bk 1, he unmistakably refers to Kuchlin, and again at the end of chap 7 'das er auch melt (tells) von der gottin *Cisa*, die auch genent wird *Cizais*, das sy geert habend (they honoured her) die doch aus Asia warend, dawider seind die andern, die von *Cysa* schreibent, die sprechent, das sy die Vindelici habend nach schwabischen sitten angebetet. von der gottin wirst du hernach mer haben, ob got wil (buch 3 cap 5 6).' (See Suppl.)

Hopeless contradictions lie on the face of that fragment. Bogud, a Punic ship's-captain, who lived in the year 494 of Rome, or 260 B C,<sup>3</sup> is here turned into a Macedonian king, and his son Avar is made contemporary with the Ciceronian Verres of 200 years after, or even of the still later Varus. Yet Bogudes and Varus do occur as contemporaries of Pompey in Dio Cassius 41, 42.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Monach. Lat. 61, likewise sent me by Schmeller

<sup>2</sup> Augsb 1522 fol. Meisterlin wrote it in 1456, and died about 1484.

<sup>3</sup> Niebuhr's *Rom. Hist* 3, 677



What Titus Annius was meant by the 'praetor,' I cannot guess, there is a consul of that name A U C 601 and 626, or B C 153, 128 Velleius Paterculus can never have written this sort of thing<sup>1</sup>

But all the rubbish it contains does not destroy the value of the remarkable story to us. The comparatively pure Latinity is enough to show that it was not composed so late as the twelfth century, Lazius and Velser<sup>2</sup> are inclined to place it in the Carolingian period, and it looks like the work of a foreigner, to whom the Germans are heathens and barbarians. The glosses confirm the local connexion of the whole tradition with Augsburg and its neighbourhood, and not only the Latin verses, but the German forms werthaha (R Wertach), cizûnberc, habino, habinonberc, look too old for the 12th century. Habino (Hepino), Habinolf, is an authentic OHG man's name. Cacus is unknown to me, Cacan, Cagan would seem more vernacular, and the derived local name Geginen leads up to it. Some of the names quoted are preserved to this day: the eminence in the middle of the city, next the senate-house, is still called *Perlach*, on which the monastery and church of *St Peter* were founded in 1064, so the verse 'subdidit hunc (collem) Romae praepes victoria Petro' was composed after that.<sup>3</sup> The name *perleih*, which the legend derives from *periens* or *perdita legio*, suggests the OHG *eikileih*, *agilauh* (*phalanx*), Gl ker 124 Diut 1, 223, and in other compounds we find *leih* in a variety of senses.<sup>3</sup> Zisenberg and Havenenberg are names no longer heard, while *Pfersen* (Veris-sê) MB 33<sup>b</sup>, 108 an 1343, and *Kriegshaber* are well known villages. Whatever may be the explanation of the older and correcter form *Criechesaveron*, it is very plain that the name of the place *Criahhes* (graeci) *avarâ* (*imago*, conf pp 86, 95, yet also *araro* proles) first suggested 'Graecus Avar,' as well as *Habmonberc* the hero 'Habino'. The Auersberg chronicler's statement, that the Latin verses were found carved in all those places, must be rejected.

We find then, that tradition, true to her wont, has mixed up

<sup>1</sup> G Jo Vossius, De hist Lat 1, 24

<sup>2</sup> Marci Velseri rer Augustanar libri 8 1594 fol. p 45

<sup>3</sup> Henisch p 293 explains 'berlach' at Augsburg 'ab ursis in publica cavea ibi altus,' a thing which was done in other towns, e.g. Bern. On the Perlach tower there was fixed a figure of St Michael, which came into view every time the clock struck on Michaelmas-day, in earlier times a wooden temple of Isis (p 294, ex lignis) is said to have stood on the spot, Fischart's geschichtkl 30<sup>b</sup> 'der amazonischen Augspurger japetisch frau Eysen'.

fact and fiction, the great point is, that she brings us tidings of a Suevic goddess. *Cisa* seems the older and better spelling, and *Ciza* would be harder to explain. Now from this name of the goddess we can hardly derive that of the town *Cisara*, supposing it to be a purely German derivative, names of places are never formed with such a termination from male or female proper names. It seems more likely that *Cisara* = *Cisae ara*, from the altar and temple of the goddess and later writers might corrupt *Cisariam* into *Zizarim*, *Zizerim*. We read that she was most devoutly (religiosissime) honoured by the Suevi, her anniversary is a grand festival devoted to games and merrymaking, the day is precisely defined as the fifty-ninth after Aug 1, it fell therefore on Sept 28. At such a season might be held a feast of the divinity who had prospered the harvest just gathered in. On Sept 29 the christians kept one of their grandest days, that of St Michael, who often had to replace a heathen god of war and victory. It seems worthy of notice, that the Saxons had their great feast of victory about the same time, viz, the beginning of October, *Widukind* pp 423-4. With the first Sunday after Michaelmas the *holy common-week* was considered in the Mid Ages to begin, *Scheffer's Haltaus*, pp 141-2 *na der hülligen mennweken*, *Weisth* 3, 240. In the handing down of a precise and doubtless genuine date, I feel the credibility of the story confirmed.

Now who is *Cisa*? One naturally thinks first of that Suevic *Isis* (p 257) in *Tacitus*, whose name even is not unlike *Cisa*, *Zisa*, if we make allowance for the mere dropping of the initial, an omission which the Roman might be prompted to make by the similarity of the *Isis* that he knew. But even if *Zisa* be totally different from *Isis*, she can with all the better right be placed by the side of our *Zio*, in whom also was displayed a thoroughly Swabian deity (p 199), nay, together with our supposed feminine *Ziu* (p 203) there may have been a collateral form *Zisä*, so that her *Zisünberg* would exactly correspond to the god's *Ziewesberg*, *Zisberg* (see Suppl.) Shall I bring forward a reason for this guess, which shall be anything but far-fetched? The Mid Dutch name for the third day of the week had the curious form *Disendach* (p 125), which being of course a corruption of *Trisendach* brings us at once to *Tise* = *Zisa*. It is a matter for further researches to demonstrate,<sup>1</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Down in the Riess between the rivers *Lech* and *Wertach*, in the midst of Sueves, at a time supposed to be before even the Romans settled in the region,

that three divinities, Zio, Zisa and Isis, are assigned to the Suevi, is already abundantly clear

### 8 FRIKKA (FRIGG). FROUWA (FREYJA)

Our inquiry turns at length to the goddesses of the Norse religious system, of whom unequivocal traces are forthcoming in the rest of Teutondom.

Foremost of these are *Frigg* the wife of Oðinn, and *Freyja* the sister of Freyr, a pair easy to confound and often confounded because of their similar names. I mean to try if a stricter etymology can part them and keep them asunder.

The name of *Freyja* seems the easier. It is motivated no doubt by the masculine Freyr (Gramm 3, 335). Now as we recognised Freyr in the Gothic *fráuja* (p. 209), *Freyja* leads us to expect a Gothic *fráujō*, gen. *fráujons*, both in the general sense of domina, mistress, and in the special one of a proper name *Fráujō*. The notion of mistress, lady, never occurs in Ulphilas. To make up for it, our OHG remains express it very frequently, by *frouwā*, *frōwā*, the MHG *frouwe*, *frou* and our modern *frau* have preserved themselves purely as common nouns, while the masc. *frō* has vanished altogether. In meaning, *frouwe* and *frau* correspond exactly to *hêre*, *herr*, and are used like it both in addressing and otherwise<sup>1</sup>. Our minnesangers are divided as to the respective superiority of *frouwe* (domina) and *wîp* (femina),<sup>2</sup> *wîp* expressing more the sex, and *frouwe* the dignity, to this day we feel *frau* to be nobler than *weib*, though the French *femme* includes a good deal of what is in our *frau*. It seems worthy of notice, that the poets

no Slav gods need be looked for, neither does the Slav mythology know anything at all certain about a Ziza, alleged to be Ceres mammosa (Boh. *uc*, cec, Pol. *cyc*, Russ. *titi*, mamma), in support of whom forsooth our Cisa must be wronged, see Hanusch 278. It were better to think of the MHG name for the *zeisig* (*zeis*-chen, *siskin*) *din zise*, ein *kleiniu zise*, Ms. 1, 191<sup>b</sup>. Wh. 275, 30, which can scarcely have arisen from *cicindela* (glow-worm, Graff 5, 711), however, no connexion has come to light between the goddess and the form of a bird, though some little birds, the woodpecker, the titmouse, were held sacred.

<sup>1</sup> Like our *frō*, the O Fr. *dame* (dominus) is now lost, *dame* (domina) remains, like our *frau*. The Span. keeps both *don* and *doña*, the Ital. only *donna*. The Romance tongues express the masc. notion by two other words, *sire*, *sieur* (p. 27) and *seigneur*, *signore*, *señor*, *v.e.*, senior, out of which an Ital. *signora*, a Span. *señora* have sprouted, but no Fr. feminine.

<sup>2</sup> Walth. 48-9 57. Amgb. 45<sup>b</sup> 46<sup>a</sup>. Ms. 2, 182<sup>b</sup> 216<sup>a</sup>. Docen misc. 2, 278-9. *frouwe* unde *wîp*, Parz. 302, 7 (see Suppl.).

harp on the connexion of *fräu* with *froh* glad (fro-lic) and *freude* joy, conf Flidank 106, 5—8 Tit 15, 35.

The AS and OS languages have done the very reverse: while their masc *fréa*, *fráho* is used far more freely than the OHG *fríouwo*, they have developed no fem by its side. The M Dutch dialect has *vráuwe*, *vrouwe* in addressing and as title (Huyd op St 1, 52 356 Rem 297 731 803 1365 1655 2129 2288 2510-32-57-64, &c), seldomer in other positions, Rem 2291, the modern *vrouw* has extended its meaning even beyond the limits of our *fráu*.

All the above languages appear to lack the fem proper name, in contrast to the ON which possesses *Freyja* almost solely as the goddess's name, and no *freyja* = *hera*. Yet we find *húsfreyja* housewife, Sæm 212<sup>b</sup>, and Snorri is still able to say that *freyja* is a *tiðnarnafn* (name of honour) derived from the goddess,<sup>1</sup> that grand ladies, *rikiskonur*, are *freyjur*, Sn 29 Yngl saga c 13. The readings *frú*, *fruvor* here are corrupt, for the Icel form *frá* has evidently slipped in from the Dan *frue*, Swed *fru*, and these from Germany. The goddess should be in Swed *Froa*, Dan *Froe*, which I have never met with, the Swed folk-song of Thor's hammer calls *Freyja Frojenborg* (the Dan Fridlefsborg), a Danish one has already the foreign *Fru*. Saxo is silent about this goddess and her father altogether, he would no doubt have named her *Froa*. Our Merseburg poem has now at last presented us with *Frûā* = *Frôwâ*, as the proper name of the goddess.<sup>2</sup>

*Frigg* gen *Fuggjar*, daughter of *Fiorgynn* and wife of *Oðinn*, is kept strictly apart from *Freyja*, gen *Fieyju* in the *Vafþrúdnismál* and the beginning of the *Grímnismál*, *Oðinn* and *Frigg* are plainly presented as husband and wife, and as *Hioptir* and *Svâfnir* are also names of *Oðinn*, 'Hroptir ok *Frigg*, Svâfnir ok *Frigg*' in Sæm

<sup>1</sup> As *fráujô* from *Fráujô*, and *freyja* from *Freyja*, a song of *Frauenlob*'s, Ettm p 112 makes *wip* come from a Frankish king *Wippeo*. Is this an echo of a mythical *Wippo*, *Wibba* (geneal of Mercia, end of ch VII)? The explanation is as false as when the Edda derives *vif* from *vefa*, for all a woman's being practically a weaver and a peace-weaver, we should have to assume two roots, *viban* and *veiban*, side by side. The ON proper name *Vefreyja* is also worthy of note, Fornald sog 2, 459 3, 250 594.

<sup>2</sup> The reasons why we may not take *frûā* here for a mere title (and so a noun com) are set forth in the Zeitschr f d a 2, 189. As for the *u* in the MS, it looks to me quite plain, else Wackernagel's proposal to read *Frûa* = *Frûja*, *Frûga*, *Frûa*, would be acceptable (*frûu* does occur in T 93, 3). *Frûa* and *Fria* are alike welcome and suitable for my explanation.

91<sup>b</sup> 93<sup>a</sup> express the same relation Saxo Gram, p 13, has correctly '*Frigga* Othinn conjux' In prayers the two goddesses even stand side by side 'svá hialpi ther hollar vættu, *Frigg* ok *Freyja*, ok fleiri goð (more gods), sem þú feldir mei fâr af hondom!' Sæm 240<sup>b</sup> So they do at the burning of Baldi's body, Sn 66, conf 37 And that Danish folk-song has likewise '*Frigge*, *Fru* og Thor'

The ON usually has *gg* where the AS has *cg* and OHG *cc* or *kk*, namely, where a suffix *r* had stood after *g* or *k*. thus, ON *egg* (acies), AS *ecg*, OHG *ekki*, ON *bryggja* (pons), AS *brycege*, OHG *prukkâ*, ON *hryggr* (doisum), AS *hrycg*, OHG *hrukki* In the same way we get an AS *Fricg*, OHG *Frukka*, *Frukka*, even farther away from *Frouuð* than *Frigg* from *Freyja*

It is the confounding of these two beings that will explain how Adam of Bremen came to put *Fricco* instead of *Frô* for Freyr (supra, p 212), he would equally have said *Fricca* for *Freyja* *Fricco*, *Friccho*, *Friccolf* were in use as proper names in OHG

And now it seems possible to explain, what is otherwise unaccountable, why the sixth day of the week, dies Veneris, should be called in ON both *Freyjudagr* and also *Fríadagr*, in OHG never *Frouwûntac*, but *Fríatatac*, *Frígetac*, now *Fretag*, in AS *Frigedæg* (for *Fricgedæg* ?), v supra, pp 123-6, and in Faroese *Fryggjadeað* (Lyngbye 532)

Among these forms the AS presents no difficulty in the OHG and ON names we are puzzled by the absence of the guttural I believe a solution is offered by that most important passage in Paulus Diac 1, 8 where Wodan's consort is named *Frea*, which can only mean Frigg, not *Freyja*, as Saxo Gram too, while expressly grounding on Paulus, makes use of the form *Frig* 'Paulo teste auctore *Frig* dea'<sup>1</sup>

This Langob *Frea* accords with the OHG *Frîa*, I take it to be not only identical with *Frigg*, but the original form of the name, it has less to do with *Freyja* and the AS masc *freá* As an ON *brú* (pons) stands related to *bryggja*, so will *frî* to *frigg* The Langob *Frea* is = *Frea*, *Fria*, *Fija*, *Frêa* Its root is suggested by

<sup>1</sup> The AS chroniclers (p 128) borrow *Frea* from Paulus With *Frea* we must above all connect the *frea* of the Laws of Liutpand 6, 40 and 67, and this means uxor, domina, not libera, ingenua Paulus therefore, in assigning *Frea* to Wodan as his wife, has put her in the place of the Norse Frigg The substitution is often made thus, when Fornald sog 2, 25-6 has 'heita a *Freyju* ok a Hott (Oðinn),' it is Frigg that should have been associated with Oðinn, as is done in the *Grimnismál* (see Suppl)

such words as Goth *freis*, *frijis* (liber), OHG *frî*, Goth *frijôn* (amare), OHG *frîôn*, especially may we take into account the OS neut *frî* (mulier), Hel 9, 21 13, 16 171, 21 172, 1, the AS *freo* (mulier), Cædm 29, 28 *freolic cwên* (pulcra femina), Beow 1275 *freolicu meowle*, Cod exon 479, 2 *freolic wif*, Beow 1222 *freolic fæmne*, Cædm 12, 12 54, 28<sup>1</sup> Now, as *frî* (liber) and our *frech*, ON *frekr* (protervus, impudens), *frî* (mulier formosa) and ON *fríðr* (formosus), *fríðr* (pax) seem to be all related, even the adjectival forms betray the shifting sense of the substantival<sup>2</sup>

We gather from all this, that the forms and even the meanings of the two names border closely on one another *Freyja* means the gladsome, gladdening, sweet, gracious goddess, *Frigg* the free, beautiful, loveable, to the former attaches the general notion of frau (mistress), to the latter that of frî (woman) *Holda*, from hold (sweet, kind), and *Berhta* from berht (bright, beautiful) resemble them both The Swedish folk-song, in naming Froujenborg, calls her 'den vana solen,' the beautiful sun

Hence the mingling of their myths becomes the more conceivable Saxo, p 13, relates how *Frigga*, to obtain gold for her ornaments, violated conjugal fidelity, more minutely told, and differing much in the details, the tale about *Freyja* in Sn 356 appears to be the same adventure. On quite another ground however the like offence is imputed to Frigg too (Sæm 63 Yngl saga cap 3) In Sn 81 the valshamr of *Freyja* is spoken of, but in 113-9 that of *Frigg*, the former is supported by Sæm 70

Hence the variations in the name for the day of the week. The OHG *Frîatac* ought clearly to be Friggjardagr in ON, and the ON *Freyjudagr* should be Frouwûntac in OHG Hence too the uncertainty in the naming of a constellation and of several plants Orion's belt, elsewhere named Jacob's staff and also spindle (colus ἡλακάτη), is called by the Swedish people *Friggerock* (colus Friggæ, Ihre, p 663) or *Frejerock* (Finn Magnusen 361<sup>a</sup>), as we noticed before, or *Frojas rock* (Wieselgren 383) The orchis odoratissima, satyrium albidum, a plant from which love-potions are brewed, Icel *Friggjangras*, otherwise hionagras (herba conjugalis), the later

<sup>1</sup> Conf the MHG wîplich wîp, Parz 10, 17 MS 1, 50<sup>a</sup> 202<sup>a</sup> 2, 42<sup>b</sup> 182<sup>b</sup> 258<sup>a</sup> wîpîn wîp, MsH 1, 359<sup>b</sup>, similarly θηλύτραι γυναῖκες, Od 11, 386 434 15, 422 Hesiod scut 4

<sup>2</sup> We might connect Venus with the Goth qinô, qêns, as venire with qiman, the Wel *gwen* would answer to Gvenus for Venus; the Ir. dia beine, Friday, from *bean*, *ben* (lady) = Venus = AS *cwên*.

christian way of thinking has substituted *Mary* for the heathen goddess. And the labouring man in Zealand speaks of the above constellation also by the name of *Marianok*, *Marvrok*. Several kinds of fern, adiantum, polypodium, asplenium, are named lady's hair, maidenhair, *Mariengras*, capillus *Veneris*, Icel *Freyjuhár*, Dan *Fruehaar*, *Venusstraa*, *Venusgras*, Norweg *Marigras*, &c. Even if the Norse names here have sprung out of Latin ones, they show how *Venus* was translated both by Frigg and Freyja and Mary. As for *Mary*, not only was the highest conception of beauty carried over to her, (frío scônôsta, idiso scônôst, Hel 61, 13 62, 1), but she was pre-eminently *our lady*, *frau*, *domina*, *donna*. Conf. infra *frauachueli*, *ladycow*, Marienkäblein. In the nursery-*tales* she sets the girls *sewing* and *spinning* like Holda and Berhta, and Holda's snow appears to mean the same as Mary's snow (p. 268).

Before so close a contact of the two names I pause, doubting with which of them to connect the strong and incontestable similarity of certain divine names in the non-Teutonic [Aryan] languages. First of all, an OBoh gloss gives *Priye* for Aphrodite, taking into account the Goth *frijôn*, the OHG *frudil* (lover), MHG *vriedel*, and the Slav *priyatel* (friend), Boh *přítel*, Pol. *przyjaciół*, it must have meant either Freyja the goddess of love and fruitfulness, or Frigg the divine mother and patroness of marriage. In Sanskrit also *pri* is to love, *priyas* a friend, *Ramâpriya* dear-to-Lakshmi = lotus, *Yamapriya* pleasing-to-Yama = ficus indica, *priya* in names of gods = husband or wife, Pott's *forsch* 2, 424-7. Then *prithivî* is the earth, and *mâtâ Prithivî* Terra mater, from whom comes fruit and increase (conf. Wel *pridd* terra, Bopp's gloss 223<sup>b</sup>), and the word, though next of kin to *prithus* (πλατύς *latus*), the earth being named the broad and wide, seems nevertheless connected with Fria, Frigg and fridu.

*Frigg* the daughter of *Fiorgynn* (p. 172), as consort of the highest god,<sup>1</sup> takes rank above all other goddesses. She knows the fates of men (Sæm 63<sup>b</sup> Sn 23 64), is consulted by Óðinn (Sæm 31<sup>a</sup>), administers oaths, handmaids fulfil her hest, she presides over

<sup>1</sup> Some of the AS genealogies have 'Woden et *Fréaláf* ejus uxor,' so that Frigg = *Fréaláf* (OHG *Froleip* ?) which fits in with that *Fridlefsborg* in the Danish song, p. 300, others make *Fréaláf* Woden's father. But in lieu of him we have also *Friðulaf* and *Friðuwulf*, a fresh confirmation of the connexion between *fríð* and the goddess's name.

*marriages*, and her aid is implored by the childless (Fornald sog 1, 117), hence hionagias is also *Friggargias*. We may remember those maidens yet unmarried (p 264) being yoked to the plough of the goddess whose commands they had too long defied. In some parts of northern England, in Yorkshire, especially Hallamshire, popular customs show remnants of the worship of Frigg. In the neighbourhood of Dent, at certain seasons of the year, especially autumn, the country folk hold a procession and perform old dances, one called the giant's dance: the leading giant they name *Woden*, and his wife *Frugga*, the principal action of the play consisting in two swords being swung and clashed together about the neck of a boy without hurting him<sup>1</sup>. Still more remarkable is the clear vestige of the goddess in Lower Saxony, where to the common people she is *fru Freke*,<sup>2</sup> and plays the very parts which we saw assigned to *fru Holle* (pp 267-8) a strong argument, by the way, for the divine nature of this latter. Then in Westphalia, legend may derive the name of the old convent *Freckenhorst*, *Freckenhorst*, from a shepherd *Frickio*, to whom a light appeared in the night (like the fall of snow by night at Hildesheim, p 268) on the spot where the church was to be built, the name really points to a sacred hurst or grove of *Frecla* fem, or of *Fricko* masc, whose site christianity was perhaps eager to appropriate, conf *Fræcinghyrst*, Kemble 1, 248 2, 265. There is a *Viecheleve*, *Frickleben*, not far from Magdeburg (see Suppl.)

*Freya* is the goddess most honoured after or along with Frigg, her worship seems to have been even the more prevalent and important of the two, she is styled 'agætuz af Asynjum,' Sn 28, and 'blótgyðja,' Yngl saga cap 4, to whom frequent sacrifices were offered. Heiðrekr sacrificed a boar to her, as elsewhere to Freyr, and honoured her above all other gods<sup>3</sup>. She was wedded to a

<sup>1</sup> Communicated by J M Kemble, from the mouth of an 'old Yorkshireman'. I account for the *suord* by the ancient use of that weapon at weddings, conf RA 426-7 431, esp the old Frisian custom pp 167-8, conf Hemreich's Nordfriesen chion 1, 53-4. In Swabia, as late as the 18th century, the bridesmen carried large swords with fluttering ribbons before the bride, and there is a striking similarity in the Esthonian custom (Superst M 13).

<sup>2</sup> Eccard de orig Germ p 398. Celebriatur in plebe Saxonica *fru Freke*, cui eadem munia tribuuntur, quae superiores Saxones Holdae suae adscribunt. *Fru Freke* has just been unearthed again by Ad Kuhn, namely in the Uckermark, where she is called *Fruke*, and answers to *fru Harke* in the Mittelmark and *fru Gode* in the Prignitz.

<sup>3</sup> Herfvararsaga, ed Veiel p 138, ed 1785 p 124. By the editors of the Fornald sog 1, 463 the passage is banished into the notes as an unsupported reading.



man (not a god, at least not an As), named *Oðr*, but he forsook her, and she sought him all over the world, among strange peoples, shedding tears. Her name *Sýn* (Sn 37) would perhaps be Sauris in Gothic. With Muller has detected the very same in the *Syritha* of Saxo Gram p 125, who likewise goes in search of *Othar*. Freyja's tears were golden, gold is named after them, and she herself is 'grátfaqr,' fair in greeting (weeping), Sn 37 119 133, in our nursery-tales pearls and flowers are wept or laughed out, and dame Holla bestows the gift of weeping such tears. But the oldest authorities make her warlike also, in a *waggon* drawn by two cats (as *Thôri* drives two goats)<sup>1</sup> she rides to the battlefield, 'riðr til vigs,' and goes shares with *Oðinn* in the slain (supra p 133, conf Sæm. 42<sup>a</sup> Sn 28 57). She is called 'eigandi valfalls' (quæ sortitur caesos in pugna), Sn 119, *valfreyja*, mistress of the chosen, Nialss p 118, and of the valkyrs in general, this seems to be in striking accord with Holda or Berhta (as well as Wuotan) adopting the *babes that die unchristened* into their host, heathen goddesses the heathen souls. Freyja's dwelling is named *Fólkvángur* or *Fólkvangan*, the plains on which the (dead?) folk troop together, this imparts new credibility to the connexion of St *Gertrude*, whose minne is drunk, with Frowa, for the souls of the departed were supposed to *lodge with Gertrude the first night* (p 61). Freyja's hall is *Sessrymnir*, the seat-roomy, capacious of much *folk*, dying women expect to find themselves in her company after death. *Thórgerðr* in the *Egilss*, p 103, refuses earthly nourishment, she thinks to feast with Freyja soon 'ok engan (náttverð) mun ek fyrr enn at *Freyju*'. Yet love-songs please her too, and lovers do well to call upon her 'henni líkaði vel mansongr, â hana er gott at herta til ásta,' Sn 29. That the *cat* was sacred to her, as the wolf to Wuotan, will perhaps explain why this creature is given to night-hags and witches, and is called *donneraas*, *wetteraas* (-carrion). When a bride goes to the wedding in fine weather, they say 'she has fed the cat well,' not offended the favourite of the love-goddess. The meaning of a phrase in Walther 82, 17 is dark to me 'weder ritest gerner *eine gulðin katze*, ald einen wunderlichen *Gêrhart Atzen*?' In Westphalia, however, the *weasel* was named *froie*,

<sup>1</sup> Freyja has a *waggon* like Nerthus (mother of Freyr?), like Holda and Freyr himself, Wuotan and Donar (pp 105-7, 251-2-4, 275), the kingly *waggon* is proper only to great exalted deities.

Reinh clxxii, which I suppose means frau, fraulein (fröiken), as that ghostly creature was elsewhere called *muhmleyn* (aunty), *fräuleyn*, *donna*, *donnola*, titles sure to be connected with myths, and these would doubtless point in the first place to our goddess and her worship. The Greeks said Galinthias was turned into a weasel or cat (γαλήνη), Ovid metam 9, 306 (see Suppl.)

In so far as such comparisons are allowable, *Frigg* would stand on a line with Here or Juno, especially the pronuba, Jupiter's spouse, and *Freyja* with Venus,<sup>1</sup> but also with Isis who seeks Osiris. *Fieyr* and his sister *Freyja* are suggestive of Liber and Libera (Dionysus and Proserpina, or even her mother Demeter, of sun and moon). *Mary* could replace the divine mother and the goddess of beauty, verbally *Frigg* agrees better with Libera, and Adam of Bremen's *Fiecco*, if he was god of love, answers in name to Liber, in character to Fieyr.

The passage quoted from Paul Diac is one of the clearest and most convincing testimonies to the harmony between the German and Norse mythologies. An author of Charles the Great's time tells us that the Langobards named Wodan's wife *Frea*, and she is called *Frigg* in the Edda. He cannot have drawn this from Norse tradition, much less can his narrative through Saxo's intermediacy have become the source of the northern faith.

But in favour of Freyja too we possess a weighty piece of external evidence. The Edda makes her the owner of a costly necklace named *Brísínga men* (Brisingorum monile), she is called 'eigandi Brísingamens,' Sn 37 119. How she acquired this jewel from the dwarfs, how it was cunningly stolen from her by Loki, is fully narrated in a tale by itself, Sn 354—357. In the poets therefore Loki is Brísings þiofr (Thorl obs 6, 41 63), a lost lay of the Edda related how Heimdallr fought with Loki for this ornament, Sn 105. When Freyja pants with rage, the necklace starts from her breast (stauk þat it mícra men Brísínga), Sæm 71<sup>b</sup>. When Thórr, to get his hammer back, dresses up in Freyja's garments, he does not forget to put her famous necklace on: 'hafi

<sup>1</sup> In the Tanhauser, as sung in Switzerland (Aufsess anz 1832, 240-2, Uhland's volksl p 771), instead of the usual dame *Venus* we find precisely *frau Erne*, and acc to Stald 1, 395 *frein* is there a collateral form of *fier* free. A woman's name Vreneli is known from Hebel. Vrene may be Verena the martyr, or Veronica, v Viene, Ben 328.

hann (have he) it mikla *men Brísinga* !' Sæm 72—Now this very trinket is evidently known to the AS poet of Beowulf 2399, he names it *Biosinga mene*, without any allusion to the goddess, I would read 'Brisinga mene,' and derive the word in general from a verb which is in MHG *brisen*, *breis* (nodare, nodis constingere, Gr *κευτεῖν* to pierce), namely, it was a chain strung together of bored links Yet conf ch XX, *bising* St John's fire perhaps the dwarfs that forged it were called *Brísingar*? The jewel is so closely interwoven with the myth of Freyja, that from its mention in AS poetry we may safely infer the familiarity of the Saxon race with the story itself, and if the Goths worshipped a goddess Fráujō, they too would doubtless know of a Breisiggê man<sup>1</sup> Conf ch XX, *Iarðar men*, Earth's necklace, *ie*, turf in the ON. legal language

We cannot but feel it significant, that where the gospel simply speaks of τὸ ἄγιον sacrum (Matt 7, 6), the OS poet makes it a *hêlag halsmen* (holy necklace), Hel 52, 7, an old heathen reminiscence came over him, as once before about doves perching on shoulders (p 148) At the same time, as he names only the swine, not the dogs, it is possible that he meant *halsmen* to be a mere amplification of 'meriguton,' pearls

But this legend of the goddess's necklace gains yet more in importance, when we place it by the side of Greek myths. *Brísinga men* is no other than Aphrodite's ὄρμος (Hymn to Venus 88), and the chain is her girdle, the *κεστὸς ἰμάς ποικίλος* which she wears on her bosom, and whose witchery subdues all gods and mortals. How she loosens it off her neck (ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν) and lends it to Here to charm her Zeus with, is told in a lay that teems with world-old myths, Il 14, 214-8 As the *ἰμάς* is worn in turn by Here and by Aphrodite, the Norse fable gives the jewel now to Frigg and now to Freyja, for that 'gold of Figg' in Saxo is the same as *Brísinga men* Then there is another similarity the same narrative makes Freyja possess a beautiful chamber, so strong that, when the door is locked, no one can enter against her will 'hun

<sup>1</sup> Just as from Freyja proceeded the general notion of a *freyja frouwâ*, so necklace-wearing serves to describe a beautiful wife or maiden. In Sæm 97<sup>a</sup> *mengloð* (monili laeta, rejoicing in a necklace) means simply femina, but in 108<sup>a</sup> 111<sup>a</sup> *Mengloð* is a proper name (see p 272 note), in 222<sup>a</sup> *meniskogul* is used of Brynhildr Women are commonly named from their ornaments of gold or precious stones, Sn 128 (see Suppl)

áttu ser eina skemmu, er var bæði fogr ok steik, svâ at þat segja menn, ef huiðin var læst, at eingi mátti komast í skemmuna án (without) vilja Freyju,' Sn 354 We are told the trick by which Loki after all got in, and robbed her of the necklace,<sup>1</sup> Homer says nothing about that, but (Π 14, 165-8) he knows of Her3's θάλαμος,

τόν οἱ φίλος νίδς ἔτευξεν

"*Ηφαιστος, πυκινὰς δὲ θύρας σταθμοῖσιν ἐπήρσε*

*κλήιδι κρυπτῇ, τὴν δ' οὐ θεὸς ἄλλος ἀνῶγεν.*

What can be more exactly in accordance with that inaccessible apartment of Freyja, especially as the *ímás* is spoken of directly after? Hephaistos (Vulcan), who built his mother the curiously contrived bedchamber, answers to the dwarfs who forged the necklace for Freyja. The identity of Frigg and Freyja with Here and Aphrodite must after this mythus be as plain as day.

#### 10 FOLLA SINDGUND

Another thing that betrays the confusion of Frigg with Freyja is, that the goddess *Follâ*, now proved by the Merseburg poem to belong to our German mythology, is according to it a sister of Frûâ, while the ON *Fulla* again is handmaid to Frigg, though she takes rank and order among the Asynjor themselves (Sn 36-7)<sup>2</sup> Her office and duties are sufficiently expressed in her name, she justifies our reception of the above-mentioned *Abundia* or *dame Habonde* into German mythology, and corresponds to the masculine god of plenty *Pilnatis*, *Pilnatus*, whom the Lettons and Prussians adored. Like dame Herke on p 253, she bestowed prosperity and abundance on mortals, to her keeping was intrusted the divine mother's chest (*eski*), out of which gifts were showered upon them.

It may be, that Fullâ or Follâ was at the same time thought of as the full-moon (Goth fullips, Lith Pilnatis, masc), as another heavenly body, Orion, was referred to Frigg or Freyja in the Merseburg MS she is immediately followed by *Sunnâ* with a sister *Sindgund*, whose name again suggests the path of a constellation. The Eddic *Sól* ranks with the Asynjor, but Sindgund (ON Sinn-

<sup>1</sup> He bored a hole and crept through as a fly, then as a flea he stung the sleeping goddess till she shook off the ornament an incident still retained in nursery-tales. Conf the stinging fly at the forging, Sn 131.

<sup>2</sup> If we read Fria for Frûa, then Folla would stand nearer to her as in the Norse, whether as attendant goddess or as sister. Yet, considering the instability of those goddesses' names, she may keep her place by Frouwa too.

gunnr<sup>2</sup>) is unknown to the Edda. In ch XXII on the constellations I shall come back to these divinities (see Suppl.)

# 11 GART SIPPLA. SUNIA WARA. SAGA NANDA

From surviving proper names or even impersonal terms, more rarely from extant myths, we may gather that several more goddesses of the North were in earlier times common to the rest of Teutondom.

Frey's beloved, afterwards his wife, was named *Geiðr*, she came of the giant breed, yet in Sn 79 she is reckoned among the Asynjor. The Edda paints her beauty by a charming trait: when Freyr looked from heaven, he saw her go into a house and close the door, and then air and water shone with the brightness of her arms (Sæm 81 Sn 39). His wooing was much thwarted, and was only brought to a happy issue by the dexterity of his faithful servant Skirnir. The form of her name *Geiðr*, gen *Geiðar*, acc *Geiði* (Sæm 117<sup>b</sup>), points to a Goth *Gardi* or *Gardja*, gen *Gardjōs*, acc *Gardja*, and an OHG *Gart* or *Garta*, which often occurs in the compounds *Hildigart*, *Irmingart*, *Lutkart*, &c, but no longer alone. The Latin forms *Hildegardis*, *Ludgardis* have better preserved the terminal *z*, which must have worked the vowel-change in *Geiðr*, *Thôngerðr*, *Valgerðr*, *Hrimgerðr*. The meaning seems to be *cingens*, *muniens* [Gurth<sup>2</sup>], Lat *Cinxia* as a name of Juno (see Suppl.)

The Goth *sibja*, OHG *sippa*, *sippa*, AS *sib* gen *sibbe*, denote peace, friendship, kindred, from these I infer a divinity *Sibja*, *Sippa*, *Sib*, corresponding to the ON *Sif* gen *Sifjar*, the wife of *Thôri*, for the ON too has a pl *sifjar* meaning cognatio, *sifi* amicus (OHG *sippio*, *sippo*), *sift* genus, cognatio. By this sense of the word, *Sif* would appear to be, like *Frigg* and *Freyja*, a goddess of loveliness and love, as attributes of *Odinn* and *Thôr* agree, their wives *Frigg* and *Sif* have also a common signification. *Sif* in the Edda is called the fair-haired, 'it *hârfagra goð*,' and gold is *Sifjar haddr* (*Sifae peplum*), because, when *Loki* cut off her hair, a new and finer crop was afterwards forged of gold (Sn 119 130). Also a herb, *polytrichum aureum*, bears the name *haddr Sifjar*. Expositors see in this the golden fruits of the Earth burnt up by fire and growing up again, they liken *Sif* to *Ceres*, the *ξανθή Δημήτηρ* (Il 5, 500); and with it agrees the fact that the O Slav. *Siva* is a gloss on 'Ceres dea

frumentī' (Hanka's glosses 5<sup>a</sup> 6<sup>a,b</sup>) ; only the S in the word seems to be the Slav *zhivěti* = Zh, and V does not answer to the Teut F, B, P. The earth was Thôr's mother, not his wife, yet in Sn 220 we do find the simple *Sif* standing for earth. To decide, we ought to have fuller details about Sif, and these are wholly wanting in our mythology. Nowhere amongst us is the mystic relation of seed-corn to Demeter, whose poignant grief for her daughter threatens to bring famine on mankind (Hymn to Cer 305—315), nor anything like it, recorded.

The Gothic language draws a subtle distinction between *sunja* (veritas) and *sunyð* (defensio, probatio veritatis), in OHG law, *sunna*, *sunnis* means excusatio and impedimentum. The ON law likewise has this *syn* gen *synjar*, for excusatio, defensio, negatio, impedimentum, but the Edda at the same time exhibits a personified *Syn*, who was to the heathen a goddess of truth and justice, and protected the accused (Sn 38). To the same class belongs *Vor* gen *Varar*, goddess of plighted faith and covenants, a *dea foederis* (Sn 37-8), just as the Romans deified Tutela. The phrase '*vígja saman Varar hendr*,' consecrare Tutelae manu (Sæm 74<sup>b</sup>), is like the passages about Wish's hands, p 140. As in addition to the abstract wish we saw a Wish endowed with life, so by the side of the OHG *wara foedus* there may have been a goddess *Wara*, and beside *sunia* a *Sunnd* (see Suppl.).

In the same way or *sage* (saw, tale) is intensified into a heathen goddess *Sagd*, daughter of Wuotan, like Zeus's daughter the Muse, she instructs mankind in that divine art which Wuotan himself invented. I have argued in a separate treatise (Kleine schr 1, 83—112), that the *frou Aventure* of the Mid Ages is a relic of the same.

*Nanna* the wife of Baldr would be in Goth *Nanþð*, OHG *Nandâ*, AS *Nôðe*, the bold, courageous (p 221), but, except in ON, the simple female name is lost, Procopius 1, 8 has Gothic *Θευδε-νávθα*, ON *Thioðnanna* (see Suppl.).

Inferencés like these, from dying words to dead divinities, could be multiplied, to attempt them is not unprofitable, for they sharpen the eye to look in fresh quarters [for confirmation or con-

futation]. The discovery from legend or elsewhere of a harmony between myths may raise our guesses into demonstrations<sup>1</sup>

## 12 RAHANA (RAN) HELLIA (HEL)

My survey of the gods closed with Oegir and Loki, and the goddesses akin to these shall be the last mentioned here

To correspond to the ON *Gefjon* the Old Saxons had, as far as we know, not a female but a male being, *Geban*, *Geofon* (sea, p 239) With four giant oxen, according to Sn 1, *Gefjon* ploughs Zealand out of the Swedish soil, and a lake arises, whose inward bend exactly fits the projecting coast of Zealand She is described as a virgin, and all maidens who die virgins wait upon her, Sn 36 Her name is called upon when oaths are taken *sver ek við Gefjon*, F Magn lex 386 (see Suppl) *Gefn*, a name of Freyja (Sn 37 and *Víglumss* cap 27) reminds one of *Gefjon*

*Rán* was the wife of the seagod Oegir, they had nine daughters who are cited by name in the Edda, and called *Ránar* (or *Oegis*) *dætr*<sup>2</sup> Men who are drowned fall to the share of *Rán*, which of itself attests her divinity *fara til Ránar* is to get drowned at sea, Fornald sog 2, 78, and *setja at Ránar* to be drowned, Fornm sog 6, 376 Those who were drowned she drew to her in a *net*, and

<sup>1</sup> It seems almost as if the MHG poets recognised a female personage *fró* *Fuoge* or *Gefuoge* (fitness), similar in plastic power to the masc *Wish*, a personified compages or *ἀφροίνα*. Lachmann directs me to instances in point *Er*. 7534-40 (conf Iwein, p 400):

So hete des meisters sin  
gepruevet ditz gereite  
mit grözer wisheite,  
er gap dem helffenbeine  
und dā bi dem gesteine  
sin gevellige stat,  
als in dnu *Gefuoge* bat

So had the master's thought  
turned out this riding-gear  
with great wisdom,  
he gave the ivory  
and withal the jewelry  
each its proper place,  
as him dame Fitness bade

(Conf *Er* 1246 als in mīn wāre schulde bat) — Parz 121, 11

Wer in den zwein landen wirt,  
*Gefuoge* ein wunder an im burt,  
he is a miraculous birth of Fitness, her child, her darling — Conversely, Walther 64, 38

Dame Unfitness, thou hast triumphed.

*Fró Unfuoge*, ir habt gesiget  
And 65, 25

Swer *Ungefuoge* swigen hieze  
und sie abe den buigen stieze<sup>1</sup>

Whoso bade Indecorum hush,  
and hurled her from her strongholds

It is true, the prefixes *ge-*, *un-*, argue a later and colder allegory And the weak fem form (acc in *-en*) would be preferable, OHG. *Fuogā*, gen. *Fuogūn*, as in N cap 135 *hiifuogūn*, *sotigenam* (see Suppl)

<sup>2</sup> Sæm 79<sup>b</sup> 144<sup>a</sup> 153<sup>b</sup> 180 Sn 124-9 185 Eyrbygg saga p 274, and *in-dex* sub *v* *Rán* Egilssaga p 616

carried them off, whence the explanation of her name. *rān* neut is rapina, ræna rapeire, spoliare (see Suppl)

On the discovery of the rare word *rahanen* (spoliare) in the Hildebr hed 57, I build the supposition that other Teutonic lands had also a subst *rahan* (rapina, spolium) and a goddess *Rahana* (conf Tanfana, Hluodana), as well as an *Uogi* = *Oegir*.<sup>1</sup>

As we passed from *Oegir* (through Forniot and Logi) to Loki, so we may from *Rân* to *Hel*, who is no other than Loki's daughter, and like him a dreadful divinity. *Rân* receives the souls that die by water, *Hel* those on land, and *Freyja* those that fall in battle.

The ON *Hel* gen *Heljar* shows itself in the other Teutonic tongues even less doubtfully than *Frigg* and *Freyja* or any of the above-mentioned goddesses. Goth *Halja* gen *Haljôs*, OHG *Hellra*, *Hella* gen *Helha*, *Hella*, AS *Hell* gen *Helle*, only, the personal notion has dropt away, and reduced itself to the local one of *halja*, *hellia*, *hell*, the nether world and place of punishment. Originally *Helha* is not death nor any evil being, she neither kills nor torments, she takes the souls of the departed and holds them with inexorable grip. The idea of a place evolved itself, as that of *œgir* oceanus out of *Oegir*, and that of *geban* mare from *Geban*, the converted heathen without any ado applied it to the christian underworld, the abode of the damned, all Teutonic nations have done this, from the first baptized Goths down to the Northmen, because that local notion already existed under heathenism, perhaps also because the church was not sorry to associate lost spirits with a heathen and fiendish divinity.<sup>2</sup> Thus *hellia* can be explained from *Helha* even more readily than *ôstara* from *Ostara*.

In the Edda, *Hel* is Loki's daughter by a giantess, she is sister to the wolf *Fenrir* and to a monstrous snake. She is *half black* and half of human colour (*blá hâlf, en hâlf með horundar lit*), Sn 33, after the manner of the pied people of the Mid. Ages, in other

<sup>1</sup> The Trad patav pp 60-2 assure us of a man's name Raan, Rhaan (*Rahan*?). An OHG *Rahana* rests on a very slender foundation.

<sup>2</sup> *Hel* has no affinity at all with ON *hella* *petra*, *hellir* *antrum*, as the Goth *hallus* *petra* shows (from *hillan* *sonare*, because a rock resounds) a likelier connexion is that with our hole *antrum*, OHG *holi*, more frequent in neut *hol*, for which we should expect a Gothic *hul*, as in fact a fem *hulundi* is caverna, for a cave covers, and so does the nether world (both therefore from *hulan* *celare*). Only, the vowels in *hole* (= *huli*) and *holle* (= *halja*) do not agree.



passages her *blackness* alone is made a subject of comparison *blár* sem *Hel*, Níalss 117 Fornm sog 3, 188, conf *Heljar skinn* for complexion of deathly hue, Landnámab 2, 19 Níalss cap 96 Fornald sog 2, 59 60,<sup>1</sup> death is black and gloomy Her dwelling is deep down in the darkness of the ground, under a root of the tree Yggdrasill, in Nifheim, the innermost part of which is therefore called *Nifhel*, there is her court (rann), there her halls, Sæm 6<sup>b</sup> 44<sup>a</sup> 94<sup>a</sup> Sn 4 Her platter is named *hæmgr*, her knife *sultr*, synonymous terms to denote her insatiable greed The dead go down to her, *fara til Heljar*, strictly those only that have died of sickness or old age, not those fallen in fight, who people Valhalla Her personality has pretty well disappeared in such phrases as *í hel slá*, drepa, beija *í hel*, to smite into hell, send to Hades, *í helju* vera, be in Hades, be dead, Fornald sog 1, 233 Out of this has arisen in the modern dialects an altogether impersonal and distorted term, Swed *ihæl*, Dan *ihæl*, to death<sup>2</sup> These languages now express the notion of the nether world only by a compound, Swed *helvete*, Dan *helvede*, *ie*, the ON *helviti* (supplicium infernale), OHG *hella-wîzi*, MHG *hellewîze* One who is drawing his last breath is said in ON *liggja milli heims oc heljar* (to lie betwixt home and hell), to be on his way from this world to the other The un pitying nature of the Eddic *Hel* is expressly emphasized, what she once has, she never gives back *haldi Hel því er heftr*, Sn 68, *heftr* nu *Hel*, Sæm 257<sup>a</sup>, like the *wolf* in the apologue (Reinhart xxxvi), for she is of wolfish nature and extraction, to the wolf on the other hand a *hellish throat* is attributed (see Suppl)

Two lays in the Edda describe the way to the lower world, the

<sup>1</sup> The ancients also painted Demeter, as the wrathful earth-goddess, *black* (Paus 8, 42 O Muller's Eumenides 168, conf Archæol p 509 the black Demeter at Phigalia), and sometimes even her daughter Persephone, the fair maid doomed to the underworld '*furia* Proserpina,' Hor Od 2, 13 (Censorin De die nat c 17) *Black* Aphrodite (Melanis) is spoken of by Pausanias 2, 2 8, 6 9, 27 and by Athenæus bk 13, we know the *black* Diana of Ephesus, and that in the Mid Ages *black* Madonnas were both painted and carved, the Holy Virgin appearing then as a sorrowing goddess of earth or night, such at Loretto, Naples, Einsiedeln, Wurzburg (Alt W 2, 209 286), at Oettingen (Goethe's Corresp with a child 2, 184), at Puy (Busching's Nachr 2, 312-333), Marseilles and elsewhere I think it specially significant, that the Erinnys or Furies dwelling in Tartarus is also represented both as black and as *half white half black*.

<sup>2</sup> O Swed has more correctly *ihæl*, *ie*, *ihæl* (Fred. af Normandie 1299 1356 1400 1414) In Ostgotalagen p 8, one reading has already *ihæll* for *ihæl*, they no longer grasped the meaning of the term

Helreið Brynhildar and the Vegtamsqviða, in the latter, Óðinn's ride on Sleipnir for Baldr's sake seems to prefigure that which Hermôðr afterwards undertakes on the same steed in Sn 65-7. But the incidents in the poem are more thrilling, and the dialogue between Vegtamr<sup>1</sup> and the vala, who says of herself

var ek snífn sniðfi (by snow), ok slegin regni,

ok drífn doggo (by dew), dauð (dead) var ek leingi,

is among the sublimest things the Edda has to shew. This vala must stand in close relationship to Hel herself.

Saxo Gram p 43 very aptly uses for Hel the Latin *Proserpina*, he makes her give notice of Balder's death. In the Danish popular belief *Hel* is a three-legged horse, that goes round the country, a harbinger of plague and pestilence, of this I shall treat further on. Originally it was no other than the *steed* on which the goddess posted over land, picking up the dead that were her due, there is also a *waggon* ascribed to her, in which she made her journeys.

A passage in Beowulf shows how the Anglo-Saxons retained perfectly the old meaning of the word. It says of the expiring Grendel 1698 'feorh âlegde, hæðene sâwle (vitam deposuit, animam gentilem), þær hine *Hel onféng*,' the old-heathen goddess took possession of him.

In Germany too the Mid Ages still cherished the conception of a voracious, hungry, insatiable Hell, an *Orcus esuriens*, *ve*, the man-devouring ogre. 'diu *Helle ferslindet* al daz ter lebet, si *ne wûndet niomer sat*,' N Cap 72 'diu *Helle* und der arge wân werdent *nemer sat*,' Welsch gast. It sounds still more personal, when she has *gaping yawning jaws* ascribed to her, like the wolf, pictures in the MS of Cædmon represent her simply by a wide open mouth.

Der tobende wuoterich	The raging tyrant
der was der <i>Hellen</i> gelich,	he was like the Hell
diu daz abgrunde	who the chasm (steep descent)
<i>begenit mit ir munde</i>	be-yawneth with her mouth
unde den himel zuo der erden	from heaven down <sup>2</sup> to earth
unde ir doch niht ne mac werden,	And yet to her it cannot hap

<sup>1</sup> Óðinn calls himself *Vegtamr* (way-tame, broken-in to the road, gnarus viae), son of *Valtamr* (assuetus caedibus), as in other places gangtamr (itineri assuetus) is used of the horse, Sæm 265<sup>b</sup>, but Óðinn himself is Gångræðr or Gångleri. Vegtamr reminds one of the holy priest and minstrel *Wechtam* in Humbald.

<sup>2</sup> I have supposed that 'unde den' is a slip for 'abe dem'.—TRANS.

daz si imer werde vol,                      that she ever become full,  
 si ist daz *ungesatliche* hol,              she is the insatiable cavern,  
 daz weder nu noch nie ne sprah      that neither now nor ever said  
 'diz ist des ih niht ne mac'      'this is what I cannot (manage).'

Lampr Alex 6671-80 Old poems have frequent allusions to the abgrund (chasm, abyss) and the doors of hell *helligruoba*, *hella-grunt*, *helliporta*, &c Gramm 2, 458, *der abgrunde tunc*, *der tiefen helle tunc* (the deep hell's dinge, darkness), Mart 8S<sup>b</sup> 99<sup>c</sup>

Of course there are Bible texts that would in the first instance suggest much of this, *eg*, about the insatiableness of hell, Prov 27, 20-30, 16 (conf Freidank lxxiv), her being uncovered, Job 26, 6, her opening her mouth, Isaiah 5, 14 But we are to bear in mind, that all these have the masc *ᾗδης* or *infernus*, with which the idea of the Latin Orcus also agrees, and to observe how the German language, true to its idiosyncrasy, was obliged to make use of a feminine word The images of a door, abyss, wide gaping throat, strength and invincibility (*fortis tanquam orcus*, Petron cap 62), appear so natural and necessary to the notion of a nether world, that they will keep recurring in a similar way among different nations (see Suppl)

The essential thing is, the image of a greedy, unrestoring, female deity<sup>1</sup>

But the higher we are allowed to penetrate into our antiquities, the less hellish and the more godlike may *Halja* appear Of this we have a particularly strong guarantee in her affinity to the Indian Bhavani, who travels about and bathes like Neithus and Holda (p 268), but is likewise called *Kālī* or *Mahakālī*, the great black goddess In the underworld she is supposed to sit in judgment on souls. This office, the similar name and the black hue (*kāla niger*, conf *cāligo* and *κελαινός*) make her exceedingly like Halja And Halja is one of the oldest and commonest conceptions of our heathenism

<sup>1</sup> In the south of Holland, where the Meuse falls into the sea, is a place named *Helvoetsluis* I do not know if any forms in old documents confirm the idea contained in the name, of Hell-foot, foot of Hell The Romans have a Helium here Inter Helium ac Flevum, ita appellantur ostia, in quae effusus Rhenu, ab septentrione in lacus, ab occidente in amnem Mosam se spargit, medio inter haec ore modicum nomine suo custodiens alveum, Plin 4, 29 Tac also says 2, 6 *immenso ore* Conf supra p 198 on *Oegisdyr* (see Suppl.)

## CHAPTER XIV.

### CONDITION OF GODS

Now that we have collected all that could be found concerning the several divinities of our distant past, I will endeavour to survey their nature as a whole, in doing which however, we must be allowed to take more frequent notice of foreign and especially Greek mythology, than we have done in other sections of this work it is the only way we can find connecting points for many a thread that otherwise hangs loose

All nations have clothed their gods in human shape, and only by way of exception in those of animals, on this fact are founded both their appearances to men, or incarnation, their twofold sex, their intermarrying with mankind, and also the deification of certain men, *ie*, their adoption into the circle of the gods It follows moreover, that gods are begotten and born, experience pain and sorrow, are subject to sleep, sickness and even death, that like men they speak a language, feel passions, transact affairs, are clothed and armed, possess dwellings and utensils. The only difference is, that to these attributes and states there is attached a higher scale than the human, that all the advantages of the gods are more perfect and abiding, all their ills more slight or transient

This appears to me a fundamental feature in the faith of the heathen, that they allowed to their gods not an unlimited and unconditional duration, but only a term of life far exceeding that of men All that is born must also die, and as the omnipotence of gods is checked by a fate standing higher than even they, so their eternal dominion is liable at last to termination. And this reveals itself not only by single incidents in the lives of gods, but in the general notion of a coming and inevitable ruin, which the Edda expresses quite distinctly, and which the Greek system has in the background. the day will come when Zeus's reign shall end

But this opinion, firmly held even by the Stoics,<sup>1</sup> finds utterance only now and then, particularly in the story of Prometheus, which I have compared to the Norse ragnarokr, p. 245-6

In the common way of thinking, the gods are supposed to be *immortal* and *eternal*. They are called *θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔδοντες*, Il 1, 290 494, *αἰευγενέται* 2, 400, *ἀθάνατοι* 2, 814, *ἀθάνατος* *Ζεὺς* 14, 434, and therefore *μάκαρες* 1, 339 599 in contrast to mortal man. They have a special right to the name *ἄμβροτοι* *immortales*, while men are *βροτοί* *mortales*, *ἄμβροτος* is explained by the Sansk *amrita* *immortalis*, the negative of *mrita* *mortalis* (conf. Pers. *merd*, *homo mortalis*), in fact both *amrita* and *ἄμβρόσιος*, next neighbour to *ἄμβροτος*, contain a reference to the food, by partaking of which the gods keep up their immortality. They taste not the fruits of the earth, whereby the *βροτοί* live, *οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν*, Il 6, 142. With *βροτός* again is connected *βρότος* thick mortal blood, whereas in the veins of the gods flows *ιχώρ* (Il 5, 340 416), a light thin liquid, in virtue of which they seem to be called *ἄβροτοι* = *ἄμβροτοι*.

Indian legend gives a full account of the way *amrita*, the elixir of immortality, was brewed out of water clear of milk, the juice of herbs, liquid gold and dissolved precious-stones,<sup>2</sup> no Greek poem tells us the ingredients of ambrosia, but it was an *ἄμβροσιν τροφή* (food), and there was a divine drink besides, *γλυκὴ νέκταρ*, Il 1, 598, of a red colour 19, 38, its name being derived either from *νη* and *κτᾶσθαι*, or better from *νεκ-ταρ* *necem avertens*. Where men take bread and wine, the gods take ambrosia and nectar, Od 5, 195, and hence comes the

*ἄμβροτον αἶμα θεοῖο,  
ιχώρ, οἶός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·  
οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἴθοπα οἶνον·  
τοῦνεκ' ἀναίμονες εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.*

—Il 5, 339

There is no thick glutinous *αἶμα* (conf. our *seum*, ON *seimr*, *slime*), nor according to the Indians do they sweat, and this *ἀναίμων* (bloodless) agrees with the above explanation of *ἄβροτος*. The

<sup>1</sup> *Atque omnes pariter deos perdet mors aliqua et chaos*. Seneca in Herc. 1014

<sup>2</sup> Cleopatra had costly pearls melted in her wine, and it is said to be still a custom with Indian princes, conf. Sueton. Calig. 37.

adjectives ἄβροτος, ἄμβροτος, ἄμβρόσιος, νεκτάρεος are passed on from the food to other divine things<sup>1</sup> (see Suppl.) Plainly then the gods were not immortal by their nature, they only acquired and secured this quality by abstaining from the food and drink of men, and feasting on heavenly fare. And hence the idea of death is not always nor as a matter of course kept at a distance from them, Kronos used to kill his new born children, no doubt before nectar and ambrosia had been given them,<sup>2</sup> and Zeus alone could be saved from him by being brought up secretly. Another way in which the mortality of certain gods is expressed is, that they fall a prey to Hades, whose meaning borders on that of death, *eg*, Persephone.

If a belief in the eternity of the gods is the dominant one among the Greeks, and only scattered hints are introduced of their final overthrow, with our ancestors on the contrary, the thought of the gods being immortal seems to retire into the background. The Edda never calls them *eylifr* or *ôdauðligr*, and their death is spoken of without disguise. Þá er regin *deyja*, Sæm 37<sup>a</sup>, or more frequently regin *rufaz* (solvuntur), 36<sup>b</sup> 40<sup>a</sup> 108<sup>b</sup>. One of the finest and oldest myths describes the death of Balder, the burning of his body, and his entrance into the lower world, like that of Proserpine, Óðin's destined *fall* is mentioned in the Voluspá 9<sup>a</sup>, Óðins *banr* (bane), Sn 73, where also Thôrr falls *dead* on the ground, Hrûngnir, a giant, threatens to slay all the gods (*drepa guð oll*), Sn 107. Yet at the same time we can point to clear traces of that prolongation of life by particular kinds of food and drink. While the einherjar admitted into Valholl feast on the boiled flesh of a boar, we are nowhere told of the Ases sharing in such diet (Sæm 36 42. Sn 42); it is even said expressly, that Óðinn *needs no food* (*onga vist þarf hann*), and *only drinks wine* (*vín er honum bæði dryckr ok matr*, both meat and drink), with the viands set before him he feeds his two wolves Geri and Freki. Við vín eitt vâpngofugr Óðinn æ lifir (*vino solo armipotens semper vivit*), Sæm 42<sup>b</sup>, æ lifir can be rendered 'semper vescitur,

<sup>1</sup> Both nectar and ambrosia, like the holy grail of the Mid Ages, have miraculous powers poured into the nose of a corpse, they prevent decay, Il 19, 38, they ward off hunger, Il 19, 347 353.

<sup>2</sup> As human infants may only be exposed before milk and honey have moistened their lips, conf RA pp 458-9. When Zeus first receives in the assembly of the gods the son whom Leto bore him, he hands him nectar in a golden bowl by this act he recognised him for his child.

nutritur; or 'immortalitatem nanciscitur,' and then the cause of his immortality would be found in his partaking of the wine. Evidently this wine of the Norse gods is to the beer and ale (olr) of men, what the nectar of the Greek gods was to the wine of mortals. Other passages are not so particular about their language,<sup>1</sup> in Sæm. 59 the gods at Oegri's hall have ale set before them, conf ol giora, 68<sup>b</sup>, Heimdall gladly drinks the good mead, 41<sup>b</sup>, verðar nema oc sumbl (cibum capere et symposium) 52, leaves the exact nature of the food undefined, but earthly fare is often ascribed to the gods in so many words<sup>2</sup>. But may not the costly *Oðhræris dreekr*, compounded of the divine Qvâsir's blood and honey, be likened to amrita and ambrosia?<sup>3</sup> Dwarfs and giants get hold of it first, as amrita fell into the hands of the giants, at last the gods take possession of both. Oðhræris dreekr confers the gift of poesy, and by that very fact immortality. Oðinn and Saga, goddess of poetic art, have surely drunk it out of golden goblets, gladly and evermore (um alla daga, Sæm 41<sup>a</sup>). We must also take into account the creation of the wise Qvâsin (conf Slav kvas, convivium, potus), that at the making of a covenant between the Aesir and Vanir, he was formed out of their spittle (hraki), the refining of his blood into a drink for gods seems a very ancient and far-reaching myth. But beside this drink, we have also notices of a special food for gods. Iðunn has in her keeping certain *apples*, by eating of which the aging gods make themselves *young again* (er goðin skulo âbita, þâ er þau eldaz, oc verða þâ allir ungr, Sn 30<sup>a</sup>). This reminds one of the apples of Paradise and the Hesperides, of the guarded golden apples in the Kindermarchen no 57, of the apples in the stories of Fortunatus and of Meilin, on the eating or biting of which depend life, death and metamorphosis, as elsewhere on a draught of holy water. According to the Eddic view, the gods have a means, it is true, of preserving perpetual freshness and youth,

<sup>1</sup> As Homer too makes Ganymede *οἰνοχοεύειν*, Il 20, 234, and of Hebe it is even said, *νεκταρ ἐμνοχόει* 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus goes to banquet (*κατὰ δαίρα*) with the Ethiopians, Il 1, 423, *ὄραν πρὸς δαίρα καὶ ἐπὶ θοῖνῃ ἴωσι*, Plato's Phædr 247, as Thorr does with the Norwegians, even when disguised as a bride, he does not refuse the giants' dishes, Sæm 73<sup>b</sup>, and the Ases boiled an ox on their journey, Sn 80.

<sup>3</sup> In Sanskrit, *sudha* nectar is distinguished from *amrita* ambrosia. Everywhere there is an eagle in the business. Garuda is called *sudhahara*, or *amritaharana*, nectar-thief or ambrosia-thief (Pott, *forsch* 2, 451), it is in the shape of an eagle that Oðinn carries off Oðhrærir, and Zeus his cupbearer Ganymede (see ch XXXV and XXX, Path-crossing and Poetry).

but, for all that, they are regarded as subject to the encroachments of age, so that there are always some *young* and some *old* gods, in particular, Odinn or Wuotan is pictured everywhere as an old greybeard (conf the old god, p 21), Thôrr as in the full strength of manhood, Balder as a blooming youth. The gods grow *hárr* ok *gaml* (hoar and old), Sn 81. Fieyr has 'at tannfé' (tooth-fee) presented him at his teething, he is therefore imagined as *growing up*. In like manner Uranos and Kronos appear as old, Zeus (like our Donar) and Poseidon as middle aged, Apollo, Hermes and Ares as in the bloom of youth. Growth and age, the increase and decline of a power, exclude the notion of a strictly eternal, immutable, immortal being, and mortality, the termination, however long delayed, of gods with such attributes, is a necessity (see Suppl.)

Epithets expressing the power, the omnipotence, of the reigning gods have been specified, pp 21-2. A term peculiar to ON poetry is *ginnregin*, Sæm 28<sup>a</sup> 50<sup>a</sup> 51<sup>a</sup> 52<sup>b</sup>, *ginnheillog* goð 1<sup>a</sup>, it is of the same root as *gína*, OHG *kīnan*, *hiare*, and denotes numina ampla, late dominantia, conf AS *ginne grund*, Beow 3101. Jud 131, 2 *ginne rice*, Cædm 15, 8 *ginfæst*, firmissimus 176, 29 *ginfæsten* god, *teirae dominus* 211, 10 *gâiseiges gin*, oceanus amplitudo 205, 3.

The Homeric *ῥεία* (= *ῥαδίως*, Goth *rapizô*) beautifully expresses the power of the gods, whatever they do or undertake comes easy to them, their life glides along free from toil, while mortal men labour and are heavy laden. *θεοὶ ῥεία ζῶοντες*, Il 6, 138. Od 4, 805 5, 122. When Aphrodite wishes to remove her favourite Alexander from the perils of battle, *τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη ῥεία μάλ'*, ὥσπερ *θεός*, Il 3, 381, the same words are applied to Apollo, when he snatches Hector away from Achilles 20, 443. The wall so laboriously built by the Greeks he overturns *ῥεία μάλα*, as a boy at play would a sand-heap 15, 362. With a mere breath (*πνοιῇ*), blowing a little (*ἦκα μάλα ψύξασα*), Athene turns away from Achilles the spear that Hector had thrown 20, 440 (see Suppl.) Berhta also blows (p 276), and the elves breathe (ch XVII), on people.

The sons of men grow up slowly and gradually, gods attain their full size and strength *directly after birth*. No sooner had



Themis presented nectar and ambrosia (ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν) to the newborn Apollo, than he leapt, κατέβρωσ ἄμβροτον, out of his swathings, sat down among the goddesses, began to speak, and, unshorn as he was, to roam through the country (Hymn in Ap Del 123—133) Not unlike Vali, whom Rindr bore to Óðinn, when only *one night old* (ennættr), unwashen and unkempt, he sallies forth to avenge Baldr's death on Hoðr, Sæm 6<sup>b</sup> 95<sup>b</sup> Here the coincidence of ἀκερσεκόμης with the Edda's 'ne hofuð kembr' is not to be disregarded Hermes, born at early morn, plays the lute at mid-day, and at eve drives oxen away (Hymn in Merc 17 seq) And Zeus, who is often exhibited as a child among the Kuretes, grew up *rapidly* (καρπαλίμως μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα ἤϋξετο τοῖο ἀνακτος), and in his first years had strength enough to enter the lists with Kionos (Hes theog 492) The Norse mythology offers another example in Magni, Thôr's son by the giantess Iarnsaxa when three nights old (þrínættr), he flung the giant Hlûngni's enormous foot, under whose weight Thôir lay on the ground, off his father, and said he would have beaten the said giant dead with his fist, Sn 110 (see Suppl)

The *shape* of the gods is like the human (p 105), only vaster, often exceeding even the gigantic When Ares is felled to the ground by the stone which Athene flings, his body covers seven roods of land (ἐπτὰ δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα πεσών, Il 21, 407), a size that with a slight addition the Od 11, 577 puts upon the titan Tityos When Here takes a solemn oath, she grasps the earth with one hand and the sea with the other (Il 14, 272) A cry that breaks from Poseidon's breast sounds like that of nine or even ten thousand warriors in battle (14, 147), and the same is said of Ares when he roars (5, 859), Here contents herself with the voice of Stentor, which only equals those of fifty men (5, 786) By the side of this we may put some features in the Edda, which have to do with Thôir especially he devours at a wedding one ox and eight salmon, and drinks three casks of mead, Sæm. 73<sup>b</sup>, another time, through a horn, the end of which reaches to the sea, he drinks a good portion of this, he lifts the snake that encircles the whole world off one of its feet, and with his hammer he strikes three deep valleys in the rocky mountain, Sn 59, 60. Again, Teutonic mythology agrees with the Greek in never imputing to its gods the deformity of *many heads, arms or legs*; they are only bestowed

on a few heroes and animals, as some of the Greek giants are *ἐκατόγχειρες*. Such forms are quite common in the Hindu and Slav systems. Vishnu is represented with four arms, Brahma with four heads, Svantovit the same, while Porevit has five heads and Rugevit seven faces. Yet Hecate too is said to have been three-headed, as the Roman Janus was two-faced, and a Lacedæmonian Apollo four-armed<sup>1</sup>. Khuvera, the Indian god of wealth, is a hideous figure with three legs and eight teeth. Some of the Norse gods, on the contrary, have not a superfluity, but a deficiency of members. Óðinn is one-eyed, Týr one-handed, Hóðr blind, and Logi or Loki was perhaps portrayed as lame or limping, like Hephæstus and the devil. Hel alone has a dreadful shape, black and white, the rest of the gods and goddesses, not excepting Loki, are to be imagined as of beautiful and noble figure (see Suppl.)

In the Homeric epos this ideally perfect human shape, to which Greek art also keeps true, is described in standing epithets for gods and especially goddesses, with which our ruder poetry has only a few to set in comparison, and yet the similarity of these is significant. Some epithets have to serve two or three divinities by turns, but most are confined to individuals, as characteristic of them. Thus Here is *λευκώλενος* or *βοώπις* (the former used also of Helen, II 3, 121,<sup>2</sup> the latter of a Nereid 18, 40), Athene *γλαυκώπις* or *ἡύκομος* (which again does for Here), Thetis *ἀργυρόπεζα*, Iris *ἀελλόπος*, *ποδήνεμος*, *χρυσόπτερος*, Eos *ρόδοδάκτυλος*, Demeter (Ceres) *ξανθή* 5, 500, and *καλλιπλόκαμος* 14, 326, just as Sif is *hârfogr* (p. 309), in allusion to the yellow colour of the waving corn. As the sea rolls its dark waves, Poseidon bears the name *κυανοχαίτης*, II 14, 390 15, 174 20, 144. Zeus could either be called the same, or *κυανόφρυς* (a contrast to Baldr *brâhvittr*, biow-white p. 222), because to him belong *ἀμβρόσια χαίται* II 1, 528, the hair and locks of Wish (p. 142), and because with his dark brows he makes signs. This confirmatory lowering of the brows or nodding with the head (*νέειν*, *κατανέειν* *κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι* II 1, 527. 17, 209) is the regular expression of Zeus's will *κεφαλῇ κατανέεσθαι*, *ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον τέκμων*, II 1, 524. In refusing, he draws the head back (*ἀνανεύει*). Thôr's indignant rage is shown by sinking the eyebrows over the eyes (*síga brýnnar ofan fyrir*

<sup>1</sup> O Muller's archæol. p. 515

<sup>2</sup> And Aphrodite throws her *πήχες* *λευκῶ* round Æneas —TRANS.

augun, Sn 50), displaying gloomy brows and shaking the beard. Obviously the two gods, Zeus and Donar, have identical gestures ascribed to them for expressing favour or anger. They are the glowering deities, who have the avenging thunder at their command, this was shown of Donar, p. 177, and to Zeus is given the grim lowering look (*δεινὰ δ' ὑπὸ δ'ρα ἰδών*, Il 15, 13), he above all is the μέγ' ὀχθήσας (1, 517 4, 30), and next to him Poseidon of the dingy locks (8, 208 15, 184). Zeus again is distinguished by beaming eyes (*τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῶ* 13, 3 7 14, 236 16, 645), which belong to none else save his own great-hearted daughter 21, 415, Aphrodite has *ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα*, 3, 397, twinkling, shimmering eyes (see Suppl.)

Figures of Greek divinities show a *circle of rays* and a *nimbus* round the head,<sup>1</sup> on Indo-Grecian coins Mithras has commonly a circular nimbus with pointed rays,<sup>2</sup> in other representations the rays are wanting. Mao (deus Lunus) has a halfmoon behind his shoulders, Aesculapius too had rays about his head. In what century was the halo, the *aureole*, first put round the heads of christian saints? And we have also to take into account the crowns and diadems of kings. Ammian Marc 16, 12 mentions Chnodomarius, *cujus verticis flammeus torulus aptabatur*. N Cap 63 translates the *honorati capitis radios* of the Sol auratus by *houbetskimo* (head-sheen), and to portray the sun's head surrounded with flames is extremely natural. In ON I find the term *róða* for *caput radiatum sancti*, which I suppose to be the OHG *ruota* rod, since *virga* also goes off into the sense of flagellum, radius, ON *geisli*. A likening of the gods to radiant luminaries of heaven would at once suggest such a nimbus, and blond locks do shine like rays. It is in connexion with the setting sun that Tac Germ 45 brings in *formas deorum* and *radios capitis*. Around Thór's head was put, latterly at all events, a ring of stars (Stephani not ad Saxon. Gram p. 139). According to a story told in the *Galen restoré*, a beam came out of Charles the Great's mouth and illumined his head.<sup>3</sup> What seems more to the purpose, among the *Pilwitz* figures, certain Slavic idols, especially Perun, Podaga and Nemis, have rays about their

<sup>1</sup> O. Muller's *archæol.* p. 481

<sup>2</sup> Gotting anz 1838, 229

<sup>3</sup> This beam from Charles's mouth is like the one that shines into his beloved's mouth and lights up the gold inside (see ch. XVI, Menni)

heads, and a head in Hagenow, fig 6, 12 is encircled with rays, so is even the rune R when it stands for Radegast Did rays originally express the highest conception of divine and lustrous beauty? There is nothing in the Homeric epos at all pointing that way (see Suppl)

It is a part of that insouciance and light blood of the gods, that they are *merry*, and *laugh* Hence they are called *blíð regin* (p 26), as we find 'froh' in the sense of gracious applied to gods and kings,<sup>1</sup> and the spark of joy is conveyed from gods to men Fráuja, lord, is next of kin to *froh* glad (p 210) It is said of the Ases, *teitir vâro*, Sæm 2<sup>a</sup>, and of Heimdall, *dreckr glaðr hinn gôða mioð* 41<sup>b</sup> And 'in *sváso* guð' 33<sup>a</sup> contains a similar notion In this light the passages quoted (pp 17-8) on the *blithe* and *cheerful* God gather a new importance it is the old heathen notion still lurking in poetry When Zeus in divine repose sits on Olympus and looks down on men, he is moved to mirth (*όρώων φρένα τέρψομαι*, Il 20, 23), then laughs the blessed heart of him (*έγέλασσε δέ οί φίλον ήτορ*, 21, 389), which is exactly the Eddic 'hlô honum hugr í briosti, hlô Hlôrríða hugr í briosti,' laughed the mind in his breast a fresh confirmation of the essential oneness of Zeus and Thôrr But it is also said of heroes 'hlô þâ Atla hugr í briosti,' Sæm 238<sup>b</sup> 'hlô þâ Brynhildr af ollum hug,' with all her heart 220<sup>a</sup> OS 'hugi ward frômôð,' Hel 109, 7 AS 'môð áhlôð,' Andr 454 Later, in the Rudlieb 2, 174 203 3, 17 the king in his speech is said *subridere*, in the Nibel 423, 2 of Brunhild 'mit *smielinden munde* si uber ahsel sah,' looked over her shoulder Often in the song of the Cid '*sonrisose de la boca*,' and '*alegre eia*'<sup>2</sup> *Θυμός iάνθη*, Il 23, 600, conf *θυμόν iαινον*, Hymn in Cer 435 Half in displeasure Here laughs with her lips, not her brows *έγέλασσε χείλεσιν, οὐδὲ μέτωπον έπ' όφρύσι κυανέησιν iάνθη*, Il 15, 102, but Zeus feels joy in sending out his lightnings, he is called *τερπικέραυνος* 2, 781 8, 2 773 20, 144 So Artemis (Diana) is *ιοχέαιρα*, rejoicing in arrows, 6, 428 21, 480 Od 11, 198 At the limping of Hephæstus, the assembly of gods bursts into *ἄσβεστος γέλως*, uncontrolled laughter, Il. 1, 599, but a gentle smile (*μειδᾶν*) is peculiar to Zeus, Here and Aphrodite As

<sup>1</sup> Andreas and Elene p xxxvii

<sup>2</sup> Helbl 7, 518 *du wârheit des erlachet*, truth laughs at that

Aphrodite's beauty is expressed by *φιλομυειδής*, smile-loving (II 4, 10 5, 375), so is Freyja's on the contrary by 'gråtfogr,' fair in weeping (see Suppl.)

We have to consider next the manner in which the gods put themselves in motion and become visible to the eyes of mortals. We find they have a *gait* and *step* like the human, only far mightier and swifter. The usual expressions are *βῆ*, *βῆ ἔμειν*, *βῆ ἰέναι*, II 1, 44 2, 14 14, 188 24, 347, *βεβήκει* 1, 221, *ἔβη* 14, 224, *βάτην* 5, 778, *βήτην* 14, 281, *ποσὶ προβιβάς* 13, 18, *προσεβήσεται* 2, 48 14, 292, *κατεβήσεται* 13, 17, *ἀπεβήσεται* 2, 35, and in the Edda *gengr*, Sæm 9<sup>a</sup>, gæk 100<sup>a</sup>, gêngo 70<sup>a</sup> 71<sup>b</sup>, gengêngo 1<sup>a</sup> 5<sup>a</sup>, or else *fór* 31<sup>a</sup> 31<sup>b</sup> 53<sup>a</sup> 75<sup>a</sup>, thus *fara* meaning no more than *ire*, proficisci, and Oðinn was even called Gângleri, Sæm 32 Sn 24, *ve*, the walker, traveller, the AS poets use *gewát* (evasit, abuit) on *síððde* of God returning to heaven, Andr 118 225 977 El 94-5. But how enormously the walk of the gods differs from the common, we see in the instance of Poseidon, who goes an immense distance in three steps, II 13, 20, or that of the Indian Vishnu, who in three paces traverses earth, air and sky. From such swiftness there follows next the *sudden appearance* and *disappearance* of the gods, for which our older speech seems to have used Goth *hvaírban*, OHG *huerban*, AS *hweorfan* (verti, ferri, rotari). 'hwearf him tō heofenum hālig dryhten' says Cædm 16, 8, and 'Oðinn hvarf þá,' vanished, Sæm 47. Homer employs, to express the same thing, either the verb *άίσσω* (impetu feror), or the adverbs *καρπαλίμως* (as if *ἀρπαλίμως* raptim) and *κραιπνῶς* raptim. Thus Athene or Here comes *άίλασα*, Od 1, 102 II 2, 167 4, 74 19, 114 22, 187, Thetis, the dream, Athene, Here, all appear *καρπαλίμως*, II 1, 359 2, 17. 168 5, 868 19, 115 Od 2, 406, Poseidon and Here *κραιπνῆ*, *κραιπνῶς*, II 13, 18. 14 292, even Zeus, when he rises from his throne to look on the earth, *στῆ ἀναίξας* 15, 6. So Holda and Berhta *suddenly* stand at the window (p 274). Much in the same way I understand the expression used in Sæm 53<sup>a</sup> of Thôir and Týr fóro *drugom* (ipant tractim, iaptim, *έλκηδόν*), for *drugr* is from *druga*, Goth. *drugan* trahere, whence also Goth *draúhts*, OHG *truht* turba, agmen, ON *draugr* larva, phantasma, OHG *gitroc* fallacia, because a spectre appears and vanishes quickly in the air. At the same time it means the rush and din

that betoken the god's approach, the wōma and ômi âbove, from which Oðinn took a name (p 144-5) The rapid movement of descending gods is sometimes likened to a shooting star, or the flight of birds, Il 4, 75 15, 93 237, hence they often take even the form of some bird, as Tharapila the Osilian god flew (p 77) Athene flies away in the shape of a ἄρπη (falcon?), Il 19, 350, an ὄρνις bird, Od 1, 320, or a φήνη osprey, 3, 372, as a swallow she perches (ἔζετ' ἀναλῆσασα) on the house's μέλαθρον 22, 239 The exchange of the human form for that of a bird, when the gods are departing and no longer need to conceal their wondrous being, tallies exactly with Oðin's taking his flight as a falcon, after he had in the shape of Gestr conversed and quarrelled with Heiðreckr víðbrast í vals líki, Fornald sog 1, 487, but it is also retained in many stories of the devil, who assumes at departure the body of a raven or a fly (exit tanquam corvus, egressus est in muscae similitudine) At other times, and this is the prettier touch of the two, the gods allow the man to whom they have appeared as his equals, suddenly as they are going, to become aware of their divine proportions heel, calf, neck or shoulder betrays the god When Poseidon leaves the two Ajaxes, one of them says, Il 13, 71

ἵχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἠδὲ κνημῶν  
 ῥεῖ' ἔγνων ἀπ' ἰόντος ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοί περ.

So, when Venus leaves Aeneas, Virg 1, 402

Dixit, et avertens rosea cervice iefulsit  
 et vera incessu patuit dea Ille ubi matiem  
 agnovit, tali fugientem est voce secutus

So, Il 3, 396, Alexander recognises the

θεᾷς περικαλλέα δειρήν,  
 στήθεά θ' ἰμερόεντα καὶ ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα.

And in ON legend, Hallbiorn on awaking sees the shoulder of a figure in his dream before it vanishes þykist siâ â herðar honum, Fornald sog 3, 103, as is likewise said in Olaf the saint's saga cap. 199 ed Holm, while the Fornm sog 5, 38 has it siâ svip mannsins er â brutt gekk, conf os humerosque deo similis, Aen 1, 589 This also lingers in our devil-stories at the Evil one's departure his cloven hoof suddenly becomes visible, the ἵχνια of the ancient god

As the incessus of Venus declared the goddess, the motion (ἵθμα) of Here and Athene is likened to that of timorous doves, Il 5, 778

But the gliding of the gods over such immense distances must have seemed from first to last like flying, especially as their departure was expressly prepared for by the assumption of a bird's form. It is therefore easy to comprehend why two several deities, Hermes and Athene, are provided with peculiar *sandals* (πέδιλα), whose motive power conveys them over sea and land with the speed of wind, Il. 24, 341. Od. 1, 97. 5, 45, we are expressly told that Hermes *flew* with them (πέτετο, Il. 24, 345. Od. 5, 49), plastic art represents them as winged shoes, and at a later time adds a pair of wings to the head of Hermes<sup>1</sup>. These winged sandals then have a perfect right to be placed side by side with the *feather-shift* (fiaðihamr) which Freyja possessed, and which at Thór's request she lent to Loki for his flight to Iotunheim, Sæm 70<sup>a,b</sup>, but as Freyja is more than once confounded with Frigg (p. 302), other legends tell us that Loki flew off in the 'valsham Friggjar,' Sn. 113. I shall come back to these falcon or swan coats in another connexion, but their resemblance to the Greek pedila is unmistakable, as Loki is here sent as a messenger from the gods to the giants, he is so far one with Hermes, and Freyja's feather-shift suggests the sandals of Athene. Sn. 132-7 'Loki átti skúa, er hann rann á lept ok lög,' had shoes in which he ran through air and fire. It was an easy matter, in a myth, for the investiture with winged hamr or sandals to glide insensibly into an actual assumption of a bird's form. Gerroðr catches the flying Loki as a veritable bird, Sn. 113, and when Athene starts to fly, she is a swallow (see Suppl.)

The mighty gods would doubtless have moved whithersoever it pleased them, without wings or sandals, but simple antiquity was not content with even these: the human race used *carriages* and *horses*, and the gods cannot do without them either. On this point a sensible difference is to be found between the Greek and German mythologies.

All the higher divinities of the Greeks have a *chariot* and *parr* ascribed to them, as their kings and heroes in battle also fight in chariots. An ὄχημα for the god of thunder would at once be suggested by the natural phenomenon itself, and the conception of the sun-chariot driven by Helios must also be very ancient. The

<sup>1</sup> O. Muller's *archæol.* 559.

car of Here, and how she harnesses her steeds to it, mounts it in company with Athene, and guides it, is gorgeously depicted in II 5, 720-76, so likewise Demeter and Kora appear seated in a carriage. Hermes is drawn by rams,<sup>1</sup> as the Norse Thôrr [by he-goats]. The Okeanides too have their vehicle, Aesch. Prom. 135. But never are Zeus, Apollo, Hermes or any of the most ancient gods imagined riding *on horseback*, it is Dionysos, belonging to a different order of deities, that first rides a panther, as Silenus does the ass, and godlike heroes such as Perseus, Theseus, and above all, the Dioscuri are mounted on horses. Okeanos bestrides a winged steed, Prom. 395. It seems worth remarking, that modern Greek legend represents even Charon as mounted.

In Teutonic mythology the *riding* of gods is a far commoner thing. In the Merseburg poem both Wuotan and Phol ride in the forest, which is not at all inconsistent with the word used, 'faran', for it is neither conceivable that Wuotan drove while Balder rode, nor that Balder drove a one-horse carriage. Even Hartmann von Aue still imagines God riding a horse, and contented with Enit for his groom (p. 18). Among those that ride in the Edda are Oðinn (who saddles his Sleipnir for himself, Sæm 93<sup>a</sup>), Baldr and Hermôðr, in Sæm 44<sup>a</sup> and Sn. 18 are given the names of ten other horses as well, on which the Ases daily ride to council, one of them being Heimdall's Gulltoppr, Sn. 30. 66, the owners of the rest are not specified, but, as there were twelve Ases and only eleven horses are named, it follows that each of those gods had his mount, except Thôrr, who is invariably introduced either driving or walking (p. 167), and when he gets Gullfaxi as spoil from Hrûngnir, gives him away to his son Magni, Sn. 110. Oðin's horse leaps a hedge seven ells high, Fornm. sog. 10, 56. 175. Even the women of the gods are mounted: the valkyrs, like Oðinn, ride through air and water, Sn. 107, Freyja and Hyndla on a boar and a wolf, as enchantresses and witches are imagined riding a wolf, a he-goat or a cat. Night (fem.) had a steed Hrímfaxi, rimy-mane, as Day (masc.) had Skínfaxi, shiny-mane.

At the same time *carriages* are mentioned too, especially for goddesses (p. 107). The sacred car of Nerthus was drawn by cows, that of Freyja by cats, Holda and Berhta are commonly found driving waggons which they get mended, the fairies in our nursery-

<sup>1</sup> O. Muller's *archæol.* 563



tales travel through the air in coaches, and Brynhildr drives in her waggon to the nether world, Sæm 227 The image of a Gothic deity in a waggon was alluded to on p 107, among the gods, Freyr is expressly described as mounted on his car, while Thôrr has a waggon drawn by he-goats on Wôden's waggon, conf p 151 (see Suppl)

When we consider, that waggons were proper to the oldest kings also, especially the Frankish kings, and that their riding on horseback is nowhere mentioned, it seems probable that originally a similar equipage was alone deemed suitable to the gods, and their riding crept in only gradually in the coarser representations of later times From heroes it was transferred to gods, though this must have been done pretty early too, as we may venture to allow a considerable antiquity to the story of Sleipnir and that of Balder's horse or foal The Slavs also generally furnished their god Svantovit with a horse to ride on

Some few divinities made use of a *ship*, as may be seen by the stories of Athene's ship and that of Isis, and Frey's Skíðblaðnir, the best of all ships, Sæm 45<sup>b</sup>

But whichever way the gods might move, on earth, through air or in water, their walk and tread, their riding and driving is represented as so *vehement*, that it produces a loud noise, and the din of the elements is explained by it The driving of Zeus or Thôrr awakens thunder in the clouds, mountains and forests tremble beneath Poseidon's tread, II 13, 18, when Apollo lets himself down from the heights of Olympus, arrows and bow clatter (*ἐκλαγξαν*) on his shoulder I, 44, *δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένηται ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο*, dreadful was the twang of his silver bow I, 49 In the lays of the Edda this *stirring up of nature* is described in exactly the same way, while the AS. and OHG writings, owing to the earlier extinction of heathen notions, have preserved no traces of it 'framm reið Oðinn, foldvegr dundi,' forth rode O, earth's way thundered, Sæm 94<sup>a</sup>, 'biorg brotnoðo, brann iorð loga, ôk Oðins sonr í Iotunheima,' mountains crumbled, earth blazed, when rode, &c 73<sup>a</sup>, 'flô Loki, flaðrhamr dundi,' the wing-coat whirred, 70<sup>a</sup> 71<sup>a</sup>, 'iorð bifaz (quaked), enn allir for sciálfa garðar Gymis' when Skírnir came riding 83<sup>a</sup> The rage and writhing of gods who were bound produced equally tremendous effects (p 246)

On the other hand, delightful and salutary *products of nature* are also traced to the immediate influence of the gods. Flowers spring up where their feet have strayed, on the spot where Zeus clasped Here in his arms, shot up a thick growth of sweet herbs and flowers, and glittering dewdrops trickled down, Il. 14, 346—51. So, when the valkyrs rode through the air, their horses' manes shook fruitful dew on the deep vales below, Sæm 145<sup>b</sup>, or it falls nightly from the bit of Hrímfaxi's bidle 32<sup>b</sup> (see Suppl.)

Of one thing there is scarcely a trace in our mythology, though it occurs so often in the Greek that the gods, to screen themselves from sight, *shed a mist* round themselves or their favourites who are to be withdrawn from the enemy's eye, Il 3, 381 5, 776 18, 205 21, 549 597. It is called *ἥερι καλύπτειν, ἥερα χεῖν, ἀχλὺν* or *νέφος στέφειν*, and the contrary *ἀχλὺν σκεδάζειν* to scatter, chase away, the mist. We might indeed take this into account, that the same valkyrs who, like the Servian víly, favour and shield their beloved heroes in battle, were able to produce clouds and hail in the air, or throw into the reckoning our tarnkappes and helidhelms, whose effect was the same as that of the mist. And the Norse gods do take part with or against certain heroes, as much as the Greek gods before Ilion. In the battle of Biâvik, Oðinn mingled with the combatants, and assumed the figure of a charioteer Brûni, Saxo Gram, p 146 Fornald sog 1, 380. The Grímnismál makes Geirroðr the protégé (*fostri*) of Oðinn, Agnarr that of Frigg, and the two deities take counsel together concerning them, Sæm 39, in the Vols saga cap 42, Oðinn suggests the plan for slaying the sons of Ionakr. The Greek gods also, when they drew nigh to counsel or defend, appeared in the form of a human warrior, a herald, an old man, or they made themselves known to their hero himself, but not to others. In such a case they *stand before, beside or behind* him (*παρά*, Il 2, 279 *ἐγγύθι*, Od 1, 120 *ἀγχού*, Il 2, 172 3, 129 4, 92 5, 123 *πρόσθεν* 4, 129 *ὀπιθεν* 1, 197), Athene leads by the hand through the battle, and wards the arrows off 4, 52, she throws the dreadful ægis round Achilles 18, 204, Aphrodite shields Aeneas by holding her veil before him 5, 315, and other heroes are removed from the midst of the fray by protecting deities (p 320). Venus makes herself visible to Hippomenes alone, Ovid Met. 10, 650. Now they appear in friendly guise, Od 7, 201

seq, now clothed in terror χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, II 20, 131 (see Suppl.).

The Iliad, 14, 286 seq., relates how Ὕπνος (sleep), sitting in the shape of a song-bird on the boughs of a fir-tree on Mt Ida, overpowers the highest of all the gods, other passages show that the gods went to their beds every night, and partook like men of the benefit of sleep, II 1, 609 2, 2 24, 677 Still less can it be doubted of the Norse gods, that they too slept at night Thôrn on his journeys looks out for night-lodging, Sn 50, of Heimdall alone is it said, that he needs less sleep than a bird, Sn 30 And from this sway of *sleep* over the gods follows again, what was maintamed above, that of death Death is the brother of Sleep Besides, the gods fell a prey to *diseases* Freyr was sick with love, and his great hugsótt (mind-sickness) awakened the pity of all the gods Óðinn, Níoiðr and Freyr, according to the Yngl saga 10 11 12, all sink under sicknesses (sótt dauðir) Aphrodite and Ares receive wounds, II 5, 330 858, these are quickly healed [yet not without medical aid] A curious story tells how the Lord God, having fallen sick, descends from heaven to earth to get cured, and comes to Arras, there minstrels and merryandrews receive commands to amuse him, and one manages so cleverly, that the Lord *bursts out laughing* and finds himself rid of his distemper<sup>1</sup> This may be very ancient, for in the same way, sick daughters of kings in nurserytales are *made to laugh* by beggars and fiddlers, and so is the goddess Skaði in the Edda by Loki's juggling tricks, when mourning the death of her father, Sn 82 Iambe cheered the sorrowing Demeter, and caused her, πολλὰ παρασκόπτουσα, μειδῆσαι γελᾶσαι τε, καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν, Hymn in Cer 203 (see Suppl.)

Important above all are the similar accounts, given by Greek antiquity and by our own, of the *language* of the gods Thus, passages in the Iliad and the Odyssey distinguish between the divine and human names for the same object

δὲν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες  
Αἰγαιών'. II 1, 403  
τὴν ἥτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,

<sup>1</sup> De la venue de Dieu à Arras, in Jubinal's Nouveau recueil de contes 2, 377-8

ἀθίνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης. 2, 813<sup>9</sup>  
χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν. 14, 291  
δὺν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. 20, 74<sup>1</sup>  
μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί. Od 10, 305

A whole song in the Edda is taken up with comparing the languages, not only of gods and men, but of Vanir, elves, dwarfs, giants and subterraneans, and that not in a few proper names and rare words, but in a whole string of names for the commonest objects. At the very outset it surprises us, that while *goð* and *æsir* are treated as synonymous, a distinction is drawn between *goð* and *ginregin*. In 13 strophes are given 78 terms in all. On examining these, it soon appears that the variety of names (six) for each thing simply comes of the richness of the Teutonic tongue, and cannot possibly be ascribed to old remnants or later borrowings from any Finnic, Celtic or Slavic languages. They are synonyms or poetic names, which are distributed among six or eight orders of beings endowed with speech, according to the exigencies of alliteration, not from their belonging to the same class, such as poetical or prose. I will illustrate this by quoting the strophe on the names for a cloud.

*scý* heitur með monnom, en *scórván* með goðom,  
kalla *vindflot* Vanir,  
*úrván* iotnar, álfar *veðrmegin*,  
kalla í heljo *hiálm* *huliz*

Everything here is Teutonic, and still the resources of our language are not exhausted by a long way, to say nothing of what it may have borrowed from others. The only simple word is *scý*, still used in the Scandinavian dialects, and connected with *skuggi* *umbra*, AS *scuwa*, *scua*, OHG *scuwo*. The rest are all appropriate and intelligible periphrases. *Scórván* [shower-weeping] *pluviae* expectatio, from *skûr* *imber*, Germ *schauer*, *úrván* just the same, from *ûr* *pluvia*, with which compare the literal meaning of Sanskr *abhra nubes*, viz *aquam gerens*<sup>2</sup>. *Vindflot* is apparently *navigium ventî*, because the winds sail through the air on clouds. *Veðrmegin* transposed is exactly the OHG *maganwetar turbo*, and *hiálmr*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we ought also to reckon *αἰετός* and *περκνός* 24, 316, which is no mere *ἐπικλήσις* as in 7, 138 18, 487 (Od 5, 273) 22, 29 506, though *Ἀστυνάξ* in this last passage happens to have *Σκαμάνδριος* (6, 402) answering to it, as *Ξάνθος* has *Σκάμανδρος*.

<sup>2</sup> Bopp, gloss sanskr 16<sup>a</sup> 209<sup>a</sup>

huliz appears elsewhere as hulizhâlmr, OS helith-helm, a tarn-helmet, grîma, mask, which wraps one in like a mist or cloud. Of course the Teutonic tongue could offer several other words to stand for cloud, beside those six, *eg*, nîf, OHG nebal, Lat nebula, Gr νεφέλη, Goth milhma, Swed moln, Dan mulm, Sansk mēgha, Gr δμίχλη, δμίχλη, Slav meġla, OHG wolchan, AS wolcen, which is to Slav oblako as mluk, milk, to Slav mleko, ON þoka nebula, Dan taage, MDut sweik nubes, OS gisuerc, caligo, nimbus, AS hoðma nubes, Beow 4911. And so it is with the other twelve objects whose names are discussed in the *Alvismâl*. Where simple words, like sôl and sunna, mâni and skín, or iord and fold, are named together, one might attempt to refer them to different dialects: the periphrases in themselves show no reason (unless mythology found one for them), why they should be assigned in particular to gods or men, giants or dwarfs. The whole poem brings before us an acceptable list of pretty synonyms, but throws no light on the primitive affinities of our language.

Plato in the *Cratylus* tries hard to understand that division of Greek words into divine and human. A duality of proper names, like Briareos and Aigaion, reminds us of the double forms Hlêr and Oegir (p. 240), Ymir and Oergelmir, which last Sn 6 attributes to the Hrímpurses, Iðunn would seem by Sæm 89<sup>a</sup> to be an Elvish word, but we do not hear of any other name for the goddess. In the same way Xanthus and Skamander, Batieia and Myrina might be the different names of a thing in different dialects. More interesting are the double names for two birds, the χαλκίς or κύμινδης (conf Plin 10, 10), and the αἰετός and περκνός. Χαλκίς is supposed to signify some bird of prey, a hawk or owl, which does not answer to the description ὄρνις λιγυρά (piping), and the myth requires a bird that in sweet and silvery tones sings one to sleep, like the nightingale. Περκνός means dark-coloured, which suits the eagle, to imagine it the bird of the thundergod Perkun, would be too daring. Poetic periphrases there are none among these Greek words.

The principal point seems to be, that the popular beliefs of Greeks and Teutons agree in tracing obscure words and those departing from common usage to a distinction between divine and human speech. The Greek scholasts suppose that the poet, holding converse with the Muses, is initiated into the language of

gods,<sup>1</sup> and where he finds a twofold nomenclature, he ascribes the older, nobler, more euphonious (τὸ κρεῖττον, εὐφωνον, προγενέστερον ὄνομα) to the gods, the later and meaner (τὸ ἥλαττον, μεταγενέστερον) to men. But the four or five instances in Homer are even less instructive than the more numerous ones of the Norse lay. Evidently the opinion was firmly held, that the gods, though of one and the same race with mortals, so far surpassed living men in age and dignity, that they still made use of words which had latterly died out or suffered change. As the line of a king's ancestors was traced up to a divine stock, so the language of gods was held to be of the same kind as that of men, but right feeling would assign to the former such words as had gradually disappeared among men. The *Alvismâl*, as we have seen, goes farther, and reserves particular words for yet other beings beside the gods, what I maintained on p. 218 about the impossibility of denying the *Vanir* a Teutonic origin, is confirmed by our present inquiry—That any other nation, beside Greeks and Teutons, believed in a separate language of gods, is unknown to me, and the agreement of these two is the more significant. When Ovid in *Met.* 11, 640 says *Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus nominat*, this is imitated from the Greeks, as the very names show (see Suppl.). The Indians trace nothing but their alphabet (*dêvanâgarî*, *dêva-writting*), as our forefathers did the mystery of runes (p. 149), to a divine origin, and the use of the symbol may be connected with that of the sound itself, with the earliest signs, why should not the purest and oldest expressions too be attributed to gods? Homer's ἔπεα πτερόεντα (winged words) belong to heroes and other men as well as to gods, else we might interpret them strictly of the ease and numbness with which the gods wield the gift of speech.

Beside language, the gods have *customs* in common with men. They love song and play, take delight in hunting, war and banquets, and the goddesses in ploughing, weaving, spinning, both of them keep *servants* and *messengers*. Zeus causes all the other gods to be summoned to the assembly (*ἀγορῇ*, *Il.* 8, 2. 20, 4), just as the *Ases*

<sup>1</sup> ὥς μουστροφῆς καὶ τὰς παρὰ θεοῖς ἐπίσταται λέξεις, οἶδε τὴν τῶν θεῶν δι᾿ ἑλέκτον, οἷδε τὰ τῶν θεῶν (ὀνόματα), ὥς ὑπὸ μουσῶν καταπνεύμενος θεῶν ὁ ποιητὴς δεῖξαι ὅτι μουσοληπτὸς ἔστιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνόματα ἐπαγγελλεται εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ λέγουσι.

attend at the þing (Sæm 93<sup>a</sup>), on the rokstôla, and by the Yggdrasill (Sæm 1<sup>b</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> 44<sup>a</sup>), to counsel and to judge Hebe, youth, is cupbearer of the gods and handmaid to Here (II 5, 722), as Fulla is to Figg (Sn 36), the youth Ganymede is cupbearer too, and so is Beyla at the feast of the Ases (Sæm 67<sup>a</sup>), Skirnir is Frey's shoemaker (81) and messenger, Beyggvir and Beyla are also called his servants (59) These services do no detriment to their own divine nature Beside Hermes, the goddess Iris goes on errands for the Greek gods (see Suppl.)

Among the gods themselves there is a difference of *rank* Three sons of Kronos have the world divided among them, the sky is allotted to Zeus, the sea to Poseidon, hell to Hades, and the earth they are supposed to share between them (II 15, 193) These three tower above all the rest, like Hâr, Iafnhâr and Thiuði in the Norse religion, the tiad spoken of on p 162 This is not the same thing as 'Wuotan, Donar, Ziu,' if only because the last two are not brothers but sons of Wuotan, although these pass for the three mightiest gods Then, together with this tiad, we become aware of a circle of twelve (p 26), a close circle from which some of the gods are excluded Another division, that into *old* and *new* gods, does not by any means coincide with this not only Oðinn and his Ases, but also Zeus and his colleagues, appear as upstarts<sup>1</sup> to have supplanted older gods of nature (see Suppl.)

All the divinities, Greek and Norse, have *offices* and *functions* assigned them, which define their dominion, and have had a marked influence on their pictorial representation In Sn 27—29 these offices are specified, each with the words 'hann læðr fyrir (he looks after),' or 'â hann skal heita til, er gott at heita til (to him you shall pray for, it is good to pray for)' Now, as any remnants of Greek or Teutonic paganism in the Mid Ages were sure to connect themselves with some christian saints, to whom the protection of certain classes or the healing of certain diseases was carried over, it is evident that a careful classification of these guardian saints according to the offices assigned them, on the strength of which they are good to pray to,<sup>2</sup> would be of advantage to our antiquities And the animals dedicated to each

<sup>1</sup> Aesch Prom 439 θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις, 955 νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε, 960 τοὺς νέους θεοὺς Eumen 156 748 799 οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί Conf Otr Muller, p 181

<sup>2</sup> Conf Haupt's zeitschr für d alt 1, 143-4

deified saint (as once they were to gods) would have to be specified too

The favourite *residence* of each god is particularly pointed out in the Grímnismál, mountains especially were consecrated to the Teutonic, as to the Greek deities Sigtýsberg, Himinbjörg, &c Olympus was peculiarly the house of Zeus (Διὸς δῶμα), to which the other gods assembled (II 1, 494), on the highest peak of the range he would sit apart (ἄτερ ἄλλων 1, 498 5, 753), loving to take counsel alone (ἀπάνευθε θεῶν 8, 10) He had another seat on Ida (11, 183 336), whence he looked down to survey the doings of men, as Oðinn did from Hliðscjálf Poseidon sat on a height in the wooded range of Samos (13, 12) Valhöll and Bilskirnir, the dwellings of Oðinn and Thórr, are renowned for their enormous size, the one is said to have 540 doors, through any one of which 800 einherjar can go out at once, and Bilskirnir has likewise 540 'golfe' [ON gölfr, floor] (see Suppl)

If now we take in one view the relations of *gods and men*, we find they meet and touch at all points As the created being is filled with a childlike sense of its dependence on the creator, and prayers and offerings implore his favour, so deity too delights in its creations, and takes in them a fatherly interest Man's longing goes forth towards heaven, the gods fix their gaze on the earth, to watch and direct the doings of mortals The blessed gods do commune with each other in their heavenly abodes, where feasts and revels go on as in earthly fashion, but they are more drawn to men, whose destinies enlist their liveliest sympathy It is not true, what Mart Cap says 2, 9 ipsi dicuntur dii, et caelites alias perhibentur nec admodum eos mortalium curarum vota sollicitant, ἀπαθείςque perhibentur Not content with making their will known by signs and messengers, they resolve to come down themselves and appear to men Such appearance is in the Hindu mythology marked by a special name *avatāra*, i.e., descensus<sup>1</sup>

Under this head come first the solemn *car-processions* of deities heralding peace and fruitfulness or war and mischief, which for the most part recur at stated seasons, and are associated with popular festivals, on the fall of heathenism, only motherly wise-women

<sup>1</sup> Bopp's gloss sansk 21<sup>a</sup>.



still go their rounds, and heroes ride through field or air. More rarely, and not at regular intervals, there take place *journeys* of gods through the world, singly or in twos or threes, to inspect the race of man, and punish the crimes they have noticed. Thus Mercury and Óðinn appeared on earth, or Heimdall to found the three orders, and Thórr visited at weddings, Óðinn, Hœnir and Loki travelled in company, medieval legend makes God the Father seek a lodging, or the Saviour and St Peter, or merely three angels (as the Servian song does, Vuk 4, no 3). Most frequent however are the *solitary appearances* of gods, who, invoked or uninvoked, suddenly bring succour to their favoured ones in every time of need, the Greek epos is quite full of this. Athene, Poseidon, Aies, Aphrodite mingle with the warriors, warning, advising, covering, and just as often do Mary and saints from heaven appear in christian legends. The Lithuanian Perkunos also walks on earth (see Suppl.)

But when they descend, they are *not* always *visible*, you may hear the car of the god rush by, and not get sight of him bodily, like ghosts the blessed gods flit past the human eye unnoticed, till the obstructive mist be removed from it. Athene seizes Achilles by the hair, only by him and no other is she seen, Il 1, 197, to make the succouring deities visible to Diomed, she has 'taken the mist from his eyes, that was on them before' 5, 127

ἀλλ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλκον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,  
ἄφρ' εὖ γινώσκεις ἡμῖν θεὸν ἥδ' ἀνδρα.

Just so Biarco, in Saxo Gram, p 37, is unable to spy Othin riding a white steed and aiding the Swedes, till he peeps through the ring formed by the arm of a spirit-seeing woman a medium that elsewhere makes the elfin race visible to the bleared eyes of man. In another way the gods, even when they showed themselves bodily, concealed their divine nature, by assuming the form of a *human* acquaintance, or of an *animal*. Poseidon stepped into the host, disguised as Kalchas, Il 13, 45, Hermes escorted Priam as a Myrmidon warrior 24, 397, and Athene the young Telemachus as Mentor. In the same way Othin appeared as the chariot-driver Bruno (p 330), or as a one-eyed old man. *Metamorphoses* of gods into *animals* in Teutonic mythology take place only for a definite momentary purpose, to which the character of the animal supplies the key, *eg*, Óðinn takes the shape of a snake, to slip through a

hole he has bored (Sn 86), and of an eagle, to fly away in haste (86), Loki that of a fly, in order to sting (131), or to creep through a keyhole (356), no larger designs are ever compassed by such means. So, when Athene flies away as a bird, it expresses the divinity of her nature and the suddenness of her departure. But the swan or bull, into which Zeus transformed himself, can only be explained on the supposition that Leda too, and Io and Europa, whom he was wooing, were thought of as swan-maidens or kine. The form of animal would then be determined by the mythus, and the egg-birth of the Dioscuri can be best understood in this way (see Suppl.)

In the Asiatic legends, it seems to me, the manifestations of deity are conceived deeply and purely in comparison, and nowhere more profoundly than in those of India. The god comes down and abides in the flesh for a season, for the salvation of mankind. Wherever the doctrine of metempsychosis prevailed, the bodies of animals even were eligible for the avatâra; and of Vishnu's ten successive incarnations, the earlier ones are animal, it was in the later ones that he truly 'became man' (see Suppl.). The Greek and Teutonic mythologies steer clear of all such notions, in both of them the story of the gods was too sensuously conceived to have invested their transformations with the seriousness and duration of an avatâra, although a belief in such incarnation is in itself so nearly akin to that of the heroes being bodily descended from the gods.

I think that on all these lines of research, which could be extended to many other points as well, I have brought forward a series of undeniable resemblances between the Teutonic mythology and the Greek. Here, as in the relation between the Greek and Teutonic languages, there is no question of borrowing or choice, nothing but unconscious affinity, allowing room (and that inevitably) for considerable divergences. But who can fail to recognise, or who invalidate, the surprising similarity of opinions on the immortality of gods, their divine food, their growing up overnight, their journeyings and transformations, their epithets, their anger and their mirth, their suddenness in appearing and recognition at parting, their use of carriages and horses, their performance of all natural functions, their illnesses, their language, their servants and

messengers, offices and dwellings? To conclude, I think I see a further analogy in the circumstance, that out of the names of living gods, as Týr, Freyr, Baldr, Bragi, Zeus, grew up the common nouns týr, fráuja, baldor, bragí, deus, or they bordered close upon them (see Suppl.).

## CHAPTER XV.

### HEROES.

Between God and man there is a step on which the one leads into the other, where we see the Divine Being brought nearer to things of earth, and human strength glorified. The older the epos, the more does it require gods visible in the flesh, even the younger cannot do without heroes, in whom a divine spark still burns, or who come to be partakers of it.

Heroism must not be made to consist in anything but battle and victory: a *hero* is a man that in fighting against evil achieves immortal deeds, and attains divine honours. As in the gradation of ranks the noble stands between the king and the freeman, so does the hero between God and man. From nobles come forth kings, from heroes gods. ἥρωες ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τι καὶ θεοῦ σύνθετον, δὲ μήτε ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶ, μήτε θεός, καὶ συναμφότερόν ἐστί (Lucian in Dial. mortuor. 3), yet so that the human predominates. 'ita tamen ut plus ab homine habeat,' says Servius on Aen. 1, 200. The hero succumbs to pains, wounds, death, from which even the gods, according to the view of antiquity, were not exempt (p. 318). In the hero, man attains the half of deity, becomes a *demigod*, *semideus*: ἡμιθεῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν, Il. 12, 23, ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῶν γένος, οὐ καλέονται ἡμιθεοί, Hes. ἔργ. 159. Jornandes applies *semidei* to the anses (supra p. 25), as Saxo Gram. pronounces Balder a *semideum*, arcano superum semine procreatum. Otherwise in ON writings we meet with neither hálfgoð noi hálfâs,<sup>1</sup> but N. Cap. 141 renders hemithes heroesque by 'halbhota unde erdhkota (earthgods).'

Heroes are distinct from dæmonic beings, such as angels, elves, giants, who fill indeed the gap between God and man, but have not a human origin. Under paganism, messengers of the gods were

<sup>1</sup> Hálftroll, hálfrisi are similar, and the OHG halpduinc, halpwalah, halptem (ON. haltdan) as opposed to altdurinc, altwalah.

gods themselves,<sup>1</sup> the Judeo-christian angel is a *dæmon*. Rather may the hero be compared to the christian saint, who through spiritual strife and sorrow earns a place in heaven (see Suppl.)

This human nature of heroes is implied in nearly all the titles given to them. For the definite notion of a divine glorified hero, the Latin language has borrowed *heros* from the Greek, though its own *vir* (=Goth *vair* ON *ver*,<sup>2</sup> AS OHG *wer*, Lett *wihrs*, Lith *wyras*) in the sense of *vir fortis* (Tac Germ 3) so nearly comes up to the Sanskr *vīra* *heros* *Hērōs*, *ἥρως*, which originally means a mere fighter, has been identified with rather too many things *hērus*, "*Ἡρῆ*", *Ἡρακλῆς*, even *Ἄρης* and *ἀρετή* = *virtus*, so that the Goth *áirus*, ON *âr*, *âri*=*nuntius*, *minister*, might come in too, or the supposed digamma make a connexion with the aforesaid *vīra* look plausible. More undeniably, our *held* is a prolongation<sup>3</sup> of the simple ON. *halr*, AS. *hæle* *vir* the name *Haldegastes* (like *Leudogastes*) is found so early as in *Vopiscus*, and a Goth *halþs*, OHG *halid*, *helid* may be safely inferred from the proper names *Helidperaht*, *Helidcrim*, *Helidgund*, *Helidniu*, *Helidberga*,<sup>4</sup> though it is only from the 12th century that our memorials furnish an actual *helut* pl. *helide*, the MHG *helet*, *helt*, pl. *helde*, occurs often enough. Of the AS *hæleð* I remark that it makes its pl. both *hæleðas* and *hæleð* (*eg*, *Beow* 103), the latter archaic like the Goth *mênôþs*, whence we may infer that the Gothic also had a pl. *halþs*, and OHG a pl. *helid* as well as *helidâ*, and this is confirmed by a MHG pl. *held*, *Wh* 44, 20. In OS I find only the pl. *helidôs*, *helithôs*, in the *Heliant*, *helithcunni*, *helithocunni* mean simply genus humanum. MDut has *helet* pl. *helde*. The ON *holdr* pl. *holdar* (*Sæm* 114<sup>b</sup> 115<sup>a</sup> *Sn* 171) implies an older *holuðr* (like *mānuðr* = Goth *mênôþs*), it appears to mean nothing but *miles*, *vir*, and *holdborit* (*hold-born*) in the first passage to be something lower than *hersborit*, the *holdar* being free peasants, *búendr*. The Dan *helt*, Swed *hyelte* (OSwed *halad*) show an anomalous *t* instead of *d*, and are perhaps to be traced to the

<sup>1</sup> At most, we might feel some doubt about *Skirnir*, Frey's messenger and servant, but he seems more a bright angel than a hero.

<sup>2</sup> With this we should have to identify even the *veorr* used of *Thôrr* (*p* 187) in so far as it stood for *viorr*.

<sup>3</sup> Fortbildung thus staff, stack, stall, stem, stare, &c may be called prolongations of the root *sta* — TRANS.

<sup>4</sup> In early docs. the town of *Heldburg* in Thuringia is already called *Helidberga*, MB 28° 33.

German rather than the ON form. If we prefer to see both in *halr* and in *halþs* the verb *haljan* *occulere*, *defendere*, *tueri*, the transition from *tutor* to *vir* and *miles* is easily made, even the Lat *cēler* is not far from *cēlo* to conceal.

Beside this principal term, the defining of which was not to be avoided here, there are several others to be considered. Notker, who singularly avoids *heleda*, supplies us in Cap 141 with 'heroes, *taz chît, hertunga alde chueniga*'. This *hertunga* suggests the AS *heardingas*, Elene 25 130, whether it be a particular line, or heroes in general that are meant by it, and we might put up with the derivation from *hertu*, heard (hard), *viru duru*, fortes, *exercitatu*, as *hartunga* in N ps 9, 1 means *exercitatio*. But as we actually find a Gothic line of heroes *Azdingi*, *Asdingi*, and also an ON of *Haddingjar*, and as the Goth *zđ*, ON *đđ*, AS *rd*, OHG *rt* correspond to one another, there is more to be said for the Gothic word having dropt an *h* in the course of transmission, and the forms *hazdiggs*, *haddingr*, *hearding*, *hartinc* being all one word<sup>1</sup>. Now, if the ON. *haddr* means a lock of hair (conf p 309), we may find in *haddingr*, *hazdiggs*, &c a meaning suitable enough for a freeman and hero, that of *crinitus*, *capillatus*, *cincinnatus*, and it would be remarkable that the meaning *heros* should be still surviving in the tenth century. No less valuable to us is the other term *chuenig*, which can hardly be connected with *chuning rex*, as N always spells it, it seems rather to be = *chuonig*, derived either from *chuoni* *audax*, *fortis* (as *fizusiġ* from *fizus callidus*), or from its still unexplained root<sup>2</sup>. Other terms with a meaning immediately bordering on that of hero are OHG *degan* (*miles*, *minister*); *wigant* (*pugil*), *chamfio*, *chempho* (*pugil*), AS *cempa*, ON *kappi*; the ON *hetja* (*bellator*), perhaps conn with *hatr* *odium*, *bellum*, and *skatr*, better *sladr*, AS *sceaða*, *scaða*, properly *nocivus*, then *prædator*, *latro*, and passing from this meaning, honourable in ancient times, into that of *heros*, even in the Mid Ages, *Landscado*, scather of the land, was a name borne by noble families. That *heri* (*exercitus*), Goth *harys*, also meant *miles*, is shown by OHG

<sup>1</sup> The polypt Irminon 170<sup>b</sup> has a proper name *Arđingus* standing for *Hardingus*.

<sup>2</sup> Graff 4, 447 places *chuoni*, as well as *chuninc* and *chunni*, under the all-devouring root *chan*, but as *kruoni*, AS *grêne viridis*, comes from *kruoan*, AS *grōwan*, so may *chuoni*, AS *cêne*, from a lost *chuoan*, AS *cōwan* *pollere*? *vigere*?

glosses, Graff 4, 983, and by names of individual men compounded with *heri*, *conf ch XXV*, *einheri*. The OHG *urecchio*, *hrecchio*, *reccho*, had also in a peculiar way grown out of the sense of *exsul*, *profugus*, *advena*, which predominates in the AS *wrecca*, OS *wrekio*, into that of a hero fighting far from home, and the MHG *recke*, ON *reckr* is simply a hero in general<sup>1</sup>. Similar developments of meaning can doubtless be shown in many other words, what we have to keep a firm hold of is, that the very simplest words for man (*vir*) and even for man (*homo*) adapted themselves to the notion of hero, as our *mann* does now, so the ON *halr*, the OHG *gomo* (*homo*), ON *gumi* served to express the idea of hero. In Diut 2, 314<sup>b</sup>, *heios* is glossed by *gomo*, and *gumnar* in the Edda has the same force as *skatnar* (see Suppl.)

Now, what is the reason of this exaltation of human nature? Always in the first instance, as far as I can see, a relation of bodily kinship between a god and the race of man. The heroes are epigoni of the gods, their line is descended from the gods. *ættir guma er frâ goðom kômo*, Sæm 114<sup>a</sup>.

Greek mythology affords an abundance of proofs; it is by virtue of all heroes being directly or indirectly produced by gods and goddesses in conjunction with man, that the oldest kingly families connect themselves with heaven. But evidently most of these mixed births proceed from Zeus, who places himself at the head of gods and men, and to whom all the glories of ancestors are traced. Thus, by Leda he had Castor and Pollux, who were called after him *Dios-curi*, Hercules by Alcmena, Perseus by Danae, Epaphus by Io, Pelasgus by Niobe, Minos and Sarpedon by Europa, other heroes touch him only through their forefathers. Agamemnon was the son of Atreus, he of Pelops, he of Tantalus, and he of Zeus, Ajax was sprung from Telamon, he from Aeacus, he from Zeus and Aegina. Next to Zeus, the most heroes seem to proceed from Ares, Hermes and Poseidon. Meleager, Diomedes and Cycnus were sons of Ares, Autolycus and Cephalus of Hermes, while Theseus was a son of Aegeus, and Nestor of Neleus, but both Aegeus and Neleus

<sup>1</sup> Some Slavic expressions for hero are worthy of notice. Russ. *vîtraz*, Serv. *vitez*, Russ. *boghatyr*, Pol. *bohater*, Boh. *bohater*, not conn. either with *bôgh* deus, or *boghât* dives, but the same as the Pers. *behâdâr*, Turk. *bahadyr*, Mongol. *baghâdor*, Hung. *bátor*, Manju. *bâtura*, and derivable from *b'âdra* lively, merry, Schott in Erman's *zeitschr* 4, 531 [Mongol. *baghâ* is force, *βία*, and *-tor*, *-tur* an adj. suffix]

were Poseidon's children by Aethra and Tyro Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis, Aeneas of Anchises and Venus<sup>1</sup> These examples serve as a standard for the conditions of our own heroic legend (see Suppl)

Tacitus, following ancient lays, places at the head of our race as its prime progenitor *Tuisco*, who is not a hero, but himself a god, as the author expressly names him '*deum* terra editum' Now, as Gaia of herself gave birth to Uranos and Pontos, that is to say, sky and sea sprang from the lap of earth, so Tuisco seems derivable from the word *tiv*, in which we found (pp 193-4) the primary meaning to be sky, and Tuisco, *ie*, Tvisco, could easily spring out of the fuller form Tivisco [as Tuesday from *Tiwesdæg*] Tvisco may either mean coelestis, or the actual offspring of another divine being *Tiv*, whom we afterwards find appearing among the gods *Tiv* and Tivisco to a certain degree are and signify one thing Tvisco then is in sense and station Uranos, but in name Zeus, whom the Greek myth makes proceed from Uranos not directly, but through Kronos, pretty much as our *Tiv* or *Zio* is made a son of Wuotan, while another son Donar takes upon him the best part of the office that the Greeks assigned to Zeus Donar too was son of Earth as well as of Wuotan, even as Gaia brought forth the great mountain-ranges (*οὐρεα μακρά*, Hes theog 129 = Goth *fairgunja mikila*), and Donar himself was called mountain and *fairgunes* (pp 169 172), so that *οὐρανός* sky stands connected with *οὐρος ὄρος* mountain, the idea of *deus* with that of *ans* (pp 25 188) Gaia, Tellus, Terra come round again in our goddesses Fiorgyn, Iorð and Rindr (p 251), so the names of gods and goddesses here cross one another, but in a similar direction

This earth-born Tvisco's son was *Mannus*, and no name could sound more Teutonic, though Norse mythology has as little to say of him as of Tvisco (ON. *Týski* ?) No doubt a deeper meaning once resided in the word, by the addition of the suffix *-isk*, as in *Tiv* Tivisco, there arose out of *mann* a *mannisko* = homo, the

<sup>1</sup> In the Roman legend, Romulus and Remus were connected through Silvia with Mars, and through Amulius with Venus, and Romulus was taken up to heaven The later apotheosis of the emperors differs from the genuine heroic, almost as canonization does from primitive sainthood, yet even Augustus, being deified, passed in legend for a son of Apollo, whom the god in the shape of a dragon had by Atia, Sueton. Octav 94



thinking self-conscious being (see p 59), both forms, the simple and the derived, have (like *tiv* and *tivisko*) the same import, and may be set by the side of the Sanskr *Manus* and *manushya*. *Mannus* however is the first hero, son of the god, and father of all men. Traditions of this forefather of the whole Teutonic race seem to have filtered down even to the latter end of the Mid Ages in a poem of *meister Frauenlob* (Ettm p 112), the same in which the mythical king *Wippo* is spoken of (see p 300), we read ·

<i>Mennor</i> der êrste was genant,	<i>Mennor</i> the first man was named
dem diutsche rede got tet	to whom Dutch language God
bekant.	made known

This is not taken from Tacitus direct, as the proper name, though similar, is not the same (see Suppl)

As all Teutons come of *Tivisco* and *Mannus*, so from the three (or by some accounts five) sons of *Mannus* are descended the three, five or seven main branches of the race. From the names of nations furnished by the Romans may be inferred those of their patriarchal progenitors.

# 1 INGUIO ISCIO. IRMINO.

The threefold division of all the Germani into *Ingaevones*, *Iscaevones* and *Hermiones*<sup>1</sup> is based on the names of three heroes, *Ingo*, *Isco*, *Hermuno*, each of whom admits of being fixed on yet surer authority

*Ing*, or *Ingo*, *Inguio* has kept his place longest in the memory of the Saxon and Scandinavian tribes. Runic alphabets in OHG spell *Inc*, in AS *Ing*, and an echo of his legend seems still to ring in the Lay of Runes.

*Ing* wæs ærest mid Eástdenum  
 gesewen secgum, oð he siððan eást  
 ofer wæg gewát wæn æfter ran  
 þus Heardingas þone hæle nemdon

*Ing* first dwelt with the East Danes (conf Beow 779 1225 1650), then he went eastward over the sea,<sup>2</sup> his wain ran after The wain

<sup>1</sup> Proximi oceano Ingaevones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istaevones vocantur, Tac Germ. 2

<sup>2</sup> Cædm 88, 8 says of the raven let out of Noah's ark gewát ofer wonne wæg sigan.

is a distinctive mark of ancient gods, but also of heroes and kings ; its being specially put forward here in connexion with a sea-voyage, appears to indicate some feature of the legend that is unknown to us (see Suppl) Ing's residence in the east is strikingly in harmony with a pedigree of the Ynglings given in the *Islendingabók* (*Isl sog* 1, 19) Here at the head of all stands '*Yngvi Tyrkja konungr*,' immediately succeeded by divine beings, Níorðr, Freyr, Fiolnir (a byname of Óðinn), Svegdur, &c In the same way Óðinn was called Tyrkja konungr (*Sn.* 368) from his residing at Byzantium (p 163 note)<sup>1</sup> The Ynglinga saga on the other hand begins the line with Níorðr, after whom come Freyr, Fiolnir and the rest, but of Freyr, whom the wain would have suited exactly, it is stated that he had another name *Yngvi* or *Yngvifreyr* (p 211-2), and the whole race of *Ynglingar* were named after him.<sup>2</sup> *Ingtingar* or *Ingvíngar* would be more exact, as is shown by the OHG and AS spelling, and confirmed by a host of very ancient names compounded with Ing or Ingo. Inguomêrus (*Ingumârus*, *Ingumâr*, or with asp *Hincmarus*), *Inguram*, *Ingimund*, *Ingiburc*, *Inginolt*, &c Even Saxo Gram writes *Ingo*, *Ingimarus* As for Ynglingar, standing for Inglingar, it may be formed from the prolongation *Ingil* in *Ingelwin*, *Ingelram*, *Ingelberga* and the Norse *Ingellus*, unless it is a mere confusion of the word with *ýnglingr juvenis*, OHG *jungilinc*, AS *geongling*, from the root *ûng*, *junc*, *geong*, which has no business here at all (?) —The main point is, that the first genealogy puts *Ingvi* before Níorðr, so that he would be Frey's grandfather, while the other version makes him be born again as it were in Freyr, and even fuses his name with Frey's, of which there lurks a trace likewise in the AS '*freá Ingwina*' (p 211). This *Ingwina* appears to be the gen pl of *Ingwine*, OHG *Inguwini*, and '*dominus Ingwinorum*' need not necessarily refer to the god, any hero might be so called But with perfect right may an *Ingvi*, *Inguo* be the patriarch of a race that

<sup>1</sup> Snorri sends him to Turkland, Saxo only as far as Byzantium —TRANS

<sup>2</sup> As the ON genealogies have *Yngvi*, Níorðr, Freyr, the Old Swedish tables in Geijer (hafder 118 121 475) gave *Inge*, *Neorch*, *Fro*, some have *Neorôch* for *Neorch*, both being corruptions of *Neorðr* Now, was it by running *Ingvi* and *Freyr* into one, that the combination *Yngvifreyr* (transposed into AS *freá Ingwina*) arose, or was he cut in two to make an additional link? The *Skáldskaparmál* in *Sn* 211<sup>a</sup> calls *Yngvifreyr* Óðin's son, and from the enumeration of the twelve or thirteen Ases in *Sn* 211<sup>b</sup> it cannot be doubted that *Yngvifreyr* was regarded as equivalent to the simple *Freyr*.

bears the name of *Ingvīngar* = *Ynglingar*. And then, what the Norse genealogy is unable to carry farther up than to Ingvi, Tacitus kindly completes for us, by informing us that Inguio is the son of Mannus, and he of Tvisco, and his *Ingaevones* are one of two things, either the OHG pl *Ingunon* (from sing Inguio), or *Ingunni* after the AS Ingwine.

Thus pieced out, the line of gods and heroes would run *Tvisco, Mannus, Ingvio, Nerthus, Fravio* (or whatever shape the Gothic Fráuja would have taken in the mouth of a Roman). The earth-born Tvisco's mother repeats herself after three intermediate links in Nerthus the god or hero, as a Norse Ingui stands now before Niorðr, now after, and those Vanir, who have been moved away to the east, and to whom Niorðr and his son Freyr were held mainly to belong (pp 218-9), would have a claim to count as one and the same race with the Ingaevones, although this association with Mannus and Tvisco appears to vindicate their Teutonic character.

But these bonds draw themselves yet tighter. The AS lay informed us, that Ing bore that name among the *Heardings*, had received it from them. This *Heardingas* must either mean heroes and men generally, as we saw on p 342, or a particular people. *Hartung* is still remembered in our Heldenbuch as king of the Reussen (Rûs, Russians), the same probably as 'Hartnft' or 'Hertnft von Reussen', in the Alphart he is one of the Wolfing heroes<sup>1</sup>. *Hartunc* and his father Immunc (Rudlieb 17, 8) remain dark to us. The *Heardingas* appear to be a nation situated east of the Danes and Swedes, among whom Ing is said to have lived for a time, and this his sojourn is helped out both by the Turkish king Yngui and the Russian Hartung. It has been shown that to Hartunc, Harding, would correspond the ON form *Haddingr*. Now, whereas the Danish line of heroes beginning with Oðinn arrives at Frøðri in no more than three generations, Oðinn being followed by Skjoldr, Fríðleifr, Fríðri, the series given in Saxo Gram stands thus: Humbl, Dan, Lothar, Skjold, Gram, Hading, Frotho. But Hading stands for *Hadding*, as is clear from the spelling of 'duo Haddingi' in Saxo p 93, who are the Haddingjar often mentioned in the Edda, it is said of him, p 12. 'orientalium

<sup>1</sup> Hermit = Harding in the Swedish tale of Dietrich (Iduna 10, 253-4, 284).

robore debellato, Suetiam reversus,' which orientals again are Rutheni, but what is most remarkable is, that Saxo p 17-8 puts in the mouth of this Danish king and his wife Regnilda a song which in the Edda is sung by *Njörðr* and *Skaði* (Sn 27-8)<sup>1</sup> We may accordingly take Hadding to be identical with *Njörðr*, *ie*, a second birth of that god, which is further confirmed by *Fríðleifr* (= *Fréaláf*, whom we have already identified with the simple *Fréa*, p 219) appearing in the same line, exactly as *Freyr* is a son of *Njörðr*, and Saxo says expressly, p 16, that Hadding offered a *Froblót*, a sacrifice in honour of *Freyr* Whether in *Fróðr* (OHG. *Fruoto*, MHG. *Fruote*), the hero of the Danish story, who makes himself into three, and whose rule is praised as peaceful and blissful, we are to look for *Freyr* over again, is another question

In the god-hero of Tacitus then there lingers, still recognisable, a Norse god, and the links I have produced must, if I mistake not, set the final seal on the reading 'Nerthus'. If we will not admit the goddess into the ranks of a race which already has a *Terra mater* standing at its very head, it is at all events no great stretch to suppose that certain nations transferred her name to the god or hero who formed one of the succeeding links in the race

There are more of these Norse myths which probably have to do with this subject, lights that skim the deep darkness of our olden time, but cannot light it up, and often die away in a dubious flicker. The *Formáli* of the Edda, p 15, calls *Óðinn* father of *Yngvi*, and puts him at the head of the *Ynglingar* once again we see ourselves entitled to identify *Óðinn* with *Mannus* or *Tvisco*. Nay, with all this interlacing and interchange of members, we could almost bear to see *Óðinn* made the same as *Njörðr*, which is done in one manuscript But the narrative '*frá Fornjóti ok hans ættmonnum*' in *Fornald* sog 2, 12 carries us farther at the top stands *Burri*, like the king of *Tyrkland*, followed by *Burri*, *Óðinn*, *Freyr*, *Njörðr*, *Freyr*, *Fiolnir*, here then is a double *Freyr*, the first one taking *Yngvi*'s place, *ie*, the *Yngvifreyr* we had before, but also a manifold *Óðinn*, *Fiolnir* being one of his names (*Sæm* 10<sup>a</sup> 46<sup>b</sup> 184<sup>a</sup> Sn 3) *Burri* and *Burr*, names closely related to

<sup>1</sup> So Wh Müller (*Haupt's zeitschr* 3, 48-9) has justly pointed out, that *Skaði*'s choice of the muffled bridegroom, whose feet alone were visible (Sn 82), agrees with Saxo's '*eligendi mariti libertas curiosiore corporum attractio*,<sup>2</sup> but here to find a ring that the flesh has healed over *Skaði* and *Ragnhild* necessarily fall into one

each other like Folkvaldi and Folkvaldr, and given in another list as *Burn* and *Bois*, seem clearly to be the *Burn* and *Borr* cited by Sn 7 8 as forefathers of the three brothers Oðinn, Vili, Ve (see p 162) Now, *Burn* is that first man or human being, who was licked out of the rocks by the cow, hence the êristporo (erst-born), an OHG *Poro*, Goth *Bairra*; *Borr* might be OHG *Paru*, Goth *Barus* or whatever form we choose to adopt, anyhow it comes from *baíran*, a root evidently well chosen in a genealogical tale, to denote the first-born, first-created men<sup>1</sup> Yet we may think of *Byr* too, the wish-wind (see *Oskabyrr*, p 144) Must not *Burn*, *Borr*, *Oðinn* be parallel, though under other names, to *Tvisco*, *Mannus*, *Inguio*? *Inguio* has two brothers at his side, *Iscio* and *Heimino*, as Oðinn has *Vili* and *Ve*, we should then see the reason why the names *Týski* and *Maði*<sup>2</sup> are absent from the Edda, because *Buri* and *Bori* are their substitutes, and several other things would become intelligible *Tvisco* is 'terra editus,' and *Buri* is produced out of stone, when we see Oðinn heading the *Ynglingar* as well as *Inguio* the *Ingaevones*, we may find in that a confirmation of the hypothesis that Saxons and Cherusians, preeminently worshippers of Wôðan, formed the flower of the *Ingaevones* These gods and demigods may appear to be all running into one another, but always there emerges from among them the real supreme divinity, *Wuotan*

I go on expounding Tacitus Everything confirms me in the conjecture that *Inguio*'s or *Ingo*'s brother must have been named *Iscio*, *Iscio*, and not *Istio*, *Isto* There is not so much weight to be laid on the fact that sundry MSS even of Tacitus actually read *Iscaevones* we ought to examine more narrowly, whether the *st* in Pliny's *Istaevones* be everywhere a matter of certainty, and even that need not compel us to give up our *sc*, *Iscaevo* was perhaps liable to be corrupted by the Romans themselves into *Istaevo*, as *Vistula* crept in by the side of the truer *Viscula* (*Weichsel*) But what seem irrefragable proofs are the *Escio* and *Hiscion*<sup>3</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> So in the *Rígsmaal* 105<sup>a</sup>, *Burr* is called the first, *Barn* the second, and *Ioð* (conf AS *eáden*) the third child of *Faðir* and *Móðir*

<sup>2</sup> ON for man sing *maðr*, *mannus*, *manni*, *mann*, pl. *menn*, *mannr*, *monnum*, *menn*

<sup>3</sup> In *Nennius* § 17, *Stevenson* and *Sanmarte* (pp 39. 40) have adopted the very worst reading *Hiscio*.

Nennius, in a tradition of the Mid Ages not adopted from Tacitus, and the *Isiocon*<sup>1</sup> in a Gaelic poem of the 11th century (see Suppl.) If this will not serve, let internal evidence speak in Tuisco and Mannisco we have been giving the suffix -isc its due, and Tuisto, a spelling which likewise occurs, is proof against all attempt at explanation. Now *Isco*, as the third name in the same genealogy, would agree with these two. For Tvisco and Mannus the Norse legend substitutes two other names, but Inguio it has preserved in Ingvī, ought not his brother Iscio to be discoverable too? I fancy I am on his track in the Eddic *Askr*, a name that is given to the first-created man again (Sæm. 3 Sn 10), and means an ash-tree. It seems strange enough, that we also come across this *ask* (let interpretation understand it of the tree or not) among the Runic names, side by side with 'inc, ziu, er,' all heroes and gods, and among the ON names for the earth is *Esja*, Sn 220<sup>b</sup>. And even the vowel-change in the two forms of name, Iscio and Askr, holds equally good of the suffix -isk, -ask.

Here let me give vent to a daring fancy. In our language the relation of lineal descent is mainly expressed by two suffixes, ING and ISK. Manning means a son the offspring of man, and mannisko almost the same. I do not say that the two divine ancestors were borrowed from the grammatical form, still less that the grammatical form originated in the heroes' names. I leave the vital connexion of the two things unexplained, I simply indicate it. But if the Ingaevones living 'proximi oceano' were Saxon races, which to this day are addicted to deriving with -ing, it may be remarked that *Asciburg*, a sacred seat of the Iscaevones who dwelt 'proximi Rheno,' stood on the Rhine<sup>2</sup>. Of *Askr*, and the relation of the name to the tree, I shall treat in ch XIX, of the Iscaevones it remains to be added, that the Anglo-Saxons also knew a hero *Oesc*, and consequently *Oescingas*.

Zeuss, p 73, gives the preference to the reading *Istaevones*, connecting them with the Astingi, Azdingi, whom I (p 342) took for Hadingi, and identified with the ON Haddingjar, AS Heardingas, OHG Hertingâ. The hypothesis of *Istaevones* = *Izdaevones* would require that the Goth *zā* = AS *rd*, OHG *rt*, should in the time of

<sup>1</sup> Pointed out by Leo in the zeitschr f d alt 2, 534

<sup>2</sup> Conf Askitūn (Ascha near Amberg), Askiprunno (Eschborn near Frankfurt), Askipah (Eschbach, Eschenbach) in various parts, Ascarif, a man's name (see Suppl.).

Tacitus have prevailed even among the Rhine Germans, I have never yet heard of an OHG Artingâ, Ertangâ, nor of an ON Addingar, Eddingar. According to this conjecture, ingenious anyhow and worth examining further, the ancestral hero would be called *Istio* = *Izdio*, *Izdviq*, OHG. *Erto*, ON *Eddi*, with which the celebrated term *edda* proavia would agree, its Gothic form being *izdô*, OHG *ertâ*. *Izdo*, *Izdio* proavus would seem in itself an apt name for the founder of a race. The fluctuation between *i* and *a* would be common to both interpretations, 'Iscaevones = Askingâ' and 'Istaevones = Artingâ'.

The third son of Mannus will occupy us even longer than his brothers. Ermino's posterity completes the cycle of the three main races of Germany *Ingaevones*, *Iscaevones*, *Herminones*. The order in which they stand seems immaterial, in Tacitus it merely follows their geographical position, the initial vowel common to them leads us to suppose an alliterative juxtaposition of the ancestral heroes in German songs. The aspirate given by the Romans to *Herminones*, as to *Hermunduri*, is strictly no part of the German word, but is also very commonly retained by Latin writers of the Mid Ages in proper names compounded with *Irmin*. In the name of the historical Arminius Tacitus leaves it out.

As with *Inguio* and *Iscio*, we must assign to the hero's name the otherwise demonstrable weak form *Irmano*,<sup>1</sup> *Ermano*, Goth *Aírmana*: it is supported by the derivative *Herminones*, and even by the corruptions 'Hisicion, Armenon, Negro' in Nennius (see Suppl). Possibly the strong-formed *Irman*, *Iimin*, *Armin* may even be a separate root. But what occurs far more frequently than the simple word, is a host of compounds with *irman*-, *irmin*-, not only proper names, but other expressions concrete and abstract: Goth *Ermanaricus* (*Aírmanareiks*), OHG *Irmanrih*, AS *Eormenric*, ON *Iormunrekr*, where the *u* agrees with that in the national name *Hermundur*, OHG. *Irmandegan*, *Irmandeo*, *Irmanperaht*, *Irmanfrut*, *Irminolt*, *Irmandrût*, *Irmingart*, *Irmansunt*, &c. Attention is claimed by the names of certain animals and plants. the ON *Iormungandr* is a snake, and *Iormunrekr* a bull, the AS *Eormenwyrt* and *Eormenleáf* is said to be a mallow, which I also

<sup>1</sup> Pertz 1, 200 300 2, 290 463 481, the abbas *Irmino* of Charles the Great's time is known well enough now, and a female name *Iarmun* is met with in deeds

find written *geormenwyr̥t*, *geormenleḁ́f*. Authorities for *ʳirmangot*, *irmandiot*, OS *irminthiod*, *irminman*, *irmansûl*, &c, &c, have been given above, p 118. A villa *Irmenlô*, *i.e.*, a wood (in illa silva, *scaras sexaginta*) is named in a deed of 855, Bondam's charterbook, p 32. *silva Irminlô*, Lacombl 1, 31.

In these compounds, especially those last named, *irman* seems to have but a general intensifying power, without any distinct reference to a god or hero (conf Woeste, *mittheil.* p 44), it is like some other words, especially *got* and *diot*, *regin* and *megin*, which we find used in exactly the same way. If it did contain such reference, *Eormenleḁ́f* would be *Eormenes leḁ́f*, like *Forneotes folme*, *Wuotanes wec*. *Irmandeo* then is much the same as *Gotadeo*, *Irmanri̥h* as *Diotri̥h*, and as *irrangot* means the great god, *irmandiot* the great people, *iormungrund* the great wide earth, so *irmansûl* cannot mean more than the great pillar, the very sense caught by Rudolf in his translation *universalis columna* (p. 117).

This is all very true, but there is nothing to prevent *Irmino* or *Irmin* having had a personal reference in previous centuries. We have not seen, side by side with *Zeus* and *Týr*, the common noun *deus* and the prefix *tý-*, *tír-* (p 195-6) ? conf p 339. If *Sæteresdæg* has got rubbed down to Saturday, *Sateidach* (p 125), so may *Ertac* point to a former *Eiestac* (p 202), *Eormenleḁ́f* to *Eormenes leḁ́f*, *Irmanstûl* to *Irmanessûl*, we also met with *Donnerbuhel* for *Donnersbuhel* (p 170), *Woenlet* for *Woenslet*, and we say *Frankfurt* for *Frankenfurt* [Oxford for *Oxenafoord*, &c]. The more the sense of the name faded out, the more readily did the genitive form drop away, the OHG *godes hûs* is more literal, the Goth *gufphûs* more abstract, yet both are used, as the OS *regano giscapu* and *iegangiscapu*, *metodo giscapu* and *metodgiscapu* held their ground simultaneously. As for *geormen* = *eormen*, it suggests *Germanus* (Gramm 1, 11).

It is true, Tacitus keeps the *Hermio* that lies latent in his *Hermionones* apart from *Arminius* with whom the Romans waged war; yet his famous 'canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes,' applied to the destroyer of *Varius*, might easily arise through simply misinterpreting such accounts as reached the Roman ear of *Germân* songs about the mythical hero. Granted that *irmanstûl* expressed word for word no more than 'huge pillar,' yet to the people that worshipped it it must have been a divine image, standing for



a particular god To discover who this was, we can only choose one of two ways. either he was one of the three great divinities, Wôdan, Thonar, Tiu, or some being distinct from them

But here we must, above all things, ponder the passage partly quoted on p 111 from Widukind, himself a Saxon, it says, a heathen god was worshipped, whose name suggested *Mars*, his pillar-statue *Hercules*, and the place where he was set up the sun or *Apollo* After that, he continues 'Ex hoc apparet, aestimationem illorum utcumque probabilem, qui Saxones originem duxisse putant de Graecis, quia *Hirmin* vel *Heirmes* graece *Mars* dicitur, quo vocabulo ad laudem vel ad vituperationem usque hodie etiam ignorantes utimur' From this it follows, that the god to whom the Saxons sacrificed after their victory over the Thuringians was called *Hirmin*, *Irmin*, and in the 10th century the name was still affixed in praise or blame to very eminent or very desperate characters<sup>1</sup> Apollo is brought in by the monk, because the altar was built ad orientalem portam, and Hercules, because his pillar called up that of the native god, no other idol can have been meant, than precisely the *irminsûl* (pp 115—118), and the true form of this name must have been *Irmines*, *Irmanes* or *Hirmines sôl* The Saxons had set up a pillar to their *Irmin* on the banks of the Unstrut, as they did in their own home

The way *Hirmin*, *Hermes* and *Mars* are put together seems a perfect muddle, though Widukind sees in it a confirmation of the story about the Saxons being sprung from Alexander's army (Widuk 1, 2 Sachsensp 3, 45) We ought to remember, first, that Wôdan was occasionally translated Mars instead of Mercurius (pp 121 133), and had all the appearance of the Roman Mars given him (p 133), then further, how easily *Irmin* or *Hirmin* in this case would lead to *Hermes*, and *Ares* to *Mars*, for the *Irminsûl* itself is connected with *Eres-burg* (p 116) What the Corvei annalist kept distinct (p 111), the two images of *Ares* and of *Hermes*, are confounded by Widukind But now, which has the better claim to be *Irmin*, *Mars* or *Mercury*? On p 197 I have pronounced rather in favour of *Mars*, as Mullenhoff too (Haupt 7, 384) identifies *Irmin* with *Ziu*, one might even be inclined to see

<sup>1</sup> Much as we say now he is a regular *devil*, or in Lower Saxony *hamer* (p 182) The prefix *irmin-* likewise intensifies in a good or bad sense, like 'irringod, irminthiod,' there may have been an *irminthiob* = 'meginthiob, ieginthiob'

in it the name of the war-god brought out on p 202, 'Êru, Heru,' and to dissect Irman, Erman into Ir-man, Er-man, though, to judge by the forms Irmin, Eoimen, Ermun, Iormun, this is far from probable, the word being derivative indeed, yet simple, not compound, we never find, in place of Ertag, dies Martis, any such form as Ermintac, Irminestac. On behalf of Mercury there would speak the accidental,<sup>1</sup> yet striking similarity of the name Irmansûl or Hirmensûl to 'Ερμῆς and ἔρμα = prop, stake, pole, pillar (p 118), and that it was precisely Hermes's image or head that used to be set up on such ἔρματα, and further, that the Mid Ages referred the irmen-pillars to Mercury (p 116). In Hirmin the Saxons appear to have worshipped a *Wôdan imaged as a warrior*.

If this view be well grounded, we have Wôdan wedging himself into the ancient line of heroes, but the question is, whether *Irmin* is not to be regarded as a second birth or son of the god, whether even an ancestral hero *Irmino* is not to be distinguished from this god *Irmin*, as Hermino in Tacitus is from Arminius.<sup>2</sup> So from thiod, regin, were formed the names Thiodo, Regino. It would be harder to show any such relation between Ing and Ingo, Isc and Isco, but I think I can suggest another principle which will decide this point when races name themselves after a famous ancestor, this may be a deified man, a demigod, but never a purely divine being. There are Ingaevones, Iscaevones, Herminones, Oescingas, Scilfingas, Ynglingar (for Ingíngar), Volsûngar, Skjoldûngar, Niflûngar,<sup>2</sup> as there were Heracleidae and Pelopidae, but no Wôdeningas or Thunoringas, though a Wôdening and a Kronides. The Anglo-Saxons, with Wôden always appearing at their head, would surely have borne the name of Wôdeningas, had it been customary to take name from the god himself. Nations do descend from the god, but through the medium of a demigod, and after him they name themselves. A national name taken from the highest god would have been impious arrogance, and alien to human feeling.

As Lower Saxony, especially Westphalia, was a chief seat of the Irmin-worship, we may put by the side of Widukind's account of *Hirmin* a few other traces of his name, which is not even yet

<sup>1</sup> To the Greek aspirate corresponds a Teutonic S, not H. ὁ, ἡ sa, sô, ἑπτά sibun, ἄλς salt. [There are exceptions ὁ, ἡ, οἱ he, her, hig, ὅλος whole, ἡλα, ἁλῶ haul, hollen]

<sup>2</sup> A patronymic suffix is not necessary. the Gáutôs, Gevissi, Suâpâ take name from Gáuts, Gevis, Suâp, divine heroes.

entirely extinct in that part of Germany Strodtmann has noted down the following phrases in Osnabruck 'he ment, use herre gott heet *Herm* (he thinks our Lord is called H, *ie* is never angry), use herre gott heet nich *Her m*, he heet leve herre, un weet wal t6-te-giipen (knows how to fall on)' Here there seems unconcealed a slight longing for the mild rule of the old heathen god, in contrast to the strictly judging and punishing christian God In Saxon Hesse (on the Diemel), in the districts of Paderborn, Ravensberg and Munster, in the bishopric of Minden and the duchy of Westphalia,<sup>1</sup> the people have kept alive the rhyme

*Hermen*, sla dermen,  
sla pipen, sla trummen,  
de kaiser wil kummen  
met hamer un stangen,<sup>2</sup>  
wil *Her men* uphangen

Hermen is challenged, as it were, to strike up his war-music, to sound the catgut, pipe and drum, but the foe draws nigh with maces and staves, and will hang up Hermen (see Suppl) It is not impossible that in these rude words, which have travelled down the long tradition of centuries, are preserved the fragments of a lay that was first heard when Charles destroyed the Irmensûl They cannot so well be interpreted of the elder Arminius and the Romans<sup>3</sup> The striking and the staves suggest the ceremony of carrying out the Summer

In a part of Hesse that lies on the Werra, is a village named Ermschwerd, which in early documents is called Ermeswerdei, Armesweid,<sup>4</sup> *Ermeneswerde* (Dronke's trad fuld p 123), *Ermeneswerethe* (Vita Meinweri an 1022 Leibn 1, 551), = Irmneswerd, insula Imini, as other gods have their isles or eas This interpretation seems placed beyond a doubt by other such names of places

Leibn scr 1, 9 and Eccard, Fr oi 1, 883, De orig Germ 397

<sup>1</sup> Rommel's Hessen 1 p 66 note Westphalia (Minden 1830) i 4, 52 The tune is given in Schumann's Musical Zeitung for 1836

<sup>2</sup> Variants mit stangen und prangen (which also means staves), mit hamer un tangen (tongs)

<sup>3</sup> This explanation has of course been tried some have put *Hermann* for Hermen, others add a narrative verse, which I do not suppose is found in the people's mouth 'un *Hermen* slaug dermen, slaug pipen, slaug trummen, de fursten sind kummen met all eren mannen, hebt *Varus* uphangen'

<sup>4</sup> The same vowel-change is seen in *Ermensulen* (deed of 1298 in Baring's Clavis dipl p 493 no 15), a Westphalian village, now called *Armenseul*.

give *Irmneswagen* for the constellation arctus, plastrum coeleste, I do not know on what authority this wain would stand beside Wuotanswagen, Donneiswagen, and even Ingswagen

Some of the later AS and several O Engl authorities, in specifying four great highways that traverse England, name amongst them *Ermungestrete*, running from south to north of the island<sup>2</sup> But we may safely assume the pure AS form to have been Eormenstræt or Eormenes-stiæt, as another of the four ways, *Wætlingastræt*, occurs in the Saxon Chron (Ingr 190 Thorpe's anal p 38), and in the Treaty of Ælfred and Guthiun (Thorpe, p 6b), and 'andlang *Wætlinga* straet' in Kemble 2, 250 (an 944) Lye has *Irmingstriet* together with *Irmingssil*, both without references The conjectural Eormenstræt would lead to an OHG Irmanstiâza, and Eormenesstræt to Irmanesstrâza, with the meanings via publica and via Irmani

Now it is not unimportant to the course of our inquiry, that one of the four highways, *Wætlingastræt*, is at the same time translated to the sky, and gets to look quite mythical A plain enough road, extending from Dover to Cardigan, is the *milky way* in the heavens, *ie*, it is travelled by the car of some heathen god

Chaucer (House of Fame 2, 427), describing that part of the sky, says

Lo there, quod he, cast up thine eye,  
se yondir, lo, the galaxie,  
the whiche men clepe the milky way  
for it is white, and some parfay  
ycalln it han *Wætlingestrete*,  
that onis was brente with the hete,  
whan that the sunnis sonne the rede,  
which hite Phaeton, wolde lede  
algate his fathirs carte and gie

In the Complaint of Scotland, p 90, it is said of the comet 'it aperis oft in the quhyt circle callit circulus lacteus, the quhilk the maynalis callis *Vatlanstret*'. In Douglas's Virgil, p 85

<sup>2</sup> IIII cheminu Watlingestrete, Fosse, Hickenildestrete, *Ermungestrete* (Thorpe's Anc laws, p 192), conf Henry of Hunt (*Ermungestreet*), Rob of Glouc, Oxf 1742, p 299 (also *Erning*, after the preceding) Ranulph Highden's Polychr, ed Oxon p 196 Leland's Itinerary, Oxf 1744 6, 108—140 Gibson in App chron Sax p 47 Camden's Britannia, ed Gibson, Lond 1753, p lxxix In the map to Lappenbergs Hist of Engl, the direction of the four roads is indicated

Of every sterne the twynkling notis he  
 that in the still hevin move cours we se,  
 Arthurys house, and Hyades betakning rane,  
*Wælingestrete*, the Horne and the Charlewane,  
 the feirs Orion with his goldin glave

Wætlinga is plainly a gen pl, who the Wætlings were, and how they came to give their name to an earthly and a heavenly street, we do not know. Chaucer perhaps could still have told us, but he prefers to harp at the Greek mythus. Phaethon, also the son of a god, when he presumed to guide his father's sun-chariot, burnt a broad streak in the sky, and that is the track we call the milky way. The more common view was, that Here, indignant at the bantling Hermes or Herakles being put to her breast, spilt her milk along the sky, and hence the bright phenomenon. No doubt, among other nations also, fancy and fable have let the names of earthly and heavenly roads run into one another.<sup>1</sup>

A remarkable instance of this is found in one of our national traditions, and that will bring us round to Irmin again, whom we almost seem to have lost sight of.

<sup>1</sup> I limit myself to briefly quoting some other names for the *milky way*. In Arabic it is *tark al thibn* (via straminis), Syriac *scheval temo* (via paleae), Mod. Hebrew *netibat theben* (semita paleae), Pers. *rah kah keshan* (via stramen trahentis), Copt. *pimot ende pitoh* (via straminis), Ethiop. *hasare zamanegade* (stipula viae), Arab. again *derb ettubenin* (path of the chopped-straw carriers), Turk. *saman ughrisi* (paleam rapiens, paleae fur), Armen. *hartacol* or *hartacogh* (paleae fur), all these names run upon scattered chaff, which a thief dropt in his flight. More simple is the Arabic *majerra* (tractus), *nahr al majerra* (flumen tractus), and the Roman conception of *path of the gods* or *to the gods*, also Iroq. *path of souls*, Turk. *hadjler juli* (pilgrims' path), *hadji* is a pilgrim to Mecca and Medina. Very similar is the christian term used in the Mid. Ages, '*galaxias via sancti Jacobi*', already in John of Genoa's Catholicon (13th cent.), *camino de Santiago*, *chemin de saint Jaques*, *Jacobsstrasse*, Slov. *zesta v Rim* (road to Rome), from the pilgrimages to Galicia or Rome, which led to heaven [was there no thought of Jacob's ladder?]. This James's road too, or pilgrim's road, was at once on earth and in heaven, in Lacomblet, docs 184 and 185 (an 1051) name a *Jacobswech* together with the *via regia*. ON *vetranb*, aut (winterway) Welsh caer *Gwydion* (p 150), and *Arianrod* (silver street? which comes near Argentoratum). Finn *lunnunvata* (birdway), Lith. *paruksczėvė kelės*, perhaps because souls and spirits flit in the shape of birds, Hung. *Hada-kuttya* (via belli), because the Hungarians in migrating from Asia followed this constellation (see Suppl.). *Vraneldenstraet* (p 285) and *Pharauldis* fit intelligibly enough with *frau Holda* and *Herodias*, whose airy voyages easily account for their giving a name to the milky way, the more so, as Wuotan, who joins Holda in the nightly hunt, shows himself here also in the Welsh appellation caer *Gwydion*. Even the fact of *Diana* being mixed up with that chase, and *Juno* with the milky way, is in keeping, and gods or spirits sweep along the heavenly road as well as in the heavenly hunt.

Widukind of Corvei is the first who gives us out of old songs the beautiful and truly epic story of the Saxons' victory over the Thuringians,<sup>1</sup> which Ruodolf before him (Pertz 2, 674) had barely touched. Irmenfried, king of the Thuringians, being oppressed by Dieterich, king of the Franks, called the Saxons to his aid: they appeared, and fought valiantly. But he began to waver in his mind, he secretly negotiated a treaty with the Franks, and the two nations were about to unite against the formidable Saxon host. But the Saxons, becoming aware of the treachery, were beforehand, led by the aged Hathugât, they burst into the castle of the Thuringians, and slew them all, the Franks stood still, and applauded the warlike renown of the Saxons. Irmenfried fled, but, enticed by a stratagem, returned to Dieterich's camp. In this camp was staying Irmenfried's counsellor *Iring*, whose prudent plans had previously rendered him great services. When Irmenfried knelt before Dieterich, Iring stood by, and having been won by Dieterich, slew his own lord. After this deed of horror, the Frankish king banished him from his sight, but Iring said, 'Before I go, I will avenge my master,' drew his sword, stabbed Dieterich dead, laid his lord's body over that of the Frank, so that the vanquished in life might be the victor in death, *opened a way* for himself with the sword (*viam ferro faciens*), and escaped. 'Mirari tamen non possumus' adds Widukind, 'in tantum famam praevaluisse, ut *Iringi* nomine, quem ita vocitant, lacteus coeli circulus usque in praesens sit notatus'. Or, with the Auersberg chronicler 'famam in tantum praevaluisse, ut lacteus coeli circulus *Iringis* nomine *Iringesstrâza* usque in praesens sit vocatus' (sit notatus in Pertz 8, 178).

In confirmation, AS glosses collected by Junius (Symb 372) give 'via secta *Iringes uuec*,' from which Somner and Lye borrow their '*Iringes weg*, via secta'. Conf via sexta *iringesuuec*, Haupts zeitschr 5, 195. Unpubl glosses of the Amplonian libr at Eifurt (10-11th cent bl 14<sup>a</sup>) have 'via secta *Iuuâringes uueg*', which Iuwaring agrees very remarkably with the later form Euring in *Euringstrass*, Aventin 102<sup>b</sup> 103<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Conf the differing but likewise old version, from a H German district, in Goldast's Script rer Suev pp 1-3, where Swabians take the place of the Saxons. The Auersberg chron (ed Argent 1609, pp 146-8) copies Widukind. Eckehard, in Pertz 8, 176-8.

In the Nibelungenlied 1285 1965—2009, these heroes appear again, they are the same, but differently conceived, and more akin to the H German version in Goldast <sup>1</sup> *Irnvrit* of Düringen and *Irine* of Tenemarke, one a landgraf, the other a markgraf, both vassals of Etzel (Attila) The Lied von der klage (threnody) adds, that they had fallen under the ban of the empire, and fled to Hunland, here we see a trace of the banishment that Dieterich pronounced on Iring In the poems of the 13th century, however, Iring is not a counsellor, still less a traitor and a murderer of Irmenfried the two are sworn friends, and both fall before the irresistible Hagene and Volker.

Add to all this, that the Vilk saga cap 360, though silent on Irnfried, tells of *Iring's* last combat with Hogni, and makes him sink against a stone wall, which is still called *Iring's veggr* in memory of the hero. The Norse redactor confounded vegr (via) with veggr (murus), his German source must have had *Iringes vec*, in allusion to the 'cutting his way' in Widukind

So now the road is paved to the conclusions we desire to draw German legend knew of an *Iringes vec* on earth and in heaven, so did AS legend of a double Wætlinga-stræt, and so was the road to Rome and St. James set in the firmament as well These fancies about *ways* and *wuns*, we know, are pagan, and indicate god-myths The Thuringian *Irnvrit*, originally *Irmannfrid*, it is reasonable to suppose, is the same as *Irman*, *Imin* (conf Sigfrid, Sigmunt, Sigi), and the *Hermundun* = Irman-dun are plainly connected with the *Dürings* (Thuringians) so that Irman assumes a peculiar significance in Thuringian tradition If this would but tell us of an *Irmunes vec*, all would come right

It does tell, however, in three or four places, of an *Iringes vec* The names *Irine* and *Imin*, apart from the alliteration which doubtless operated in the ancient lay, have nothing in common, the first has a long *i*,<sup>2</sup> and of themselves they cannot have represented

<sup>1</sup> As already quoted, Deutsch heldens p 117

<sup>2</sup> Or *u*, as some roots shift from the fourth to the fifth vowel-series (like *hirat* and *hiurāt*, now both *heirat* and *heurat*, or *tīn* and *tȳr*, p 196), so *Irine* (expanded into *Iuwarinc*, as the OHG poss *pron iur* into *iurwar*), so in the 16-17th cent *Euring* alternates with *Euring* A few MSS read *Hining* for *Iring*, like *Hirmin* for *Irmin*, but I have never seen a *Heuring* for *Euring*, or it might have suggested a Saxon *hevenring*, as the rainbow is called the ring of heaven An old AS name for Orion, *Eburðring*, *Ebuðring*, seems somehow connected, especially with the *Iuwarinc* above

one another. Now, either the legend has made the two friends change places, and transferred *Irmin's way* to Iring, or *Iring* (not uncommon as a man's name too, *eg*, Trad Fuld 1, 79) is of himself a demigod grown dim, who had a way and wain of his own, as well as Irmin. Only, Irmin's worship seems to have had the deeper foundations, as the image of the *Irminsül* sufficiently shows. As the name of a place I find *Iringes pinc* (burg), MB 7, 47 157 138 231 *Iringesperc* (berg) 29, 58.

Up to this point I have refrained from mentioning some Norse traditions, which have a manifest reference to the earthly heropath. It had been the custom from of old, for a new king, on assuming the government, to travel the great highway across the country, confirming the people in their privileges (RA 237-8). This is called in the O Swed laws '*Eriks-gatu* ridha,' riding Eric's road<sup>1</sup>. Sweden numbers a host of kings named *Erik* (ON *Erikr*), but they are all quite historical, and to none of them can be traced this custom of the *Eriks-gata*. With the royal name of Erik the Swedes must from very early times have associated the idea of a god or deified king, the vita Anskari written by his pupil Rimbert, has a remarkable passage on it (Pertz 2, 711). When the adoption of christianity was proposed to king Olef about 860, a man of heathen sentiments alleged, '*Se in conventu deorum, qui ipsam terram possidere credebantur, et ab eis missum, ut haec regi et populis nunciaret. Vos, inquam,*<sup>2</sup> *nos vobis propitios diu habuistis, et terram incolatus vestri cum multa abundantia nostro adiutorio in pace et prosperitate longo tempore tenuistis, vos quoque nobis sacrificia et vota debita persolvistis, grataque nobis vestra fuerunt obsequia. At nunc et sacrificia solita subtrahitis, et vota spontanea segnius offertis,*<sup>3</sup> *et, quod magis nobis displicet, alienum deum super nos intro ducitis. Si itaque nos vobis propitios habere vultis, sacrificia ommissa augete et vota majora persolvite, alterius quoque dei culturam, qui contraria nobis docet, ne apud vos recipiatis et ejus servitio ne intendatis. Porro, si etiam plures deos*

<sup>1</sup> The venerable custom still prevailed in the 15-16th cent. '*statuta provincialium generose confirmavit et sigillavit in equitatu qui dicitur Eriks-gata,*' *Diarium Vazstenense* ad an 1441 (ed Benzell, Ups 1721) p 86. '*Rex Christoforus Sueciae et Daciae equitatum fecit qui dicitur Eriks-gata secundum leges patriae,*' *ibid* ad an 1442. Even Gustavus Vasa rode his *Eriks-gata*.

<sup>2</sup> For *inquimus*, as elsewhere inquit for inquirunt.

<sup>3</sup> Votum, what an individual offers, as opposed to the sacrificium presented publicly and jointly; conf supra, p 57.



habere desideratis, et nos vobis non sufficimus, *Ericum*, quondam regem vestrum, nos unanimes *in collegium nostrum asciscimus*,<sup>1</sup> ut sit *unus de numero deorum*—I have transcribed the whole passage, because it aptly expresses the attitude of the pagan party, and the lukewarmness already prevailing towards their religion the heathen priests thought of adding a fresh hero to their throng of gods<sup>2</sup> This seems to exclude all later Erics from any claim to the *Eriksgata*, probably there were mixed up even then, at least in Rimbert's mind, traditions of a divine Erik

It can no longer remain doubtful now, what god or divine hero lies hidden in this Erik I had at one time thought of Er (Mars), because the form *Eriktag* is met with a few times for *Eitag* (p 124), but the short vowel in Er, and the long one in Irinc, Enikr, are enough to warn us off Instead of *Eriksgata* we also meet with *Riksgata*, and this points decidedly to *Rigr*, the earthly name of the god Heimdallr, who in the Edda walks the *green roads* (*grœnar brautn*) of earth, to beget the three races of men In the green earthly roads are mirrored the white and shining paths of heaven<sup>3</sup> Then the problem started on p 234, whether the ON form *Rígr* arose out of *Iríng* by aphæresis and syncope, now finds a solution approaching to certainty Heimdallr dwells in Himinbiörg on the quaking roost (Bifrost), the rainbow, which is the bridge or path by which the gods descend from heaven to earth The rainbow is the celestial ring, as the galaxy is the celestial road, and Heimdallr keeper of that road, Heimdallr is Rigr = Iring, walking the earth and translated to the skies, now we comprehend, why there lived among the nations many a various tale of *Eriksgata*, *Iringsvee*, *Iringsstaða*, and was shifted now to one and now to the other celestial phenomenon Iring, through *Iuvaring*, borders on *Eburðring* the old name of Orion (see Suppl) And if our heroic legend associates Irmenfrit, *i e*, Irmin with Iring, and Irmin-street alternates with Iring-street, then in the god-myth also, there must have existed points of contact between Irmin = Óðinn and Iring = Heimdallr well, Heimdallr was a son of Óðinn, and the Welsh milky way was actually named after Gwydion, *i e*, Wöden From the Irminsûl four roads branched out across the country, *Eriksgata*

<sup>1</sup> So king Hákon is admitted into the society of gods, Herjóðr and Bragi go to meet him 'siti Hákon með heðin goð' (Hákonarmál)

<sup>2</sup> Dahlmann guesses it may be the Upsal Erik (d 804)

<sup>3</sup> Altd blatter I, 372-3

extended in four directions, four such highways are likewise known to English tradition, though it gives the name of Ermingestret to only one, and bestows other mythic titles on the rest. Of Irmin and of Iring, both the divine personality and the lapse into hero-nature seem to be made out.

## 2 MARSO GAMBARO SUAPO

Now that I have expounded the primeval triad of Germanic races, I have to offer some conjectures on the sevenfold division. Pliny's quintuple arrangement seems not so true to fact, his Vindili are Tacitus's Vandili, his Peucini not referable to any founder of a race. But Tacitus to his first three adds four other leading races, the Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi and Vandili, in whose names there exists neither alliteration nor the weak form as a mark of derivation.

The Marsi between Rhine and Weser, an early race which soon disappears, in whose country the Tanfana sanctuary stood, lead up to a hero *Marso*, whom we must not mix up with the Roman Mars gen Martis, nor with Marsus the son of Circe (who in like manner gives name to an Italian people, Gellius 16, 11. Pliny 7, 2 Augustine in Ps 57). The Marsigni = Marsingi, a Suevic people, acknowledged the same name and origin. The proper name *Marso* occurs in Mabillon no 18, in a deed of 692, also in the polypt Irminonis p 158<sup>a</sup> 163<sup>b</sup>, but seldom elsewhere. *Mersburg* and *Marstburg*, Pertz 8, 537-540, seem to belong here, while some other names given above, p 201, are open to doubt, I do not know if a MHG phrase, obscure in itself, is at all relevant 'zuo allen marsen varn,' MS 1, 25<sup>a</sup>, which may signify, to go to all the devils, expose oneself to every danger, conf 'einen marsen man,' Crane 2865. The Gothic marzjan (impedire, offendere) might seem allied to the root, but that would have been merrian, merran in OHG.

The name of the Gambrivii I assign to the root gambar, kambar stienuus, from which also is derived the name of *Gambara*, ancestress of the Langobards. There may have been likewise a hero *Gambaro*. And the forest of Gambreta (instead of Gabreta) is worth considering. *Gambara*'s two sons are called *Ibor* = OHG *Epur*, *ÅS. Eofor*, *ON Iofur*, *ie aper*, *boar*, and *Ajo* all the three names appear to be corrupt in Saxo Gram.

Ought we to assume for the Suevi, OHG *Suâpâ*, an eponymous hero *Suevo*, *Suâpo*, and perhaps connect with him an old legend of a mountain? Pliny 4, 13 places in the land of the 'gens Ingaevonum, quae est prima Germaniae,' a certain '*Sevo mons immensus*' reaching to the Sinus Codanus, and Solinus, following him, says 22, 1 '*Mons Sevo ipse ingens . . . initium Germaniae facit, hunc Inguaeones tenent,*' but Isidor (Orig 10, 2) makes out of it: '*dicti autem Suevi putantur a monte Suevo, qui ab ortu initium Germaniae facit*' From this evidently is taken the account of the immigrating Swâben in the Lay of Anno 284 '*si sluogen in gecelte* (pitched their tents) *ane dem berge Suebo* (so several read for Suedo), *dannin wurdin si geheizin Suâbo*'<sup>1</sup> In the Low German psalms 57, 17 *mons coagulatus* is rendered '*berg suewot*,' which is perhaps to be explained by the legend of the leburmer [liver-sea, Tacitus's *mare pigrum*? Germ 45 Agr 10] It seems more to the point, that in Sæm 164-8 the *Sefa fioll* (fells, mountains, of the Sevs) are mentioned in those very Helga-songs, one of which sings of *Svafaland*, king *Svafnur* and the valkyr *Scava* A *v* after *s* is frequently dropped, and the readings *Sevo*, *Suevo* can thus be reconciled *Suâpo* then would be a counterpart to Etzel and Faîrguns (pp 169, 172)? The AS *Sweppa*, or rather *Swæf-dæg*, can hardly be brought in here

Tacitus's *Vandili* and Pliny's *Vindili* stand in the same relation to each other as *Arminius* and *Irmin*, *Angrivari* and *Inguiones*, both forms come from winding and wending, out of which so many mythic meanings flow *Wuotan* is described under several names as the wender, wanderer [Germ *wandeln ambulare, mutare*]

On the slight foundation of these national names, *Marsi*, *Gambiriv*, *Suevi* and *Vandili*, it is unsafe as yet to build Tacitus connects these with *Mannus*, but the heroes themselves he does not even name, let alone giving any particulars of them.

### 3 (HERCULES). (ULYSSES) ALCIS

Clear and definite on the other hand are the historian's notices of another famous hero *Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt*, Germ

<sup>1</sup> *Kaiserchr.* 285 *sin gecelt hiez er slahen dô uf erin berc der heizt Swero, von dem berge Swero sint sie alle geheizen Swabo* For *Swero* read *Suevo* (see Suppl.)

3 Speaking of sacrifices in cap 9, after mentioning *Mercurius* first, he immediately adds *Herculem* ac *Martem* concessis animalibus placant, the demigod being purposely put before even Mars. Chapter 34 tells us of the ocean on the coast of the Frisians, then says *Et superesse adhuc Hercules columnas fama vulgavit, sive adit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquam. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.* The *Annals* 2, 12 name a 'silva *Herculi* sacra,' between the Weser and Elbe in the land of the Cheruskans, while the *Peutinger Table* puts a 'castra *Herculis*' near *Noviomagus* (*Nimwegen*). All this means something, it all points to some demigod who is identified, not unadvisedly, with that of the Romans. *Hercules*, whose deeds were accomplished in countries widely remote, is thought to have visited Germany also, and the *Gaditanian pillars* at one end of Europe have a counterpart in the *Frisian ocean* on another side of it. In the German battle-song the praise of *Hercules* is sounded first, victims are slain to him as to the highest gods, to him a wood is consecrated. Of pillars, even *Widukind* still knows something, by his speaking of *Hirmin's* effigies columnarum (pl), not columnae. Was the plural *irman-sûli* (p 115) more exact than *irmansûl*, and had the image several pillars? Did the Roman in his *Hermin* and *Herminones* think of *Herakles* and *Hercules*, whose name bore plainly on its face the root "*Hpa*, *Hera*? was that why he retained the aspirate in *Herminones* and *Hermundun*, and not in *Arminius*? An approximation of sound in the names of the two heroes, Roman and German, may surely be presupposed. The position of *Herculis silva* and *columnae* does not indeed agree with that of the *Herminones*, but the worship of such a hero was sure to spread far and not to be confined to the particular race to which he gave his name. In the German *Irman*, *Imin*, it seems correct for the aspirate to be wanting, as in *Arminius*, in *Cherusci* it is indispensable, and therefore the Romans never wrote *Herusci*.

If in this '*Hercules*' we wish to see one of the great gods themselves, we must apparently exclude *Mercury* and *Mars*, from whom he is distinguished in cap. 9, *ie*, *Wuotan* and *Zio*. And for supposing him to mean *Donar*, *ie*, *Jupiter* (as *Zeuss* does, p 25), I

see no other ground than that the Norse Thôir, like Hercules, performs innumerable heroic deeds, but these may equally be placed to the credit of Iimin, and Irmin and the thundergod have nothing else in common. Yet, in favour of 'Hercules' being Donai, we ought perhaps to weigh the AS sentences quoted on p 161, note, also, that Herakles was a son of Zeus, and a foe to giants.

I had thought at one time that Hercules might stand for Sahsnôt, Seaxneât, whom the formula of renunciation exalts by the side of Thunar and Wôdan, I thought so on the strength of 'Hercules Saxanus,' whose surname might be explained by saxum = sahs. But the inscriptions in which we meet with this Hercules Saxanus extend beyond the bounds of Germany, and belong rather to the Roman religion. Our Sahsnôt has with more justice been assigned to Zio (p 203), with whom Hercules cannot be connected. I now think the claims of Irmin are better founded as Hercules was Jupiter's son, Irmin seems to have been Wôdan's, and he must have been the subject of the battle-songs (itur in proelia canunt), even of those which Tacitus understood of Alminius (canitur adhuc), though they would have suited Mars too, p 207 (see Suppl.)

It is a harder matter to form an opinion about the 'Ulysses': Ceterum et *Ulixem* quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque, aram quoniam etiam *Ulixi* consecratam, adjecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, Tac Geim 3. In Odysseus people have seen Oðinn, in Asciburg Asburg, but if Wôden stood for the god Mercury, it cannot here mean the hero, still less can Askiburg be traced to the âses, a purely Norse form, which in these regions would have been anses. When Tacitus makes Ulixes the founder of *Asciburg*, nothing is simpler than to suppose him to have been *Isco*, *Escio*, *Aslo* (p 350), and if it was *Isco* that set the Romans thinking of Ul-ixes, how it helps to establish the *sc* in Iscaevones! *Mannus* the father of Isco may have suggested *Laertes*, inasmuch as λαός people, and λᾶος stone, are mixed up in the creation of the first *man* (the origo-gentis) out of stone or rock (see ch XIX); in the same way *Asco* grew up out of the tree (ash), and δρῦς and πέτρῃ stand together in the mythus,

not without meaning As *liut* from *liotan*, *λαός* seems to come from the same root as *λᾶος*, *λᾶας*<sup>1</sup>

The interpretatio Romana went more upon analogies of sense than of sound, so, in dealing with *Castor* and *Pollux*, I will not take them for the brothers *Hadu* and *Phol* = *Baldr* (see Suppl.) These Gemini, however, are the very hardest to interpret, the passage about them was given on p 66, and an attempt was made to show that *alc* referred to the place where the godlike twins were worshipped I confess it does not satisfy me Our antiquity has plenty of hero brothers to show, but no twins with a name like *Alci*, if this plural of *Alcus* is the true form It occurs to me, that one of *Oðin*'s names is *Iðlkr* (Sæm. 46<sup>b</sup> 47<sup>b</sup>), and *jolk* in the Vermland dialect means a boy<sup>2</sup> This comes more home to us than the Samogitic *Algur* (angelus est summorum deorum, Lasicz, p 47), towards which the dictionaries offer nothing but *alga*, reward Utterly untrustworthy is any comparison with the Slav deities *Lel* and *Polel*, themselves as yet unsupported by authority (see Suppl.)<sup>3</sup>

#### 4 BEOWULF, SIGFRIT, AMALO, ERMENRICH, DIETERICH, &c

From the above specimens in Tacitus we may conclude that all the Teutonic races had a pretty fully developed Heroology, and if our ancient stores of native literature had been still accessible to us, we might have gained a much closer insight into its nature and its connexion as a whole As it is, we are thrown upon dry *genealogies*, dating from many centuries after, and touching only certain races, namely the Goths, Langobards, Burgundians, but above all, the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians We may learn from them the connexion of the later kings with the ancient gods and heroes, but not the living details of their myths Yet we could be content, if even such pedigrees had also been preserved of the Franks and other nations of continental Germany

The Anglo-Saxon genealogies seem the most important, and the

<sup>1</sup> "Ulves = Loku, Sn 78 For Laertes, whose name Pott 1, 222 explains as protector of the people, conf Ptolemy's Λακιβούργιον" Extr from Suppl, vol III <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Almqvist, Svensk språklara, Stockh 1840, p 385<sup>a</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In Lith lele is pupa, akies lele pupilla, leilas butterfly

Appendix gives them in full [but see above, p 165] All the families branch out from *Wóden*, as most of the Greek do from Zeus, it was a proud feeling to have one's root in the highest of all gods. Prominent among his sons are *Saxneðt* and *Bældæg*, who were themselves accounted divine, but several other names can claim a place among the earliest heroes, *e.g.*, *Sigegeát* and *Wóðelgeát*<sup>1</sup> (both akin to the Gothic *Gáuts*), *Fréáwine*, *Wusefréd*, *Sæfugel*, *Westerfalcna*, and many are fallen dim to us. *Cásere*, which in other AS writings is used for *cynning*,<sup>2</sup> seems to be a mere appellative, and to have acquired the character of a proper name after the analogy of the Roman *cæsar* (?) All these genealogies give us barely the names of the god's sons and grandsons, never those of their mothers or grandmothers, and the legend, which ought like the Greek ones to give life to the relationship, is the very thing we miss.

Some of the Norse traditions gain in value, by being taken with the genealogies. The *Volsúngasaga* sets out with *Oðin's* being the father of *Sigi*, but all particulars of the relationship are withheld, *Rerir* the son of *Sigi* is in the immediate keeping of the highest gods, and so on. Another time, on the contrary, we are informed, Sn 84—86, how *Oðinn* under the name of *Bolverkr* (OHG *Palwurch*?) became servant to the giant *Baugi*, in order to get at the divine drink, which the giant's brother *Suttúngr* kept, guarded by his daughter *Gunnloð*, between her and the god took place sundry passages of love, dimly hinted at by *Sæmund* also 12<sup>b</sup> 23<sup>a</sup> 24<sup>a</sup>, but we are nowhere told what heroes were begotten in the three nights that *Oðinn* passed with the giant's daughter. *Gunnloð* belongs to the race of giants, not of men, which is also the case with *Gerðr* whom *Freyr* wooed, and perhaps with others, who are not reckoned among the *âsynjor*. The Greeks also held that from the union of gods with titans' daughters might spring a hero, or even a god (like *Týr*, p 208)—Only *Saxo*, p 66, and no other authority, tells us of a Norwegian king and hero '*Frogerus*, ut quidam ferunt, Othino patre natus,' to whom the gods gave to be invincible in fight, unless his adversary could grasp the dust from

<sup>1</sup> OHG *Wuotilgôz* (Zeitschr f d alt 1, 577), conf wuetein above, p 132, and Wodel-beer, p 156 (see Suppl.)

<sup>2</sup> In *Boeth* 38, 1 *Agamemnon* is styled *cásere*, and *Ulysses* *cynning* [in the Pref, *Rædgot*, *Ealleric*, *Theodric* are *cyningas*, the emperors always *cásere*], in a doc in *Kemble* 2, 304 *Eáðred* is '*cynning* and *cásere*'.

under his feet,<sup>1</sup> which the Danish king Fiotho by fraud contrived to do. Can this *Fioyer* be the AS *Fieðegâr*, *Fieðegâr* in the Wessex genealogy, who had Brond for father, Bældæg for grandfather, Wôden for great-grandfather? The ON table of lineage seems to mix up *Fieðegâr* with *Froði*, his adversary.<sup>2</sup> According to the *Formáli* of the *Edda*, p. 15, and the *Yngl* saga c. 9, Norway traced her eldest line of kings to *Samíngi*, the son of Óðinn by *Skaði*, previously the wife of *Níoiðr*, some write *Semíngi*, which means pacificator, and would lead to *Fieðegâr* again. *Skaði* was daughter to the jotunn *Thiassi*, and the *Sigurðardrápa* (-killing) calls *Siguiði* *Laðaiarl* 'afspringr *Thiassa*,' (Th. progenies) — The *Her- rauðssaga* cap. 1 makes *Híngi* s. r. *Ing* from *Gauti*, and him from Óðinn. This *Gauti* or *Gauti* (conf. *Ing* and *Ingo*, *Irmín* and *Irmíno*), Goth. *Gáuts*, OHG. *Kôz*, AS. *Geát*, whether surname, son or ancestor of Óðinn, cannot belie his divinity (conf. p. 367), and his son *Godwulf* too, confounded by some with *Folcwald* (p. 165, last table), looks mythical. It is from *Gáuts* that the *Gáutóðs* (*Kôzâ*, *Γαυτοί*) professed to be descended, these being other than the *Gupans* (Tac. *Gothones*, *Γότθοι*), but related to them nevertheless, for the Gothic genealogy starts with the same *Gáuts* at the head of it — Again, *Sigrlami* is called Óðin's son, *Fornald* sog. 1, 413. But who can '*Bous* (gen. *Boi*), *Othum* ex *Rinda* filius' be in *Saxo Gram* 46? Possibly *Bian*, *Biaf*, *Beav* = *Beowulf*, to whom we are coming (see *Suppl.*)<sup>3</sup>

Another Óðinnson, *Skioldi*, is the famed ancestral hero of the Danes, from whom are derived all the *Skioldungar* (*Sn* 146), he may have been most nearly related to the people of *Schonen*, as in the *Fornm* sog. 5, 239 he is expressly called *Skânunga* goð (see p. 161), and was probably worshipped as a god. In *Saxo Gram* he does not take the lead, but follows after *Humbius*, *Dan*<sup>4</sup> and *Lothar*, *Skiold* himself has a son *Gram*,<sup>5</sup> from whom come *Hadding*

<sup>1</sup> A token of victory? as the vanquished had to present such dust (*R.A.* 111-2)

<sup>2</sup> The AS name *Frôðheri* stands yet farther away (*Beda* 2, 9 § 113)

<sup>3</sup> *Saxo* 122 mentions one hero begotten by *Thôni*. *Haldanus* *Brangnammus* apud *Sueones magni Thor filius existimatur*. And I know of no other but this one

<sup>4</sup> *Dan*, in *Saxo's* view the true ancestor of the Danes, is called in the *Rígsmaal* *Dani*, and placed together with *Danpi*, *Sæm* 106<sup>b</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere *Gramr* is the proper name of a particular sword, while the appellative *gramr* denotes king



and then Frotho; but the AS genealogy places its Scild after *Scedf*, and singularly makes them both ancestors of Oðinn. From *Scedf* descends *Sceldwa*, from him consecutively *Beaw*, *Tætwa*, *Geát*, and after several more generations comes *Wóden* last. The ON version of the lineage is in harmony with this, and even in the Gothic pedigree, which only begins with *Gáuts*, we may suppose a Skáufs, Skildva, Tátva to have preceded, to whom the OHG names Scoup, Scilto, Zeizo would correspond—None however is so interesting as Sceldwa's son, the Anglo-Saxon *Beaw*, called by the Scandinavians *Biar*, *Braf*, but in the living AS epos *Beowulf*. It is true, the remarkable poem of that name is about a second and younger Beowulf, in whom his forefather's name repeats itself, but fortunately the opening lines allude to the elder Beowulf, and call his father *Scild* (Goth Skildus, agreeing with Skioldr) a Scéfing, *ie*, son of *Scedf*. *Beaw* is a corruption of *Beow*, and *Beow* an abbreviation of *Beowulf*—it is the complete name that first opens to us a wider horizon. *Beowulf* signifies bee-wolf (OHG *Prawolf*?), and that is a name for the *woodpecker*, a bird of gay plumage that hunts after bees, of whom antiquity has many a tale to tell<sup>1</sup>. Strange to say, the classical mythus (above, pp. 206, 249) makes this *Picus* a son of *Saturn*, inasmuch as it either identifies him with *Zeus* who is succeeded by a *Hermes*, or makes him nourisher of *Mars's* sons and father of *Faunus*. We see *Picus* (*Picumnus*) interwoven into the race of *Kronos*, *Zeus*, *Hermes* and *Ares*, the old Bohemian *Stračec* = *picus* into that of *Sitiviat*, *Kirt* and *Radigost*, as *Beowulf* is into that of *Geát* and *Wóden*. If the groups differ in the details of their combination, their agreement as wholes is the more trustworthy and less open to suspicion. And just as the footprints of *Saturn* were traceable from the Slavs to the Saxons and to England, but were less known to the Northmen, so those of the divine bird in *Stračec* and *Beowulf* seem to take the same course, and never properly to reach Scandinavia. The central Germans stood nearer to Roman legend, although no actual borrowing need have taken place.

What a deep hold this group of heroes had taken, is evidenced by another legend. *Scedf* (*ie*, manipulus frumenti) takes his name

<sup>1</sup> Can the name in Upper Germany for the *turdus* or *orolus galbula*, *Bwulf*, *Prolf*, brother *Prolf* (Frisch 1, 161), possibly stand for *Bwewulf* (or *Biterolf*)? The Serbs call it *Urosh*, and curiously this again is a hero's name. Conf. the Finn *uros* [with *héros*?], p. 341.

from the circumstance, that when a boy he was conveyed to the country he was destined to succour, while *asleep*<sup>1</sup> on a sheaf of corn in the boat. The poetry of the Lower Rhine and Netherlands in the Mid Ages is full of a similar story of the *sleeping* youth whom a swan conducts in his ship to the afflicted land, and this swan-knight is pictured approaching out of paradise, from the grave, as *Helras*, whose divine origin is beyond question. Helias, Gerhart or Loherangrin of the thirteenth century is identical then with a *Scôf* or *Scoup* of the seventh and eighth, different as the surroundings may have been, for the song of Beowulf appears to have transferred to *Sculd* what belonged of right to his father *Sceáf*. The beautiful story of the swan is founded on the miraculous origin of the swan-brothers, which I connect with that of the Welfs, both however seem to be antique lineage-legends of the Franks and Swabians, to which the proper names are mostly wanting. Had they been preserved, many another tie between the heroes and the gods would come to light<sup>2</sup>—Further, to *Sceldwa* or *Skroldr* belongs obviously the name *Schiltune* in the Tirol and Parzival,<sup>3</sup> as the name *Schilbunc*, Nib 88, 3, points to a race of *Scilpungá*, corresponding to the AS *Scilfingas*, ON *Sculfingar*, of whom Skelfir, Scilfe, Scilpi is to be regarded as the ancestor. This *Skelfir* the Fornald sog 2, 9 makes the father of *Skioldr*, so that the *Skulfinga* and *Skroldinga* ætt fall into one. Either Scelf is here confounded with Scêf, or Scêf must be altered to Scelf, but the frequent occurrence of the form Sceaáf, and its interpretation (from sheaf), seem alike to forbid this (see Suppl.)

As the Skioldungar descend from Skioldr, so do the Giukungar from *Grukr* = *Gibika*, *Kypicho*, with whom the Burgundian line begins if not a god himself (p 137), he is a divine hero that carries us back very near to Wuotan. The *Gibichensterne* (-stones) moreover bear witness to him, and it is to the two most eminent women of this race that Grimhildensteine, Brunhildensteine are allotted<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Umborwesende? Beow 92

<sup>2</sup> The ship that brought Sceaáf and the swan-knight carries them away again at last, but the reason is disclosed only in later legend it was forbidden to inquire into their origin, Parz 825, 19. Conr, Schwanritter 1144-73.

<sup>3</sup> Zeitschr für deut. alterth 1, 7

<sup>4</sup> Brunehildestein, lectulus Brunihilde, Kriemhiltenstein, Ciemildespiel (Heldensage p 155), Krimhilde graben (Weisth 1, 48), in loco Grimhiltaperg uominato (Juvavia p 137); de Crimhiltapere, MB 7. 498

Frau *Uote* however appears as ancestress of the stock<sup>1</sup> It has not been so much noticed as it ought, that in the Lex Burg *Gislahari* precedes *Gundahari* by a whole generation, whilst our epic (Nibelungen) makes Giselhere Gunthere's younger brother, and the Edda never names him at all The Law makes no mention of any brothers, and Giselher the young has merely the name of his elder kinsman *Gérnôt* (from *gér* = *gáis*) and *Giselher* seem to be identical (conf Gramm 2, 46) But the Noise Guttormi can hardly be a distortion of Godomar, for we meet with him outside of the legend, *eg*, in Landn 1, 18 20, where the spelling Guðormr (Guntwurm) would lead us to identify him with Gunthere, and in Saxo Gram are found several Guthormi (see Suppl) Then *Hagano* the one-eyed, named from *hagan* (*spinosus*, Waltharius 1421), is 'more than heroic'<sup>2</sup>

Even deeper reaching roots must be allowed to the Welisungs, their name brings us to a divine *Valis* who has disappeared (conf the ON *Valr*, p 163), but the mere continuance of an OHG *Welsunc* is a proof of the immemorial diffusion of the *Volsunga-saga* itself (see Suppl). How, beginning with Wuotan, it goes on to *Sigr*, *Sigmunt*, *Sigfrít*, *Sintarfizlo*, has been alluded to on p 367, and has already been treated of elsewhere<sup>3</sup> With *Sigfrít* stands connected *Helfrich*, Chilpericus, ON *Hialprekr* It is worthy of note, that the AS *Beowulf* calls *Sigfrít* *Sigmund*, and *Sigmundr* is a surname of *Oðinn* besides<sup>4</sup> Such a flood of splendour falls on Siegfried in the poems, that we need not stick at trifles; his whole nature has evident traces of the superhuman brought up by an elf Regino, beloved by a valkyr *Brünhild*, instructed in his destiny by the wise man *Grípir*, he wears the helmet of invisibility, is vulnerable only on one spot in his body, as Achilles was in the heel, and he achieves the rich hoard of the Nibelungs. His slaying of the dragon *Fáfnir* reminds us of *Πύθων*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Haupts zeitschr 1, 21

<sup>2</sup> Lachmann's examination of the whole Nibelung legend, p 22

<sup>3</sup> Haupts zeitschr 1, 2—6

<sup>4</sup> In the Copenh ed of the Edda, *Sæm* 2, 889 *Sigemon*, and in Finn Magn lex. 643 *Segemon*, is said to have been a name of the Celtic Mars, I suppose on the ground of the inscriptt in Gruter lvm 5 *Marti Segemoni sacrum* in civitate Sequanorum, and ii 2 *Dus deabus omnibus Veturus L L Securus* (al *Segomanus*) pro se quisque (see Suppl)

<sup>5</sup> Almost the same, granting a change of *th* into *f* (as in *θήρ*, φήρ), of our *ā* standing for Greek *ῥ* there are more examples *fnásu*, *blásu* = *πνέω*, *φλύω*.

whom Apollo overcame, and as Python guarded the Delphic oracle, the dying Fáfnir prophesies<sup>1</sup> We must take into account *Loðfáfnir* Sæm 24, 30 Sinfiotli, who, when a boy, kneads snakes into the dough, is comparable to the infant Hercules tested by serpents

Through Siegfried the Frankish Welisungs get linked to the Burgundian Gibichungs, and then both are called Nibelungs

Among Gothic heroes we are attracted by the *Ovrida* and *Cnirida* in Jornandes cap 22, perhaps the same as *Offa* and *Cnebbia* in the Mercian line But of far more consequence is the great Gothic family of Amals or Amalungs, many of whose names in the Jornandean genealogy seem corrupt The head of them all was Gapt, which I emend to *Gaut* (Gáuts), and so obtain an allusion to the divine office of casting [giessen, ein-guss, in-got] and meting (pp 22 142), he was a god, or son of a god (p 164), and is even imported into the Saxon lines as *Geát*, Wödelgeát, Sigegeát (p. 367) In this Gothic genealogy the weak forms Amala, Isarna, Ostrogotha, Ansila, confirm what we have observed in Tuisco, Inguio, Iscao, Imino, but those best worth noting are *Amala*, after whom the most powerful branch of the nation is named, *Ermanaricus* and *Theodericus* Ermanaricus must be linked with Imino and the Heiminnones, as there is altogether a closer tie between Goths and Saxons (Ingaevones and Heiminnones) as opposed to the Franks (Iscaevones), and this shows itself even in the later epics — Amongst the Amalungs occur many names compounded with *vulf*, which reminds us of their side-branch, the Wulfings, if it be not too bold, I would even connect *Isarna* (Goth Eisarna) with Isangrim To me the four sons of Achulf seem worthy of particular notice Ansila, Edulf, Vuldulf, and Hermenrich Of the last we have just spoken, and Ansila means the divine, our present concern is with *Edulf* and *Vuldulf* I find that Jornandes, cap 54, ascribes to the Scyrnians also two heroes *Edica* and *Vulf*, the Rugian *Odoacer* has a father *Etiho* and a brother *Aonulf*, and

<sup>1</sup> The epithet *sveinn* (Sw sven, Dan svend) given to the Norse *Sigurðr* appears already in Fáfnir's address '*sveinn ok sveinn*!' and in the headings to ch 142-4 of the Vilk saga The same hero then is meant by the *Svanð snarevend* (fortis puer) of the Danish folk-song, who, riding on G.ani, accompanies to Askerena (see ch XXXI), and by *Svend Felding* or *Failing* of the Danish folk-tale (Thiele 2, 64-7 Muller's sagabibl 2, 417-9) He drank out of a horn handed to him by elvish beings, and thereby acquired the strength of twelve men Swedish songs call him *Sien Farning* or *Fotling*, Arvidsson 1, 129. 415

the legend<sup>1</sup> on the origin of the Welfs has the proper names *Isenbart*, *Irmentrud*, *Welf* and *Etico* constantly recurring. Now, welf is strictly *catulus* (huelv, whelp, ON *hvelpr*), and distinct from wolf, natural history tells us of several strong courageous animals that are brought into the world blind, the Langobardic and Swabian genealogies play upon dogs and wolves being exposed, and as *Odoacer*, *Otacher* (a thing that has never till now been accounted for) is in some versions called *Sipicho*, ON *Bicki*, and this means dog (bitch), I suspect a similar meaning in *Edica*, *Eticho*, *Eduulf*, *Odacar*, which probably affords a solution of the fable about the 'blind Schwaben and Hessen' their lineage goes back to the blind Welfs. In the genealogy *Eduulf* is described as brother to *Ermenrich*, in later sagas *Bicki* is counsellor to *Ioimunrekr*, the *Hildebrandshed* has but too little to say of *Otacher*. Then *Vuldulf* also (perhaps *Vuldr-ulf*) will signify a glorious beaming wolf (see Suppl.)—As *Siegfried* eclipsed all other *Wehsungs*, so did *Dieterich* all the *Amalungs*, and where the epos sets them one against the other, each stands in his might, unconquered, unapproachable. *Dieterich's* divine herohood comes out in more than one feature, *e.g.*, his fiery breath, and his taking the place of *Wuotan* or *Frô* (p 213-4) at the head of the wild host, as *Dieterichbern* or *Bernhard*. The fiery breath brings him nearer to *Donar*, with whom he can be compared in another point also. *Dieterich* is wounded in the forehead by an arrow, and a piece of it is left inside him, for which reason he is called the deathless,<sup>1</sup> not otherwise did the half of *Hrûngnir's* *heim* (stone wedge) remain in *Thor's* head, and as *Grôa's* magic could not loosen it, it sticks there still, and none shall aim with the like stones, for it makes the piece in the god's forehead stir (Sn 109—111)<sup>2</sup>. This horn-like stone was very likely shown in images, and enhanced their godlike appearance.

The renowned race of the *Billings* or *Billungs*, whose mythic roots and relations are no longer discoverable, was still flourishing in North Germany in the 10-11th centuries. The first historically certain *Billing* died in 967, and another, above a hundred years older, is mentioned<sup>3</sup>. The Cod. Exon 320, 7 says. '*Billing* weold

<sup>1</sup> Simon Keza, *chron. Hungaror* 1, 11-12. *Heini von Muglein* (in *Kowachich* p. 8), *conf. Deutsche heldensage* p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the proverb: *seint Iosnar heim i hofin Thors*.

<sup>3</sup> *Wedekind's Hermann duke of Saxony*, *Lüneb* 1817, p. 60. *Conf.* the miles *Billinc*, comes *Billungus* in docs of 961-8 in *Hofers zeitschr* 2, 239-344, and the OHG. form *Billungus* in *Zeuss, Trad. wizenb* pp. 274-287. 305.

Wernum,' he belongs therefore to the stock of Werinǫ, who were near of kin to the Angles. There was a *Billunga* hæð (heath) near Whalley, and London has to this day a Billingsgate. In OHG we find a man's name *Billunc* (Ried nos 14 21-3, A D 808 821-2). If we take into account, that a dwarf *Billigr* occurs in the Edda, Sæm 2<sup>a</sup> 23<sup>a</sup>, a hero *Pillunc* in Rol 175, 1, and *Billunc* and Nidunc coupled together in the Renner 14126-647, the name acquires a respectable degree of importance (see Suppl.). The derivative *Billunc* implies a simple *bil* or *bili* (lenitas, placiditas), from which directly [and not from our adj. *bilig*, *fan*] are formed the OHG names *Pilhrūt*, *Pilhilt*, *Pilikart*, *Pilihelm*, to which add the almost personified *Billich* (equity) in Trist 9374 10062 17887 18027, and the ON goddess *Bil*, Sn 39, the *ll* in *Billung* could be explained through *Bihung*. Just as *Oðinn* in Sæm 46<sup>b</sup> is called both *Bileygr* (mild-eyed) and *Baleygr* (of baleful eye), so in Saxo Gram. 130 a *Bilvisus* (æquus) stands opposed to *Bolvisus* (iniquus).

#### 5 ORENTIL WIELANT. MIMI. TELL, &c.

In addition to the heroes ascertained thus far, who form part of the main pedigree of whole nations, and thence derive weight and durability, there is another class of more isolated heroes, I can only put forward a few of them here.

We have still remaining a somewhat rude poem, certainly founded on very ancient epic material, about a king *Orendel* or *Erentel*, whom the appendix to the Heldenbuch pronounces the first of all heroes that were ever born. He suffers shipwreck on a voyage, takes shelter with a master fisherman *Eisen*,<sup>1</sup> earns the seamless coat of his master, and afterwards wins frau *Breide*, the fairest of women. king *Ergel* of Trier was his father's name. The whole tissue of the fable puts one in mind of the Odyssey: the shipwrecked man clings to the plank, digs himself a hole, holds a bough before him, even the seamless coat may be compared to Ino's veil, and the fisher to the swineherd, dame Breide's templars would be Penelope's suitors, and angels are sent often, like Zeus's messengers. Yet many things take a different turn, more in German fashion, and incidents are added, such as the laying of a naked sword between the newly married couple, which the Greek story knows nothing of. The hero's name is found even in OHG documents.

<sup>1</sup> Who is also found apparently in a version of the Lay of king Oswald

*Orendil*, Meichelb 61, *Orentil*, Trad fuld 2, 24 2, 109 (Schannat 308), *Orendil* a Bavarian count (an 843 in Eccard's Fr or 2, 367), a village *Orendelsal*, now Orendensall, in Hohenlohe, v Haupts zeitschr 7, 558—But the Edda has another myth, which was alluded to in speaking of the stone in Thôr's head Grôa is busy conning her magic spell, when Thôrr, to requite her for the approaching cure, imparts the welcome news, that in coming from Iotunheim in the North he has carried her husband the bold *Orvandill* in a basket on his back, and he is sure to be home soon, he adds by way of token, that as Orvandil's toe had stuck out of the basket and got frozen, he broke it off and flung it at the sky, and made a star of it, which is called *Orvandils-tâ*. But Grôa in her joy at the tidings forgot her spell, so the stone in the god's head never got loose, Sn 110-1 Grôa, the growing, the grass-green, is equivalent to Breide, *ve*, Berhta (p. 272) the bright, it is only another part of his history that is related here. *Örvandill* must have set out on his travels again, and on this second adventure forfeited the toe which Thôrr set in the sky, though what he had to do with the god we are not clearly told. Beyond a doubt, the name of the glittering star-group is referred to, when AS. glosses render 'jubar' by *earendel*, and a hymn to the virgin Mary in Cod Exon. 7, 20 presents the following passage.

Eala *Earendel*, engla beorhtast,  
ofer middangeard monnum sended,  
and sôðfæsta sunnan leoma.  
torht ofer tunglas, þu tida gehwane  
of sylfum þe symle inlihtes!

*ve*, O jubar, angelorum splendidissime, super orbem terrarum hominibus misse, radie vere solis, supra stellas lucide, qui omni tempore ex te ipso luces! Mary or Christ is here addressed under the heathen name of the constellation. I am only in doubt as to the right spelling and interpretation of the word, an OHG *Orentil* implies AS *earendel*, and the two would demand ON *aurvendill*, *eyrvendill*, but if we start with ON *orvendill*, then AS *earendel*, OHG *erentil* would seem preferable. The latter part of the compound certainly contains *entil* = *wentil*<sup>1</sup>. The first part should

<sup>1</sup> Whence did Matthesius (in Frisch 2, 439\*) get his "Paif is the heathens' *Wendel* and head bagpiper"? Can the word refer to the metamorphoses of the flute-playing demigod? In trials of witches, *Wendel* is a name for the devil, Mones anz 8, 124

be either *ôra*, *eáre* (auris), or else ON *or*, gen *ôivar'* (sagitta). Now, as there occurs in a tale in Saxo Gram., p. 48, a *Hoivendilus filius Gervendili*, and in OHG a name *Kêrwentil* (Schm. 2, 334) and *Gêrentil* (Trad. fuld. 2, 106), and as *geir* (hasta) agrees better with or than with *eyra* (auris), the second interpretation may command our assent,<sup>1</sup> a sight of the complete legend would explain the reason of the name. I think *Orentil's* father deserves attention too: *Eigil* is another old and obscure name, borne for instance by an abbot of Fulda who died in 822 (Pertz 1, 95 356 2, 366 Trad. fuld. 1, 77-8 122). In the Rhine-Moselle country are the singular *Engelsterne*, Weisth. 2, 744 (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup> In AS we find the names *Aegles burg* (Aylesbury), *Aegles foid* (Aylesford), *Aegles þorp*, but I shall come back to *Eigil* presently. Possibly *Orentil* was the thundergod's companion in expeditions against giants. Can the story of *Orentil's* wanderings possibly be so old amongst us, that in *Orentil* and *Eigil* of Trier we are to look for that Ulysses and Laertes whom Tacitus places on our Rhine (p. 365)? The names shew nothing in common.<sup>3</sup>

Far-famed heroes were *Wieland* and *Witrich*,<sup>4</sup> whose rich legend is second to none in age or celebrity. *Vidrigora* (Vidugauja) of whom the Goths already sang, OHG *Witugouwo* as well as *Witricho*, MHG *Witegouwe* and *Witege*, AS. *Wudga*, in either form *silvicola*, from the Goth *vidus*, OHG *witu*, AS *wudu* (lignum, silva), leads us to suppose a being passing the bounds of human nature, a forest-god. *Frau Wächilt*, a mermaid, is his ancestress, with whom he takes refuge in her lake. At the head of the whole race is placed king *Vilkinus*, named after Vulcanus as the Latin termination shews, a god or demigod, who must have had another and German name, and who begets with the merwoman a gigantic son *Vadr*, AS. *Wada* (Cod. Exon. 323, 1), OHG *Wato*, so named I suppose because, like another Christopher, he *waded* with his child on his shoulder through the *Gicenasund* where it is nine yards

<sup>1</sup> And so Uhland (On Thor, p. 47 seq.) expounds it. In Grôa he sees the growth of the crop, in Orvandill the sprouting of the blade. Even the tale in Saxo he brings in.

<sup>2</sup> The false spelling Eichelstein (acorn-stone) has given rise to spurious legends, Mones. anz. 7, 368.

<sup>3</sup> I have hardly the face to mention, that some make the right shifty Ulysses father to Fan, our Wendel above.

<sup>4</sup> The still unprinted M. Dutch poem, *De kinderen van Lamburg*, likewise mentions *Wlant*, *Wedeg* and *Mumminc*.



deep (between Zealand, Falster and Moen), the Danish hero *Wate* in Gudrun is identical with him, the AS *Wada* is placed toward Helsingen. Old English poetry had much to tell of him, that is now lost. Chaucer names '*Wades* boot Guingelot,' and a place in Northumberland is called *Wade's* gap, *Wætlingestrêt* could only be brought into connexion with him, if such a spelling as *Wædling* could be made good—Now, that son, whom Vadi carried through the sea to apprentice him to those cunning smiths the dwarfs, was *Wielant*, AS *Welant*, *Welond*, ON *Volundr*, but in the Vilk saga *Velint*, master of all smiths, and wedded to a swan-maiden Hervor alvitr. The rightful owner of the boat, which English tradition ascribes to Wada, seems to have been *Wieland*, the Vilk saga tells how he timbered a boat out of the trunk of a tree, and sailed over seas. Lamed in the sinews of his foot, he forged for himself a winged garment, and took his flight through the air. His skill is praised on all occasions, and his name coupled with every costly jewel, Vilk saga cap. 24. Witeche, the son he had by Baduhilt, bore a hammer and tongs in his scutcheon in honour of his father, during the Mid Ages his memory lasted among smiths, whose workshops were styled *Wieland's* houses,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps his likeness was set up or painted outside them, the ON '*Volundar hús*' translates the Latin labyrinth, a host of similar associations must in olden times have been generally diffused, as we learn from the names of places *Welantes* gruoba (pit), MB 13, 59; *Wielantes* heim, MB 28<sup>a</sup>, 93 (an. 889), *Wielantis* dorf, MB 29, 54 (an. 1246), *Wielantes* tanna (firs), MB 28<sup>b</sup>, 188-471 (an. 1280), *Wielandes* brunne, MB 31, 41 (an. 817). The multiplication of such names during long centuries does not admit of their being derived from human inhabitants. The Dan *Velandsurt* (-wort), Icel *Velantsurt*, is the valerian, and according to Stald 2, 450 *Wielandbeere* the daphne cneorum. Tradition would doubtless extend Wieland's dexterity to Wittich and to Wate, who also gets the credit of the boat, and in the Gudrun-lay of the healing art. In Sæm 270<sup>a</sup>, '*boekur ofnar volundom*' are stragula artificiose contexta, and any artist might be called a volundr or wielant. A gorgeous coat of mail (hrægel, OHG hregil) is in Beow 904 *Wielandes* geweorc. Ælfred in Boeth. 2, 7 translates fidelis

<sup>1</sup> Juxta domum *Wielandi* fabri, Ch. ad ann. 1262 in Lang's reg. 3, 181 conf. Haupts zeitschr. 2, 248. I find also *Witigo* faber, MB 7, 122.

ossa Fabricii 'pæs wisan goldsmiðes bân *Welondes*' (metrically *Welandes* bân), evidently the idea of faber which lay in Fabricius brought to his mind the similar meaning of the Teutonic name, *Weland* being a cunning smith in general. For the name itself appears to contain the ON. vél = viel (ars, τέχνη, OHG. list), Gramm 1, 462, and smiðvélar meant artes fabriles, the AS form is wīl, or better wīl, Engl. wile, Fr. guile, the OHG. wīol, wīel (with broken vowel) is no longer to be found. But further, we must presuppose a verb wīelan, AS wēlan (fabrefacere), whose pres. part wīelant, wēland, exactly forms our proper name, on a par with wīgant, werdant, druocant, &c., Graff 2, 234 commits the error of citing *Wielant* under the root *lant*, with which it has no more to do than heilant (healer, saviour). The OFr. *Galans* (Heldens 42) seems to favour the ON. form *Volundr* [root *val*] since *Veland* would rather have led to a Fr. *Guilans*, possibly even the ON. *vala* (nympha) is a kindred word.<sup>1</sup> An OHG. name *Wieldrūd* seems the very thing for a wise-woman — This development of an intrinsic significance in the hero's name finds an unexpected confirmation in the striking similarity of the Greek fables of Hephæstus, Erichthonius and Dædalus. As *Weland* offers violence to *Beadohild* (*Volundr* to *Boðvildr*), so Hephæstus lays a snare for *Athene*, when she comes to order weapons of him, both Hephæstus and *Volundr* are punished with lameness, *Erichthonius* too is lame; and therefore invents the four-horse chariot, as *Volundr* does the boat and wings. One with *Erichthonius* are the later *Erechtheus* and his descendant *Dædalus*, who invented various arts, a ring-dance, building, &c., and on whose wings his son *Icarus* was soaring when he fell from the clouds. But *Δαίδαλος*<sup>1</sup> is *δαίδαλος*, *δαιδάλεος*, cunningly wrought, *δαίδαλμα* (like *ἄγαλμα*) a work of art, and *δαιδάλλειν* the same as our lost *wīelan*. As our list [like the Engl. cunning and craft] has degenerated from its original sense of scientia to that of calliditas and fraus, and vél has both meanings, it is not surprising that from the skill-endowed god and hero has proceeded a deformed deceitful devil (p. 241). The whole group of *Wate*, *Wielant*, *Wittich* are heroes, but also ghostly beings and demigods (see Suppl.).

The *Vilkinasaga* brings before us yet another smith, *Mimir*, by

<sup>1</sup> A reduplication like *παίπαλος*, *παιπαλόεις* tortus, arduus, *παιπάλλειν* torquere; conf. *λαίλαψ*, *μαίμαξ*, &c.

whom not only is Velint instructed in his art, but Sigfrid is brought up—another smith's-apprentice. He is occasionally mentioned in the later poem of Biterolf, as *Mime* the old (Heldensage, pp 146-8), an OHG *Mimr* must have grown even more deeply into our language as well as legend. It has formed a diminutive *Mimilo* (MB 28, 87-9, annis 983-5), and *Mimā*, *Mimadrūt*, *Mimihult* are women's names (Tiad fuld 489 Cod lauresh. 211), the old name of Munster in Westphalia was *Mimigardiford*, *Mimigerneford* (Indices to Pertz 1 2), conf *Mimigerdeford* in Richthofen 335, the Westphalian Minden was originally *Mimadun* (Pertz 1, 368), and Memleben on the Unstrut *Mimaleba*. The great number of these proper names indicates a mythic being, to which *Memerolt* (Morolt 111) may also be related.—The elder Norse tradition names him just as often, and in several different connexions. In one place, Saxo, p 40,<sup>1</sup> interweaves a *Mimungus*, a 'silvarum satyrus' and possessor of a sword and jewels, into the myth of Balder and Hother, and this, to my thinking, throws fresh light on the vidugáur (wood-god) above. The Edda however gives a higher position to its *Mímir*—he has a fountain, in which wisdom and understanding lie hidden, drinking of it every morning, he is the wisest, most intelligent of men, and thus again reminds us of 'Wielandes brunne'. To *Mimisbrunnr* came Óðinn and desired a drink, but did not receive it till he had given one of his eyes in pledge, and hidden it in the fountain (Sæm. 4<sup>a</sup> Sn 17), this accounts for Óðinn being one-eyed (p 146). In the Yngl saga cap 4, the Ases send *Mímir*, their wisest man, to the Vanir, who cut his head off and send it back to the Ases. But Óðinn spake his spells over the head, that it decayed not, nor ceased to utter speech, and Óðinn holds conversation with it, whenever he needs advice, conf Yngl saga cap 7, and Sæm 8<sup>a</sup> 195<sup>b</sup>. I do not exactly know whom the Voluspâ means by *Míms synir* (sons), Sæm 8<sup>a</sup>, *Mímameidr* 109<sup>a</sup> implies a nom *Mímr* gen *Míma*, and may be distinct from *Mímar* (conf Bragr and Biagi, p 235)—Mímir is no As, but an exalted being with whom the Ases hold converse, of whom they make use, the sum-total of wisdom, possibly an older nature-god, later fables degraded him into a wood-sprite or clever smith. His oneness with heroes tends to throw a divine splendour

<sup>1</sup> P. E. Muller's ed, p 114, following which I have set aside the reading *Mimringus*, in spite of the Danish song of Mimering tand

on them Swedish folk-song has not yet forgotten *Mimes* & (Aivdsson 2, 316-7), and in Konga harad and Tingås socken in Småland there lies a *Mimes* sjo, inhabited according to the legend by neckai (nixies), *ibid* p 319 Perhaps some of the forms quoted have by rights a short *i*, as have indisputably the *AS* *mimor*, *meomor*, *gemimoi* (*memoriter notus*), *mimerian* (*memoria tenere*), our Low German *mimeren* (day-dreaming), *Biem* *wtb* 3, 161, and the *Memerolt*, *Memleben* above, so that we might assume a verb *meima*, *máim*, *mimum* Then the analogy of the Latin *memor* and Gr *μυέομαι* allows us to bring in the giant and centaur *Mimas*, *ie*, the wood-sprite again (see Suppl)

According to the Edda (Sæm 133), Volundr had two brothers Slagfiðr and Egill, all three 'synir Finnakonungs,' sons of a Finnish king, whereas the saga transplanted to the North from Germany makes its Vilkinus a king of Vilkinaland. One can Finna be taken as the gen of *Finn*, and identified with that Finn Folwaldansunu on p 219? Slagfiðr might seem = Slagfinnr, but is better explained as Slagfioðr (flap-wing, see ch XVI, Walachurun) All three brothers married valkyrs, and *Egill*, the one that chiefly concerns us here, took Olrún (Aloirúna) The Vilk saga, cap 27, likewise calls Velint's younger brother *Ergill* 'ok þenna kalla menn Ólrúnar Ergil,'<sup>1</sup> but the bride is not otherwise alluded to, this form Egill agrees with the OHG Egil on p 376, not with the ON Egill, dat Agli, for the dat of Egill would have been Eigh Well, this Egill was a famous archer, at Nidung's command he shot an apple off the head of his own little son, and when the king asked him what the other two arrows were for, replied that they were intended for him, in case the first had hit the child. The tale of this daring shot must have been extremely rife in our remotest antiquity, it turns up in so many places, and always with features of its own As the Vilkinasaga was imported into Scandinavia in the 13th century, the story of Egill was certainly diffused in Lower Germany before that date. But Saxo Grammaticus in Denmark knew it in the 12th century, as told of *Toko* and king Harald Gormsson, with the addition, wanting in Egill, that *Toko*

<sup>1</sup> Peringskiöld translates 'Egillus sagittarius,' and Rafn 'Egil den trafende,' but this was merely guessed from the incidents of the story Arrow is not ol, but or, Oriental on the contrary, Egil's son, does seem to have been named from the arrow

after the shot behaved like a hero in the sea-storm. The Icelanders too, particularly the *Iomsvikinga* saga, relate the deeds of this *Pálmarðinn*, but not the shot from the bow, though they agree with Saxo in making Harald fall at last by Tôki's shaft. The king's death by the marksman's hand is historical (A D 992), the shot at the apple mythical, having gathered round the narrative out of an older tradition, which we must presume to have been in existence in the 10-11th centuries. To the Norwegian saga of Olaf the Saint (†1030), it has attached itself another way. Olaf wishing to convert a heathen man, Eindriði, essayed his skill against him in athletic arts, first swimming, then shooting, after a few successful shots, the king required that Eindriði's boy should be placed at the butts, and a writing-tablet be shot off his head without hurting the child. Eindriði declared himself willing, but also ready to avenge any injury. Olaf sped the first shaft, and narrowly missed the tablet, when Eindriði, at his mother's and sister's prayer, declined the shot (*Fornm sog* 2, 272). Just so king Harald Sigurðarson (*Harðráða*, † 1066) measured himself against an archer Hemingi, and bade him shoot a hazelnut off his Biorn's head, and Heming accomplished the feat (*Muller's sagabibl* 3, 359. *Thåttir af Hemingi* cap 6, ed Reykjavik p 55). Long afterwards, the legend was transferred to a Hemming Wolf, or von Wulfen, of Wewelsflet in the Wilstermarsch of Holstein, where the Elbe empties itself into the sea. Hemming Wolf had sided with count Gerhaid in 1472, and was banished by king Christian. The folk-tale makes the king do the same as Harald, and Hemming as Toko, an old painting of Wewelsflet church represents the archer on a meadow with bow unbent, in the distance a boy with the apple on his head, the arrow passes through the middle of the apple, but the archer has a second between his teeth, and betwixt him and the boy stands a wolf, perhaps to express that Hemming after his bold answer was declared a wolf's head<sup>1</sup>. Most appropriately did the mythus rear its head on the emancipated soil of Switzerland. In 1307, it is said, Wilhelm *Tell*, compelled by Gessler, achieved the same old master-shot, and made the courageous speech, but the evidence of chroniclers does not begin till toward the 16th century,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schleswigholst prov berichte 1798, vol 2, p 39 seq Müllenhof, Schleswigholst sagen no 66

<sup>2</sup> I suspect the genuineness of the verses, alleged to be by Heinrich von .

shortly before the first printed edition of Saxo, 1514 'Of the unhistorical character of the event there cannot be the slightest doubt. The mythic substratum of the *Tell* fable shews itself in an Upper Rhine legend of the 15th century (in *Malleus malefic* pars 2 cap. 16, de sagittarius maleficus) which immediately preceded the first written record of that of Tell *Fertur de ipso (Punchero), quod quidam de optimatibus, cum artis sue experientiam capere voluisset, eidem proprium filium parvulum ad metam posuit, et pro signo super biretum pueri denarium, sibi mandavit, ut denarium sine birreto per sagittam amoveret* Cum autem maleficus id se facturum sed cum difficultate assereret, libentius abstinere, ne per diabolum seduceretur in sui interitum, verbis tamen principis inductus, sagittam unam collari suo circa collum immisit, et alteram balistae supponens *denarium a bireto pueri sine omni nocumento excussit* Quo viso, dum ille maleficum interrogasset, 'cur sagittam collari imposuisset?' respondit, 'si deceptus per diabolum puerum occidissem, cum me mori necesse fuisset, subito *cum sagitta altera vos transfixissem*, ut vel sic mortem meam vindicassem' This shot must have taken place somewhere about 1420, and the story have got about in the middle part of the 15th century—Beside the above-mentioned narratives, Norse and German, we have also an Old English one to shew in the Northumbrian ballad of the three merry men, *Adam Bell*, *Clym of the Clough*, and *Willram of Cloudele*; this last, whose christian name, like the surname of the first, reminds one of Tell, offers in the king's presence to set an apple on the head of his son, seven years old, and shoot it off at 120 paces The arrow sped from the bow, and cleft the apple I suppose that *Aegel's* skill in archery would be known to the Anglo-Saxons; and if we may push Wada, Weland and Wudga far up into our heathen time, *Aegel* seems to have an equal claim The whole myth shows signs of having deep and widely extended

Hunenberg of 1315, which Carl Zay has made known in his book on Goldau, Zurich 1807, p 41

Dum pater in puerum telum crudele coruscet  
 Tellus ex jussu, saeve tyranne, tuo,  
 pomum, non natum, figit fatalis arundo  
 altera mox ultrix te, periture, petet

H von Hunenberg is the same who, before the battle of Morgarten, shot a warning billet over to the Swiss on his arrow (*Joh Muller* 2, 37), he was therefore a bowman himself Justinger and Johann von Winterthur are silent about Tell, Melchior Russ († 1499) and Petermann Etterlin (completed 1507) were the first who committed the story to writing

roots It partly agrees even with what Eustathius on II 12, 292 tells us, that Sarpedon, a hero of the blood of Zeus, was made when a child to stand up and have a ring shot off his breast without injury to him, an action which entailed the acquisition of the Lycian kingdom (see Suppl) <sup>1</sup>

With these specimens of particular heroes—crumbs from the richly furnished table of our antiquities—I will content myself, as there are still some reflections of a more general kind to be made

I started with saying, that in the heroic is contained an exalting and refining of human nature into divine, originally however founded on the affinity of some god with the human race Now as procreation is a repetition, and the son is a copy of the father (for which reason our language with a profound meaning has *avara* for image and *avaro* for child); so in every hero we may assume to a certain extent an incarnation of the god, and a revival of at least some of the qualities that distinguish the god In this sense the hero appears as a sublimate of man in general, who, created after the image of God, cannot but be like him But since the gods, even amongst one another, reproduce themselves, *ve*, then plurality has radiated out of the primary force of a single One (p 164), it follows, that the origin of heroes must be very similar to that of polytheism altogether, and it must be a difficult matter in any particular case to distinguish between the full-bred divinity and the half-blood If heroes, viewed on one side, are deified men, they may on the other hand be also regarded as humanized gods, and it comes to the same thing, whether we say that the son or grandson begotten by the god has attained a semi-divine nature, or that the god born again in him retains but a part of his pristine power We are entitled to see in individual heroes a *precipitate of former gods*, and a mere continued extension, in a wider circle, of the same divine essence which had already branched out into a number of gods (see Suppl)

This proposition can the more readily be demonstrated from the popular faiths of Greece and Germany, which commit themselves to no systematic doctrine of emanation and *avatâra*, as in these

<sup>1</sup> Similar legends seem to live in the East In a MS of the Cassel library containing a journey in Turkey, I saw the representation of an archer taking aim at a child with an apple on its head.

religions the full-blooded animalism of herohood developed itself the more richly for that very reason. While the Indian heroes are in the end reabsorbed into the god, *e.g.*, Krishna becomes Vishnu, there remains in Greek and German heroes an irreducible dross of humanism, which brings them more into harmony with the historical ingredients of their story. Our hero-legend has this long while had no consciousness remaining of such a thing as incarnation, but has very largely that of an apotheosis of human though god-descended virtue.

Herakles can never become one with Zeus, yet his deeds remind us of those of his divine sire. Some traits in Theseus allow of his being compared to Herakles, others to Apollo. Hermes was the son of Zeus by Maia, Amphion by Antiope, and the two brothers, the full and the half-bred, have something in common.

In Teutonic hero-legend, I think, echoes of the divine nature can be distinguished still more frequently, the Greek gods stood unshaken to the last, and heroes could be developed by the side of them. But when once the Teutonic deities encountered christianity, there remained only one of two ways open to the fading figures of the heathen faith, either to pass into evil diabolic beings, or dwindle into good ones conceived as human. The Greek heroes all belong to the flowering time of paganism, of the Teutonic a part at least might well seem a poverty-stricken attenuation and fainter reproduction of the former gods, such as could still dare to shew its face after the downfall of the heathen system. Christian opinion in the Mid Ages guided matters into this channel, unable to credit the gods any longer with godhood, where it did not transform them into devils, it did into demigods. In the Edda the *æsir* are still veritable gods, Jorðanes too, when he says, cap 6. 'mortuum (Taunasem regem) Gothi inter numina populi sui coluerunt'—be this Taunasis Gothic or Getic—assumes that there were Gothic gods, but the anses he regards as only victorious heroes exalted into demigods, and in Saxo, following the same line of thought, we find that Balder (who exhibits some Heraklean features, v supra p 226-7), and Hother, and Othin himself, have sunk into mere heroes.<sup>1</sup> This capitis deminutio of the gods brought

<sup>1</sup> In the AS Ethelweid p 833 we read 'Hengest et Horsa, hi nepotes fuere Wodlan regis barbarorum, quem post infanda dignitate ut deum honorantes, sacrificium obtulerunt pagani victoriae causa sive virtutis, ut humanitas saepe credit hoc quod videt'. Wm of Malmesbury's similar words were quoted



them nearer to heroes, while the heroes were cut off from absolute deification, how much the two must have got mixed up in the mist of legend! Yet in every case where bodily descent from the gods is alleged of a hero, his herohood is the more ancient, and really of heathen origin.

Among the heroes themselves there occur second births, of which a fuller account will be given further on, and which shew a certain resemblance to the incarnations of gods. As a god renews himself in a hero, so does an elder hero in a younger.

Beings of the giant brood, uniting themselves now to gods and now to heroes, bring about various approximations between these two.

We have seen how in the genealogy of Inguio, first Óðinn, then Njörðr and Freyr interweave themselves. Njörðr and Hadding seem identical, as do Heimdall and Rígr, but in Njörðr and Heimdall the god is made prominent, in Hadding and Rígr the hero Irmin appears connected with Wuotan and Zio, just as Ares and Herakles approach each other, and Odysseus resembles Hermes. Baldr is conceived of as divine, Bældæg as heroic. In Siegfried is

above, p. 128, he also says '*deum esse delirantes*'. Albericus tr. font. 1, 23 (after A. D. 274) expresses himself thus: 'In hac generatione decima ab incarnatione Domini regnasse invenitur *Mercurius* in Gottlandia insula, quae est inter Daciam et Russiam extra Romanum imperium, a quo Mercurio, qui Woden dictus est, descendit genealogia Anglorum et multorum aliorum.' Much in the same way Snorri in the Yngl. saga and Form. 13-14 represents Óðinn as a *hofðingi* and *hermaðr* come from Asia, who by policy secured the worship of the nations, and Saxo p. 12 professes a like opinion: 'ea tempestas cum *Othmanus* quidam, Europa tota, falso divinitatis titulo censeretur,' &c. conf. what he says p. 45. What other idea could orthodox Christians at that time form of the false god of their forefathers? To idolatry they could not but impute wilful deceit or presumption, being unable to comprehend that something very different from falsified history lies at the bottom of heathenism. As little did there ever exist a real man and king Óðinn (let alone two or three), as a real Jupiter or Mercury.—But the affinity of the hero nature with the divine is clearly distinct from a *deification* arising out of human pride and deceit. Those heathen, who trusted mainly their inner strength (p. 6), like the Homeric heroes *πειριθόρες βύχη* (Il. 12, 256), were yet far from setting themselves up for gods. Similar to the stories of *Nebucadneçar* (er wolte selbe sin ein got, would himself be god, Parz. 102, 7. Barl. 60, 35), of *Kosroes* (Massmann on Eraci. p. 502), of the Greek *Salmoneus* (conf. N. Cap. 146), and the Byzantine *Erachius*, was our Mid. Age story of *Imelôt* aus wuester Babilonie, 'der wolde selve wesen got' (Rother 2568) = *Nibelôt* ze Barise 'der mæhet himele guldin, selber wolt er got sin' (Bit. 299), just as Salmoneus imitated the lightning and thunder of Zeus. Imelôt and Nibelôt here seem to mean the same thing, as do elsewhere Imelunge and Nibelunge (Heldens. 162), I do not know what allusion there might be in it to a Nibelunc or Amelunc (see Suppl.).

an echo of Baldr and Freyr, perhaps of Óðinn, in Dietricū of Thórr and Freyr. Eke oscillates between the giant and the hero. Even Charles and Roland are in some of their features to be regarded as new-births of Wuotan and Donar, or of Siegfried and Dietrich. As for Geát, Sceáf, Sceldwa, for lack of their legends, it is difficult to separate their divine nature from their heroic.

One badge of distinction I find in this, that the names of gods are in themselves descriptive, *ve*, indicating from the first their inmost nature,<sup>1</sup> to the names of half-gods and heroes this significance will often be wanting, even when the human original has carried his name over with him. Then, as a rule, the names of gods are simple, those of heroes often compound or visibly derived. Donar therefore is a god from the first, not a deified man: his appellation expresses also his character. The same reason is decisive against that notion of Wuotan having made his way out of the ranks of men into those of the gods.

Demigods have the advantage of a certain familiarity to the people bred in the midst of us, admitted to our fellowship, it is they to whom reverence, prayers and oaths prefer to address themselves: they procure and facilitate intercourse with the higher-standing god. As it came natural to a Roman to swear 'meherele' mecastor! ecastor! edepol!' the Christians even in the Mid Ages swore more habitually by particular saints than by God himself.

We are badly off for information as to the points in which the *Hero-worship* of our forefathers shaped itself differently from divine worship proper, even the Norse authorities have nothing on the subject. The Grecian sacrifices to heroes differed from those offered to gods: a god had only the viscera and fat of the beast presented to him, and was content with the mounting odour, a deified hero must have the very flesh and blood to consume. Thus the einherjar admitted into Valholl feast on the boiled flesh of the boar Sæhrimnir, and drank with the Ases, it is never said that the Ases shared in the food, Sæm 36 42 Sn 42, *conf supra*, p 317. Are we to infer from this a difference in the sacrifices offered to gods and to demigods?

\*Else, in the other conditions of their existence, we can perceive many resemblances to that of the gods.

Thus, their *stature* is enormous. As Ares covered seven roods,

<sup>1</sup> Something like the names of the characters in the *Beast-apologue*.

Herakles has also a body of gigantic mould. When the godlike Sigurðr strode through the full-grown field of corn, the dew-shoe<sup>1</sup> of his seven-span sword was even with the upright ears (Vols saga cap 22. Vilk saga cap 166), a hair out of his horse's tail was seven yards long (Nornag saga cap 8)—One thing hardly to be found in Teutonic gods, *many-handedness*, does occur in an ancient hero. Wudga and Hâma, Witege and Heime, are always named together. This *Heimo* is said to have been by rights called Studas, like his father (whom some traditions however name Adelgêr, Madelgêr), not till he had slain the worm Heima,<sup>2</sup> did he adopt its name (Vilk saga cap 17). To him are expressly attributed *three hands* and *four elbows*, or else *two hands* with *three elbows* (Heldens. 257. Roseng p. xx, conf. lxxiv), the extra limbs are no exaggeration (Heldens. 391), rather their omission is a toning down, of the original story. And *Asprian* comes out with *four hands* (Roseng p. xii). Starkaðr, a famous godlike hero of the North, has *three pairs of arms*, and Thor cuts four of his hands off (Saxo Gram., p. 103), the Hervararsaga (Rafn p. 412, 513) bestows *eight hands* on him, and the ability to fight with four swords at once. *ôtta handa*, Fornald sog. 1, 412. 3, 37. In the Swedish folk-song of Alf, originally heathen, there is a hero Torgnejer (roaring like thunder?), 'han hade *otta* hander (Arvidss. 1, 12).<sup>3</sup> Such cumulation of limbs is also a mark of the giant race, and some of the heroes mentioned do overlap these, in the Servian songs I find a *three headed* hero Balatchko (Vuk 2, no. 6, line 608), Pégam too in the Carniolan lay has three heads (tri glave)—*Deficiency of members* is to be found in heroes as well as gods. Óðinn is one-eyed, Týr one-handed, Loki (=Hephaestus?) lame, Höðr blind, and Víðar dumb,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Doggskór, Sw. doppsko, the heel of the sword's sheath, which usually brushes the dew—so the Alamanns called a lame foot, that dragged through the dewy grass, toudregil. This ride through the corn has something in it highly mythic and suggestive of a god.

<sup>2</sup> *Heimo* appears to mean worm originally, though used elsewhere of the cricket or cicada (Reinh. cxxv), for which our present heimchen (little worm) is better suited. A renowned Karling hero was also named *Heimo* (Reinh. cciv). We find again, that *Madelgêr* is in Morolt 3921 a dwarf, son of a mermaid, and in Rol. 58, 17 a smith.

<sup>3</sup> In the prophecies of the North Frisian Hertje (A.D. 1400) the tradition of such monstrosities is applied to the future. 'Wehe den minschen, de den leven, wen de lude 4 arme kriegen und 2 par scho over de vote dragen und 2 hode up den kop hebben!' Heimreichs chron., Tondern 1819, 2, 341. It may however refer merely to costume.

<sup>4</sup> Goth. hâihs, hanfs, halts, blinds, dumbs.

so is Hagano one-eyed, Walthari one-handed, Gunthari and Wielant lame, of blind and dumb heroes there are plenty

One thing seems peculiar to heroes, that their early years should be clouded by some defect, and that out of this darkness the bright revelation, the reserved force as it were, should suddenly break forth. Under this head we may even place the blind birth of the Welfs, and the vulgar belief about Hessians and Swabians (p 373). In Saxo Gram, p 63, *Uffo* is dumb, and his father *Vermund* blind, to him corresponds the double *Offa* in the line of Mercia, and both of these Offas are lame and dumb and blind. According to the 'vita *Offae* primi, Varmundi filii,' he was of handsome figure, but continued blind till his seventh year, and dumb till his thirtieth, when the aged Varmund was threatened with war, all at once in the assembly Offa began to speak. The 'vita *Offae* secundi' says,<sup>1</sup> the hero was at first called Vinered (so we must emend Pineredus), and was blind, lame and deaf, but when he came into possession of all his senses, he was named Offa secundus. Exactly so, in Sæm 142\* Hiorvarðr and Sigurlinn have a tall handsome son, but 'hann var þogull, ecki nafn festiz við hann'. Only after a valkyrja has greeted him by the name of *Helgr*, does he begin to speak, and is content to answer to that name. *Starhaðr* too was þogull in his youth (Fornald sög 3, 36), and *Halfdan* was reckoned stupid (Saxo, p 134), just as slow was the heroism of *Dietlieb* in unfolding itself (Vilk saga cap 91), and that of *Ihya* in the Russian tales. Our nursery-tales take up the character as *ascherling*, *aschenbrodel*, *ashefts* (cinderel) the hero-youth lives inactive and despised by the kitchen-hearth or in the cattle-stall, out of whose squalor he emerges when the right time comes. I do not recollect any instance in Greek mythology of this exceedingly favourite feature of our folk-lore.

*Unborn* children, namely those that have been cut out of the womb, usually grow up heroes. Such was the famous Persian Rustem in Ferdusi, as well as Tristan according to the old story in Eilhart, or the Russian hero Dobruna Nikititch, and the Scotch Macduff. But Volsúngr concerns us more, who spoke and made vows while yet *unborn*, who, after being cut out, had time to kiss his mother before she died (Volsúngas cap 2 5). An obscure

<sup>1</sup> These remarkable vitae *Offae* primi et secundi are printed after Watts's Matth. Paris, pp 8, 9

passage in *Fáfnismál* (Sæm 187<sup>a</sup>) seems to designate *Sigmundur* also an *ðborinn*, and in one as difficult (Beow 92), may not the 'unborn-wesende' which I took in a different sense on p 370, stand for *unbor-wesende*, to intimate that *Sceaf* passed for an unborn<sup>2</sup> The *Landnámabók* 4, 4 has an *Unn hinn ðborinn* (m), and 1, 10 an *Ulfrún in ðborinn* (f), for wise-women, prophetesses, also come into the world the same way<sup>2</sup> Our Mid Ages tell of an *unborn* hero Hoyer (Benecke's *Wigalois*, p 452), in Hesse, Reinhart of Dalwig was known as the *unborn*, being, after the *cæsarian* operation, brought to maturity in the stomachs of newly slaughtered swine<sup>2</sup> As early as the tenth century, Eckhart of St Gall informs us *Infans excisus et arvinæ porci recens erutæ, ubi incutesceret, involutus, bonæ indolis cum in brevi apparisset, baptizatur et Purchardus nominatur* (Pertz 2, 120), this is the *Burchardus ingenitus*, afterwards abbot of St Gall One *Gebehardus*, ex *defunctæ matris Dietpurgæ utero excisus*, is mentioned in the *Chron Petershus* p 302, with the remark *De talibus excisis literæ testantur quod, si vita comes fuerit, felices in mundo habeantur* To such the common standard cannot be applied, their extraordinary manner of coming into the world gives presage of a higher and mysterious destiny Not unlike is the Greek myth of *Metis* and *Tritogeneia* the virgin goddess springs out of the forehead of *Zeus* The phrase about '*Hloðr* being *born with helmet, sword and horse*' (above, p 76), is explained by the *Hervararsaga*, p 490, to mean, that the arms and animals which accompany the hero were forged and born at the time of his birth *Schroter's Finnish Runes* speak of a child that was born *armed* this reminds us of the superstition about lucky children being born with hood and helmet (see ch XXVIII)

It was noticed about the gods (p 321), that *Balder's* brother, when scarcely born, when but one night old, rushed to vengeance, unwashed and uncombed. This is like the children born of *liten Kerstin* after long gestation the newborn son gets up directly and combs his hair, the new born daughter knows at once how to sew silk Another version makes her give birth to two sons, one of whom combs his yellow locks, the other draws his sword, both equipped for swift revenge (*Svenska fornsånger* 2, 254-6) Here

<sup>1</sup> *Heimreich's Nordfries* chr 2, 341

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Hess gesch* 1, 97

combing and not combing seem to be the same characteristic. A new born child speaks, *Norske eventyr* 1, 139

As the *birth* of beloved kings is announced to their people by joyful phenomena, and their death by terrible, the same holds good of heroes. Their generosity founds peace and prosperity in the land. *Fridolf's* reign in Denmark was a period of bliss, in the year of *Hakon's* election the birds bred twice, and trees bore twice, about which beautiful songs may be gleaned out of his saga, cap 24. On the night that *Helgi* was born, eagles cried, and holy waters streamed from the mountains, *Sæm* 149<sup>a</sup>

*Sigurð's* walk and manner of appearing was impetuous, like that of a god, when he first approached the burg of Brynhildr, 'íorð dásaði ok opphímin,' earth shook and heaven, *Sæm* 241<sup>b</sup>, and of Brynhild's laughing, as of that of the gods (p 324), we are told 'hlô, þœr allr dundi,' she laughed and all the castle dinned, *Sæm* 208<sup>a</sup>. A divine strength reveals itself in many deeds and movements of heroes. *Dieterich's* fiery breath may be suggestive of Donar, or perhaps only of a dragon 'ob sin âtem gæbe fiur als eines wilden trachen,' (*Parz* 137, 18)

A widely prevalent mark of the hero race is their being *suckled by beasts*, or *fed by birds*. A *hind* offers her milk to *Sigurðr* when exposed, *Vilk* saga 142, a *she-wolf* gives suck to the infant *Dieterich* (like *Romulus* and *Remus*) together with her four blind whelps, hence his name of *Wolfdieterich*. The same fellowship with whelps seems imputed to the beginnings of the *Goths* and *Swabians*, as to those of the *Romans* (p 373), but the *woodpecker* also, that *Bee-wolf*, brought food to the sons of *Mars*, and we have come to know the *Swabians* as special devotees of *Zio* (p 199). The *Servian* hero *Milosh Kobiltch* was suckled by a *mare* (*kobila*), *Vuk* 2, 101, does that throw light on the OHG term of abuse *merihûnsun*, *zâgûnsun* (*RA* 643)? A like offensive meaning lurked in the Latin *lupa*<sup>1</sup>. But it is not only to sucklings that the god-sent animals appear, in distress and danger also, swans, ravens, wolves, stags, bears, lions will join the heroes, to render them assistance, and that is how animal figures in the scutcheons and helmet-insignia of heroes are in many cases to be accounted for, though they may arise from other causes too, *eg*, the ability of certain heroes to transform themselves at will into wolf or swan

<sup>1</sup> Fils de truie, *Garin* 2, 229.

The *swan's wing*, the swan's coat, betokens another supernatural quality which heroes share with the gods (p 326), the power of flying As Wieland ties on his swan-wings, the Greek Perseus has *winged shoes*, *talara*, *Ov met 4*, 667 729, and the Servian Relia is called *krlá* (winged), being in possession of *krilo* and *okrihe* (wing and wing-cover), *Vuk 2*, 88 90 100 A piece of the wing remaining, or in women a swan's foot, will at times betray the higher nature

The superhuman quality of heroes shines out of their *eyes* (*luminum vibratus, oculorum micatus*, *Saxo Gram 23*) *ormr í auga* The *golden teeth* of gods and heroes have been spoken of, p 234 In the *marchen* sons are born with a *star* on the forehead, *Kinderm 96* *Straparola 4, 3*, or a golden star falls on the forehead, *Pentam 3, 10* The *Dioscuri* had a star or flame shining on their heads and helmets this may have reference to the rays encircling the head (p 323), or to constellations being set in the sky In some cases the heroic form is disfigured by animal peculiarities, as *Siegfried's* by his *horny skin*, and others by a *scaly*, the *marchen* have heroes with *hedgehog spikes* The legend of the *Merovings*, imperfectly handed down to us, must be founded on something of the kind When *Clodio* the son of *Faramund* with his queen went down to the shore, to cool themselves from the sultry summer heat, there came up a monster (*sea-hôg* ?) out of the waves, which seized and overpowered the bathing queen She then bore a son of singular appearance, who was therefore named *Merovig*, and his descendants, who inherited the peculiarity, *Merovings*<sup>1</sup> *Theophanes* expressly declares, that the *Merovings* were called *κριστάται* and *τριχοραχάται*, because all the kings of that house had bristles down the backbone (*ράχης*), like swine We still find in *Rol. 273, 29*, where it is true they are enumerated among neathens,

di helde von *Meres* ,  
vil gewis sît ir des,  
daz niht kuoners mac sîn  
*an dem rucke tragent si borsten sam swîn.*

The derivation of the name is altogether unknown Can it possibly have some connexion with the boar-worship of *Frô*, which may

<sup>1</sup> *Fredegar's epitome* (*Bouquet 2, 396*), and *Conradus Ursperg*, *Arg 1609*, p. 92 Per contra, *Mullenhoff in Haupt's zeitschr 6, 432*

have been especially prevalent among the Franks? Lampr Alex 5368 also has *sin hût was ime bevangen al mit swînes bursten* (see Suppl)

One principal mark to know heroes by, is their possessing *intelligent horses*, and conversing with them. A succeeding chapter will shew more fully, how heathendom saw something sacred and divine in horses, and often endowed them with consciousness and sympathy with the destiny of men. But to heroes they were indispensable for riding or driving, and a necessary intimacy sprang up between the two, as appears by the mere fact of the horses having proper names given them. The touching conversation of Achilles with his *Xanthos* and *Balios* (II 19, 400—421) finds a complete parallel in the beautiful Karling legend of *Bayard*, compare also Wilhelm's dialogue with *Puzdt* (58, 21—59, 8), in the French original with *Baucent* (Garin 2, 230-1), and Begon's with the same *Baucent* (p 230). In the Edda we have Skirnir talking with his horse (Sæm 82<sup>b</sup>), and Goðrûn, after Sigurð's murder, with *Grani* (231<sup>b</sup>):

hripnaði Grani þâ, drap í gras hofði

Well might Grani mourn, for the hero had bestriden him ever since he led him out of Hialprek's stable (180), had ridden him through the flames (202<sup>a</sup>), and carried off the great treasure. Swedish and Danish folk-songs bring in a sagacious steed *Black*, with whom conversation is carried on (Sv vis 2, 194. Sv foins 2, 257. Danske vis 1, 323). In the poems on Artus the horses are less attractively painted, but how naively in the Servian, when Mila shoes the steed (Vuk 1, 5), or Maiko before his death talks with his faithful *Sharats* (2, 243 seq. Danitz 1, 109). In Mod Greek songs there is a dialogue of Liakos with his horse (Faurel 1, 138), and similar ones in the Lithuanian dainos (Rhesa p 224). The Persian Rustem's fairy steed is well-known (see Suppl)<sup>1</sup>

If many heroes are carried off in the bloom of life, like Achilles or Siegfried, others attain a *great age*, beyond the limit of the human. Our native legend allows Hildebrand the years of Nestor

<sup>1</sup> A Mongolian warrior's dying song has

My poor cream-coloured trotter, you will get home alive,

Then tell my mother, pray, 'full fifteen wounds had he,'

And tell my father, pray, 'shot through the back was he,' &c.—TRANS.



with undiminished strength, and to the Scandinavian Starkaðr is measured out a life that runs through several generations, the divinely honoured Goðmundr is said to have numbered near five hundred years, Fornald sog 1, 411 442 In the genealogies that have come down to us, great length of life is given to the first ancestors, as it is in the Bible also *Snærr hinn gamli*, sprung from Káin and Jokull, is said to have attained 300 years, and *Hálfðan gamli* as many, Fornald sog 2, 8 The MHG poem of Dietrich's ancestors (1869—2506) gives *Dietwart* and *Sigehar* 400 years of life each, *Wolfdieterich* 503, *Hugdieterich* 450, and *Dietmar* 340, Dietrich of Bern is the first that reaches only the ordinary limit, Otnit the son of Sigehar was killed when young<sup>1</sup> The Servian Marko was three hundred years old, almost like the giants of old On the other hand, the life of heroes is enfeebled by union with goddesses and superhuman females Examples will be given, when the valkyrs are discussed, the belief of the Greeks is expressed in a remarkable passage of the Hymn to Venus 190, where Anchises, after he has embraced Aphrodite, fears that he shall lead a stricken life (*ἀμειννός*) among men

ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνὴρ

γίγνεται, ὅστε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτησι.

The goddess does not conceal, that age will come on him apace, and that Zeus's thunderbolt will maim him if he boast of her favours The story of Staufenberger and the sea-fairy is founded on similar notions.

Another thing in which the condition of heroes resembles that of gods is, that particular local *haunts* and *dwelling*s are assigned them Such abodes seem by preference to bear the name of *stone*, as Gibichenstein, Brunhildenstein, Kriemhildenstein, Eigelstein, Waskenstein, which points to sacred rocks uninhabited by men,

<sup>1</sup> These are undoubtedly genuine myths, that lose themselves in the deeps of time, however distorted and misplaced they may be *Sigehar* (OHG. Siguhari) is plainly the ON *Sigarr*, from whom the Siglingar or Siklingar take their name, Sigehar's daughter is called *Sigelin*, Sigar's daughter *Signý*, but the two are identical *Hugdieterich*, who in woman's clothing woos *Hildeburg*, is one with *Hagbarðr* (Sw Habor, Dan Haffur), who likewise succeeds in his suit for Signý (Sw Signil, Dan Signild), though here the story has a tragic end, and the names disagree, but hug and hag, both from one root, support each other *Sigemunne* too, the wife of Wolfdieterich, who in the Heldenbuch is the son of Hugdieterich, comes near to Signý The part about Hugdieterich in the Heldenbuch is throughout uncommonly sweet, and certainly very ancient.

and a primeval, firmly rooted worship. More rarely we find *castle* or *hall* connected with a hero (Iringes burc, Orendelsal), a few times *ea* and *burn*, oftener *way* or *street*, now, as the notion of a highway lies close to that of a conspicuous *column* to which the roads led up, we may well connect the 'Herculis columnae,' the *Irmansuli*, with the *Roland-pillars*, which we come upon just in those northern parts of Germany where heathenism prevailed latest. As king Charles occupies Wuotan's place in certain legends, especially that of the 'furious host,' Roland, the noblest hero of his court, who is to him almost exactly what Donar is to Wuotan, seems to replace the divine vanquisher of giants. *Æthelstán-pillars* have been mentioned, p. 119. It is worthy of note, that, while Scandinavia offers nothing else that can be likened to the *Irmens-pillars*, yet at Skeningen, a town of Ostergotland, there stood erected in the marketplace, just where *Roland-pillars* do stand, the figure of a giant or hero, which the people called *Thore lång* (Thuro longus), and at which idolatry was practised in former times<sup>1</sup>. This figure appears far more likely to belong to the heathen god than to any hero or king, and probably the column in the market place of Bavaix in Hainault, from which seven roads branched off, and which is said to have been reared in honour of a king Bavo, had a similar meaning (see Suppl.)

According to a widely accepted popular belief, examined more minutely in ch. XXXII on Spouting away, certain heroes have sunk from the rocks and fortresses they once inhabited, into *clefts* and *caverns* of the mountains, or into subterranean *springs*, and are there held wrapt in a seldom interrupted slumber, from which they issue in times of need, and bring deliverance to the land. That here again, not only Wuotan, Arminius, Dieterich and Siegfried, but such modern heroes as Charles, Frederick Barbarossa and even Tell are named, may assure us of the mystic light of myth which has settled on them. It was a Norse custom, for aged heroes, dead to the world and dissatisfied with the new order of things, to shut themselves up in a hill: thus Herlaugr with twelve others goes into the haugr (Egils p. 7), and in like manner Eticho the Welf, accompanied by twelve nobles, retires into a mountain in the Scherenzerswald, where no one could find him again (Deutsche

<sup>1</sup> Olaus Magnus 14, 15. Stjernhook, De jure Sveon vet, p. 326. Broockmans beskrifn. öfver Ostergotland, Norrköping 1760 1, 190.

sagen, no 518) Siegfried, Charles and Frederick, like King Arthur of the Britons, abide in mountains with their host

Be it be remarked lastly, that the heroic legend, like the divine, is fond of running into triads. Hence, as Oðin, Vili, Ve, or Hâr, Iafnhâr and Thriði stand together, there appear times without number three heroic brothers together, and then also it commonly happens, that to the third one is ascribed the greatest faculty of success. So in the Scythian story of the three brothers Leipoxais, Aipoxais and Kolaxais (Herod 4, 5) a golden plough, yoke and sword having fallen from heaven, when the eldest son and the second tried to seize them, the gold burned, but the third carried them off. The same thing occurs in many maichen.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### WISE WOMEN

The relation of women to the gods is very different from that of men, because men alone can found famous houses, while a woman's family dies with her. The tale of ancestry contains the names of heroes only, king's daughters are either not named in it at all, or disappear again as soon as they have been introduced as brides. For the same reason we hear of deified sons, but not of deified daughters, nay, the marriage of mortals with immortals issues almost always in the birth of sons. There are therefore no women to be placed by the side of the heroes, whom in the preceding chapter we have regarded as a mixture of the heavenly and earthly natures. The distaff establishes no claim to immortality, like the sword. To the woman and the bondman, idle in battle, busy in the house, the Anglo-Saxons very expressively assigned the occupation of weaving peace. heroic labours suited men.

But that which women forfeit here, is amply made up to them in another sphere. In lieu of that distinct individuality of parts given to heroes, which often falls without effect in the story, they have general duties assigned them of momentous and lasting influence. A long range of charming or awful half-goddesses mediates between men and deity. their authority is manifestly greater, their worship more impressive, than any reverence paid to heroes. There are not, strictly speaking, any heroines, but whatever among women answers to heroes appears more elevated and spiritual. Brunhild towers above Siegfried, and the swan-maid above the hero to whom she unites herself (see Suppl.)

In other mythologies also it is observable, that in the second rank of deities female beings predominate, while the first is reserved almost exclusively for the male, but the divine heroes we have spoken of come only in the third rank. I have on p. 250 partly accounted for the longer duration of the tradition of several goddesses

by its having left more abiding, because more endearing, impressions on the mind of the people

There is no harder problem in these investigations, than to distinguish between goddesses and half-goddesses. Every god's wife must ipso facto pass for a real goddess, but then there are unmarried goddesses, *eg*, Hel. One who cannot be shown to be either wife or daughter of a god; and who stands in a dependent relation to higher divinities, is a half-goddess. Yet such a test will not always serve, where a mythology has been imperfectly preserved, for the very reason that half-goddesses stand higher than half-gods, the boundary-line between them and the class of great gods is harder to hit. The line may be disturbed, by particular races promoting divine beings of lower rank, whose worship got the upper hand among them, to a higher, it is true the same thing seems to occur in hero-worship, but not so often.

The mission and functions of half-goddesses then may be roughly defined thus: to the upper gods they are *handmaids*, to men *revealers*.

It is a significant feature in our heathenism, that women, not men, are selected for this office. Here the Jewish and christian view presents a contrast: prophets foretell, angels or saints from heaven announce and execute the commands of God, but Greek and Teutonic gods employ both male and female messengers. To the German way of thinking, the decrees of destiny assume a greater sacredness in the mouth of woman, soothsaying and sorcery in a good as well as bad sense is peculiarly a women's gift, and it may even be a part of the same thing, that our language personifies virtues and vices as females. If human nature in general shews a tendency to pay a higher respect and deference to the female sex, this has always been specially characteristic of Teutonic nations. Men earn deification by their deeds, women by their wisdom. '*Fatidicæ, augescente superstitione deæ,*' p 95 (see Suppl.)

This Germanic *reverence for woman*, already emphasized by Tacitus, is markedly expressed in our old systems of law, especially the Alamannian and Bavarian, by doubling the composition for injury (RA 404) the defenceless one thereby receives protection and consecration, nay, she is to forfeit the privilege the moment she takes up man's weapons. And not only does a worship of woman shew itself in the minne-songs of our Mid Ages, but in a

remarkable formula of chivalry occurring both in folk-songs and in court-poems 'durch *allen frouwen êre*,' by all women's honour, Wolfdiet 104 Morolt 855 888 2834 Morolf 1542 Ecke 105 117 174 Roseng 2037 MsH 3, 200<sup>a</sup>, 'durch reiner (pure) frouwen êre,' Ecke 112, 'durch *willen* (for the sake) *allen frouwen*,' thus one hero cries to another 'nu beite (stay), durch *willen aller merde* ' Rab 922-4, 'durch *willen schœner wîbe*,' Ecke 61, 'durch *ander maget* (other maids) *êre*,' Gudr 4863, 'durch *elliu wîp*,' in the name of all women, Parz 13, 16, '*êre an mir elliu wîp*,' respect in me all women, Eiec 957, '*êret an mir elliu wîp* ' says a woman in Parz 88, 27, to ensure attention to her prayer, '*allen merden tuot ez ze êren* (do it in honour of),' Gudr 1214, 3, '*êre und minne elliu wîp* ' is the injunction on giving a sword, Trist 5032, 'tuon allez daz *frouwen wille sî*,' do all that may be woman's will, Bit 7132, 'als liep iu alle *frouwen sîn*,' as all women are dear to you, Laurin 984 Their worship was placed on a par with that of God '*êret Got und diu wîp*,' Iw 6054, 'durch *Got* und durch der *wîbe lôn* (guerdon)' Wh 381, 21, 'wart sô mit ritterschaft getân, dês *Got* sol danken und diu *wîp*,' may God and the ladies requite it, Wh 370, 5; '*dienen Got und alle frouwen êren*,' Ms 2,99<sup>b</sup>, of Parzivâl it is even said 'er getrûwete *wîben baz* (better) *dan Gote*,' Parz 370, 18 These modes of speech, this faith, can be traced up to a much earlier age, as in O 1 5, 13 '*dô sprah er êlîcho ubaral, sô man zu frouwîn skal*,' and v 8, 58 '*nî sît irbolgan wîbe*,' ye shall not bully a woman, Etzels hofhalt 92-3, '*sprich wîben ubel mit nihte*' says the poem of the Stete ampten 286 The very word frau is the name of a goddess, conf. p 299 on the meanings of frau and weib (see Suppl.)

But more than that, when the hero in stress of battle *looked upon his love* (OHG trûtin, trûtinna, MHG trutinne), *thought of her, named her name*, he increased thereby his strength, and was sure of the victory. We might even bring under this head the declaration of Tacitus *memoriae proditur, quasdam acies inclinatâs jam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et objectu pectorum* From the poems of the 13th century I will quote the principal passages only

und als er dar zuo *an sach* (on-saw, looked at)  
 die schœnen frowen Eniten,  
 daz half (holp) im vaste striten (fight hard) Er 933  
 swenne mich der muot *wer ermant* (the thought of you mans),

sô ist sigesælic (victorious) mîn hant :  
 wand (for) iwer guote minne  
 die sterkent mîne sinne (nerve my senses),  
 daz mir den vil langen tac (all the long day)  
 niht wide<sup>er</sup> gewesen mac (nought can vex) Er 8867.  
 diu dâ *gegenwurtic* saz (who there present sat),  
 diu gehalf ir manne<sup>er</sup> baz (she help her man better)  
 ob im dehein zwîvel (if ever a doubt) geschach,  
 swenn (whenever) er sî danne wider (again) *an sach*,  
 ir schoene gap im niwe kraft (strength),  
 sô daz er unzagehaft (undismayed)  
 sîne sterke wide<sup>er</sup> gewan (his strength regained)  
 und vaht (fought) als ein geruowet (rested) man. Er 9171  
 der *gedanc* (thinking) *an sîn schæne wîp*  
 der kreftigete im den lîp (life, body) Er 9229  
 swenne im diu muoze (opportunity) geschach  
 daz er die maget (maid) ielt *ersach*,  
 daz gap ir gesellen (to her fellow, lover)  
 Gâvâne manlich ellen (élan) Parz 409, 13 410, 5.  
 nu *sach* er daz sî umb in was in sorgen (in fear for him),  
 alrêst er niuwe kraft eupfant (felt) Lohengr p 54-5  
 den Heiden *minne* nie veidrôz (never wearied),  
 des (therefore) was sîn herze in strîte grôz Parz 740, 7.  
 ern welle (if he do not) *an minne denken*,  
 sone mag er niht entwenken (cannot escape) Parz 740, 15.  
 wes sîmest (wherefore delayest) du dich, Parzival,  
 daz du *an dre kruschen* liehtgemâl (pure-one so bright)  
 niht *denkest*, ich mein dîn wîp,  
 wiltu behalten (save) hie den lîp? Parz 742, 27  
 der getoufte nam (the christian gained) an kreften zuo,  
 er *dâht* (thought), des was im nîlit ze fruo (none too soon),  
*an sîn wîp* die kuniginne  
 unt an ir werden (worthy) minne Parz 743, 23.  
 swâ ich sîder (after) kom in nôt (difficulty),  
 ze hant sô ich (the moment I) *an sî dâhte*,  
 ir minne helfe brâhte. Parz 768, 27  
 muede was ir bêder lîp (weary were both their bodies),  
 niuwan daz sîe (had they not) *dâhten an dru wîp*  
 sîe wæren bêdesamt gelegen (both together fallen) Alt bl 1,340.

In the *Carmen de Phyllide et Flora* it is said 31, 4 '*Illę me commemorat inter ipsas caedes,*' my beloved in the battle breathes my name, to issue therefrom victorious<sup>1</sup> This sounds altogether heathen, for the gods too were at your side the moment you uttered their *names*. Snorri, in *Yngl saga* cap 2, says of Óðinn '*svá var oc um hans menn, hvar sem þeir urðu í nauðum staddir, á síð eða á landi, þá kolluðu þeir á nafn hans, oc þóttiz iafnan fá af því fró,*' so was it also with his men, wherever they were in trouble, on sea or on land, then called they on his name, and immediately were gladdened by it When Hrúngnir became intolerable to the Ases, '*þá nefna þeir Thór, því næst kom Thórr í hollna,*' Sn 108 Kraka, a semi-divine being, admonished Erić *sí suprema necessitatis violentia postularet, nominis sui nuncupatione remedium celerius esse quaerendum, affirmans se divina partim virtute subnixam et quasi consortem coelitus insitam numinis gestare potentiam*, Saxo Gram, p 72 So the valkyrja comes to the rescue of her chosen hero, when he calls out her name, she is become his guardian, as if sent by the gods to bring him aid (see Suppl).

The mission of such women then is to announce and prepare good or ill, victory or death to mortal men, and we have seen that the popular faith retained longest its connexion with fighting and victory Their own being itself, like that of the heroes, rests on human nature, they seem for the most part to have sprung from kingly and heroic families, and probably an admixture of divine ancestors is to be presumed in their case too But to perform their office, they must have wisdom and supernatural powers at their command their wisdom spies out, nay, guides and arranges complications in our destiny, warns of danger, advises in difficulty At the birth of man they shew themselves predicting and endowing, in perils of war giving help and granting victory Therefore they are called *wise women*, ON *spákonor* (conf *spákr*, OHG *spâhî*, prudens), Scot *spae wife*, MHG *wîsu wîp*, Nib 1473. 3. 1483, 4 (see Suppl)

# 1 IRIS, IDES (Dis).

But I will first take an older word, which appears to me to yield

<sup>1</sup> Philander of Sittewald 2,727, Soldatenl p 241, still mentions the practice in time of danger 'of commending oneself to the loved one's grace and favour'



exactly the meaning we have just unravelled, and in its generalness to comprehend all the particular beings to be studied more minutely by and by. The OHG *itis* pl *itisi*, OS *ides*, pl *idisi*, AS *ides*, pl *idesa*, denotes femina in general, and can be used of maids or matrons, rich or poor<sup>1</sup>. Yet, like the Greek *νύμφη*, it seems even in the earliest times to have been specially applied to superhuman beings, who, being considered lower than goddesses and higher than earthly women, occupy precisely that middle rank which is here in question. Tacitus informs us, that a famous battle-field on the Weser was called by the Cherusicans *Idisaviso* (so I emend *Idistaviso*), *ie*, *nymphaeum pratum*, women's meadow, it matters not whether the spot bore that name before the fight with the Romans, or only acquired it afterwards (v Haupt's *zeitschr* 9, 248). There at one time or another a victory was won under the lead of these exalted dames. The Merseburg poem sets the *idisi* before us in full action

sumâ hapt heptidun, sumâ heri lezidun,  
sumâ clûbôdun umbi cuniowidi,

Some put a check (on the fighting), as we read in Renner 20132.

dez muoz (therefore must) ich *heften* einen *haft*  
an dirre materie ân minen danc (against my will),  
wan ich fuhte (for I fear) sie werde ze lanc

Others letted the host (hinder, make late, Goth *hari latidêdun*), others again grasped (clawed) at chains or wreaths, *ie*, withs and twigs with which to twist shackles, or to twine garlands for the victor. Here then their business was to bind and check, which is also demanded by the very object of the conjuring-spell, in striking harmony with this are the names of two Noise valkyrs, mentioned together in Sæm 45<sup>a</sup>, *Hlock* = OHG *Hlancha*, *ie*, *catena*, and *Herfiötr* = OHG *Herfezzara*, *exercitum vinciens*. But it must have been as much in their power to set free and help on, as to shackle and hamper. Compounded with *itis* we have the female names *Itisipuruc* (Meichelb no 162), *Itisburg* (Trad fuld Schannat 181), *Idisburg* (Lacombl no 87), and *Itislant* (Graff 1, 159), which, like *Hiltipure*, *Sigipure*, *Sigilant* (MB 14, 362), are proper to such women of our olden time (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Freolicu meowle = *ides*, Cod exon 479, 2. 'Weras and *idesa*,' cr 'eorlas and *idesa*' are contrasted, *ibid* 176, 5 432, 2

<sup>2</sup> Here the local meaning coincides with the personal, we may therefore

But we obtain much fuller information as to their nature from the Norse authorities. It has been overlooked hitherto, that the OHG *itis*, AS. *ides*, is the same as the ON *dís* pl *dísir*, similar instances of aphaeresis are the Rigr for Iring on p 234, and Sangrim, Singrim for Isangrim, Isingrim (Reinh ccviii). Any remaining doubt disappears on comparing the Eddic '*dís* Skioldunga,' Sæm 169<sup>a</sup> 209<sup>a</sup> with the AS '*ides* Scyldinga,' Beow 2337. The Norse *dísir* likewise are sometimes kind protecting beings, sometimes hostile and hindering, Sæm 185<sup>a</sup> 195<sup>a</sup> 254<sup>b</sup> 273<sup>a</sup>. An instance of the latter sort is found in the story of Thûðrandi, whom *dísir* destroyed, 'thann er sagt at *dísir* vaegi,' quem deas interfecisse dicunt (Nialss cap 97), though the full narrative (Fornm sog 2, 195) calls them simply *konur*, women, so *Spáddísir*, nymphae vaticinantes, Vols saga cap 19, means just the same as *spákonur*; and the phrase 'eckí eru allar *dísir* dauðar enn' in Alfs saga cap 15, means in the most general sense, all good spirits are not dead yet, 'yðr munu dauðar *dísir* allar,' to you all spirits are dead, Fornald sog 2, 47. But the Norse people worshipped them, and offered them sacrifice the mention of *dísablót* is very frequent, Egilss cap 44 p 205, Vigagl saga cap 6 p 30, 'blóta kumla *dísir*,' deabus tumulatis sacrificare, Egilss p 207. This passage implies a connexion between *dísir* and ghosts, departed spirits, whose reappearance portends something '*konor* hugðak *dauðar* koma í nótt,' dead women, *ie*, *dísir*, come at night, Sæm 254<sup>a</sup>. Herjans *dís* (Sæm 213<sup>b</sup>) is nympha Odini, a maiden dwelling at Valhöll in the service of Óðinn, *dís* Skioldunga (Sæm 169<sup>a</sup> 209<sup>a</sup>), divine maid sprung from the Skioldung stock, is an epithet both of Sigrún and of Brynhild, conf AS *ides* Scyldinga, *ides* Helminga, Beow 1234. But Freyja herself is called *Vanadís*, nympha Vanorum, Sn 37, and another goddess, Skaði *ondurdís* (walking in wooden shoes), Sn 28, which is equivalent to *ondurguð*. Several proper names of women are compounded with *dís* Thôidís, Híordís, Asdís, Vigdís, Halldís, Freydis (to which might have corresponded an OHG Donaritis, &c) they prove the pretty high antiquity of the monosyllabic form *dís*, which even in the Edda invariably alliterates with D. With the original form *idis* the

compare, Magadaburg with Idisaburg, Idisoburg, and Islant with Itisilant, Itisolant. The Frankish Dispargum on the contrary seems not to be Idisberg, but Tiesberg, fanum Martis (Herm Muller, Salic law, p 33-4)

name of the goddess Idunn may possibly be connected (see Suppl.).

## 2 VELEDA GANNA ALARÛN

If, as I suppose, the generic term *vals* was already current in the time of Tacitus, he gives us other more specific appellations as mere proper names, though still a certain general meaning seems to belong to them too. His statements about *Veleda*, *Ganna*, and *Auruna* I have already quoted in ch. V, where the connexion between prophetesses and the priestly office was pointed out. *Veleda* appears to be almost an appellative, and akin to the Norse *Vala*, *Volva* (p. 97-8), or even to the masc. *Volundr* (p. 378), perhaps also to the name *valkyrja*<sup>1</sup>. She lives on a *tower*, like *Jetha* (p. 96) and *Brynhildr* (*Vols saga* cap. 24). Treaties were ratified in her presence, she not only prophesied, but had to settle disputes among the people, and carry out plans. In *Sæm* 4<sup>b</sup> 5<sup>a</sup> the *Vala*, after whom the famous lay *Voluspå* is named, is also called *Heiðr* and *Gullveig*, and as our female names *Adalheid*, *Alphheid*, &c., are formed with *-heid*, Finn Magnusen p. 416<sup>b</sup> would derive *Veleda* from a supposed *Valaheid*, which however is nowhere found (see Suppl.). The description given of her is an attractive one: wherever in the land this *vala velspå* (*fatidica*) came, she worked witchery, she was believed to travel about and make *visitationes to houses*. This 'til hûsa koma' reminds us of the '*drepa á vett sem volur*,' *pulsare aedes sicut fatidicae*, *Sæm* 63<sup>a</sup>, as in other cases also prophesying, inspiring and boon-bestowing women were always supposed to pass through the country, knocking at the houses of those whom they would bless.

*Ganna* (p. 95-6) could be explained with more certainty, if the real meaning of its root *ginnan* were disclosed to us. A MHG *ginnen* is secure, the ON *gunna* *allicere*, *seducere*, and in *Sæm* 21<sup>a</sup> we are warned not to trust the wheedling words of *valas*, '*volo vilmæli trúu engi maðr*', we shall see presently, how the AS poets use similar expressions about *Wyrd*.

When Drusus had crossed the Weser and was nearing the Elbe,

<sup>1</sup> I find *Waladericus* in *Trad. corb.* p. 364, § 213, a wild woman so called in *Wolfdietrich* 514 'die wilde *waldin*,' and 735 'du ubel *walledern*', but this seems a corruption of *vålandinne*, she-devil.

there met him in the land of the Cheruscaus a superhuman female, γυνή τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν, who forbade his farther advance, and foretold his approaching end (Dio Cass 55, 1) Species *barbarae mulieris*, humana amplior, victorem tendere ultra, sermone Latino, prohibuit (Sueton in Claudio 1)<sup>1</sup> There may have been German folk-tales about this, which became known to the Romans Wise-women of the fatherland, as well as heroes, rose up in their country's need, and by their appearance terrified the foe

*Aurina* is said (p 95) to have been famous in Germany before Veleda, copyists may easily have corrupted *ali* into 'au,' and *rūna* into 'rimia' we should then have *Alurina*, though it would be still more handy if Tacitus had written *Ahoruna* But anyhow we cannot fail to recognise the agreement (which many have noted) with Jornandes cap 24, who, in accounting for the origin of the Huns, relates of the Gothic king Filimer 'Repperit in populo suo quasdam *magas mulieres*, quas patrio sermone *ahorumnas* (al. alyurnnas, aliorunas, aluruncas) is ipse cognominat, easque habens suspectas de medio sui proturbat, longeque ab exercitu suo fugatas in solitudine coegit errare Quas silvestres homines, quos faunos ficarios vocant, per eremum vagantes dum vidissent, et earum se complexibus in coitu miscuissent, genus hoc ferocissimum edidit.' Many names of women are formed with *-rūn*, *-rūna* (Gramm 2, 517), and OHG documents even offer, though sparingly, *Alarūn* *Alerūna*, MB 3, 416 (an 1140), 'Gosprecht der *Alraunyn* sun,' MB 27, 80 (an 1309) I have never seen *Elirūn*, the form we should expect from *ali* -<sup>2</sup> But it is significant, that the ON name *Olirūn*, Sæm 133-4, belongs precisely to a *wise-woman*, and *alirūn* (Graff 2, 523), now *alraun*, from its old sense of a prophetic and diabolic spirit, has at length passed into that of the root (mandragora,

<sup>1</sup> A similar tale about Alexander Severus *Mulier Drunas* eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone, 'vadas, nec victoriam speres, nec te militi tuo credas' Ael Lampridius in Alex Sev cap 60 And Attila at the passage of the Lech is said to have been scared away by a rune-maiden calling out three times 'back, Attila' Paul of Stetten's Erl aus der gesch Augsburgs, p 25 Of still more weight is the agreement of an ON tradition in Saxo Gram p 15 'Hadingum (our mythic Harding, Hartung) *obvna femina* hac voce compellat.

Seu pede rura teras, seu ponto carbasa tendas,  
infestos patiere deos, totumque per orbem  
propositis inimica tuis elementa videbis

<sup>2</sup> It throws some light on the meaning of *-rūn*, that in AS also *burgūna* or *burgūnan* stands for *parcae* and *furnae* (Lye sub v, and Gl épinal 617).

mandrake<sup>9</sup> out of which he is cut We now turn to some other names, about which the fountain of tradition flows more freely (see Suppl)

### 3 NORNI (FATAE)

The three Fates are the subject of an independent and profound myth in the Edda Collectively they are called the *noirur*, and singly, *Urðr*, *Verðandi*, *Skuld*, Sæm 4<sup>a</sup> Sn 18 The term *norn* (*parca*) has not been discovered hitherto in any other dialect,<sup>1</sup> though undoubtedly it belongs to a genuine Teutonic root, and is formed like thorn, corn, horn, &c, and would have been in OHG *norn*, pl *norni*, but even Swedish and Danish know it no longer (see Suppl) In the three proper names it is impossible to mistake the forms of verbal nouns or adjectives *Urðr* is taken from the pret pl of *verða* (*vaið*, *urðum*), to become, *Verðandi* is the pres part of the same word, and *Skuld* the past part of *skula*, shall, the auxiliary by which the future tense is formed Hence we have what was, what is, and what shall be, or the past, present and future, very aptly designated, and a Fate presiding over each<sup>2</sup> At the same time the very names prove that the doctrine of *norns* was originally not foreign to any of the Teutonic nations A Gothic *Vaúrps*, *Vairðande*, *Skulds*, an OHG *Wurt*, *Weidandi*, *Scult*, and so on, must have been known once as personal beings, in the OS.

<sup>1</sup> Nurnberg (mons Noricus) has nothing to do with it, it is no very old town either (in Bohmers regest first in 1050, no 1607, conf MB 29, 102) In the fields at Dauernheim near Nidda is a well called *Noirborn*, *Noiruborn*, and its spring is said to flow only when there is war But I should like to see the name authenticated by an old document The AS gen pl *neorxena*, which only occurs in '*neorxena wong*' = *paradisus*, has been proposed, but the abbreviation would be something unheard of, and even the nom sing *neorve* or *neorau* at variance with *norn*, besides, the *Parcae* are nowhere found connected with *paradisus* May we trace *norn* to *mosan* (*sternutare*), whose past part is in OHG *noran*, MHG *norn*, because of the prophetic virtue there is in sneezing (ch XXXV)? But the special meaning in this verb [conn with nose] seems older than any such general meaning, and its ON form *hniosa* stands opposed

<sup>2</sup> '*Fatum dicunt esse quaequid dii effantur Fatum igitur dictum a fando, i e, loquendo Tris autem firi nunguntur in colo, in fuso, digitisque fila ex lana torquentibus, propter trina tempora praeteritum, quod in fuso jam netum atque involutum est, praesens, quod inter digitos nentis trahitur, futurum in lana quae colo implicata est, et quod adhuc per digitos nentis ad fasum tanquam praesens ad praeteritum trajiciendum est,*' Isidori etym 8, 11 § 92, a passage pretty extensively circulated in the Mid Ages (v Gl Jun 398), yet no proof of the Teutonic notion being borrowed from the classical In § 93 Isidore adds '*quas (parcas) tres esse voluerunt, unam quae vitam hominis ordiatur, alteram quae contexat, tertiam quae rumpat*'

and AS poetry we are able to lay our finger on the personality of the first norn 'thru *Wurdh* is at handun' says the *Heliant* 146, 2, just as 'dôd is at hendi,' 92, 2 the Fate, or death, stands so near, that she can grasp with her hand<sup>1</sup> the man who is fallen due to her, we should say just as concretely 'is at hand, is at the door' Again 'thru *Wurth* nâhida thuo,' drew nigh then, *Hel* 163, 16 '*Wurth* ina benam,' the death-goddess took him away 66, 18 111, 4 Not so living is the term as used in the *Hildebr* lied 48, '*wêwurt* skihit,' or perhaps separately '*wê* *wurt* skihit,' because 'geschehen' to happen is used more of abstract inanimate things An OHG gloss also has *wurt* for fatum (Graff 1, 992) Far more vivid are the AS phrases 'me þæt *Wyrð*<sup>2</sup> gewâf,' *parca* hoc mihi texuit, *Cod* exon 355, '*Wyrð* oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deáh,' *parca* saepe servat virum, donec virtus ejus viget (*ellan* taoc, *Hildeb*), *Beow* 1139, 'him wæs *Wyrð* ungemete neah, se þone gomelan grêtan sceolde, sêcean sâwlehord, sundur gedælan lif wið lice,' 4836 (so, 'deaðð ungemete neah' 5453), 'swâ him *Wyrð* ne gescrâf,' ita ei fatum non ordinavit, decrevit, *Beow* 5145 EL 1047 conf Boeth ed Rawl p 151, 'ealle *Wyrð* forsweop,'<sup>3</sup> swept all away, *Beow* 5624, 'hie seo *Wyrð* beswâc, forlêolc and forlærde,' eos *parca* decepit, allexit, seduxit, *Andr* 613, 'us seo *Wyrð* sceðeð,' nos fatum laedit, *Andr* 1561 The instances in *Cædmon* are less concrete, yet in 61, 12 the *Wyrð* is called 'walgrim,' bloodthirsty —Of the *Wyrð* then are predicated grêtan (excitare, OHG *cruczan*), scrifan (ordinare, OHG *scripan*),<sup>4</sup> wefan (texere, OHG *wepan*), beswican (decipere, OHG *pisûchan*), forlæcan (fallere, OHG *farleichen*), forlæran (seducere, male informare), sceðan (nocere) She is painted powerful, but often cruel and warlike (see Suppl) We cannot in the same way point out a personal application of the other two names, though the

<sup>1</sup> MHG 'er hât den tût an der hant,' *Reinh* 1480 1806. *Nib* 1480, 4. *Morolt* 29<sup>b</sup> *Dietr* 29<sup>a</sup> *Pf Chuonrât* 3860 *Karl* 52<sup>a</sup>

<sup>2</sup> With D, not Th, because the pret of *weorðan* is *weorð*, pl *wurdon*, which supports the derivation I proposed, so the OHG *Wurt*, because *werdan* has pret pl *wurtum*

<sup>3</sup> So I read for the 'forsweof' of the editions, conf *forswâpen*, *Cædm* 25, 9

<sup>4</sup> Conf note to *Elene* p 161, on a similar use of the MHG *scriben*, and *Klausen* in *Zeitschr für alterth.* 1840 p 226 on the Roman notion of the *Parcae* keeping a *written record* N Cap 50 55 renders *parca* by *breuana*, the recorder Tertullian, *De anima* cap 39, informs us that on the last day of the first week of a child's life they used to pray to the *fatæ Scribunda* Fleming 479 calls the three Fates '*des verhängnis schreibrinnen*'

third, *Skuld*, OHG *Scult*, AS *Scyld*, continued in constant use as an abstract fem skuld, scult, scyld, in the sense of debitum, delictum<sup>1</sup> When christianity had banished the heathen notions, one name alone was found sufficient, and soon even that died out, giving place to new fangled terms such as schicksal, verhängnis (destiny) and the like, far more cumbrous and unwieldy than the old simple words The English and especially the Scotch dialect seems to have harboured the old word longest we all know the *weird-sisters* in Macbeth, which Shakspeare took from Hollinshed, they are also in Douglas's Virgil 80, 48, and the Complaynt of Scotland (written 1548) mentions, among other fabulous stories, that 'of the *the weirdsysters*,' (Leyden's ed Edinb 1801, p 99), in Warner's Albions England (first printed 1616) we have 'the *weirdelves*,' probably meaning the Parcae of the ancients More native apparently is 'the *weird lady of the woods*,' who, when asked for advice, prophesies out of her cave, Percy's Reliques 3, 220-2<sup>2</sup>

Even in the North, *Urðr* must have been of more consequence than the other two, for the fountain by the sacred ash is named after her, *Urðarbrunnr*,<sup>3</sup> and beside it stands the hall from which the three norns issue, it is also '*Urðar orð*,' word (Sæm 112<sup>a</sup>) that is chiefly spoken of, and once '*grimmar urðr*' dira fata, is used impersonally, Sæm 216<sup>b</sup>—These three virgins allot to every man his term of life, '*skapa monnum aldr, sköp í árdaga* (year-days),' Sn 18 Sæm 181<sup>a</sup> I have elsewhere (RA. 750) shown the technical pertinence of the term *skapa* to the judicial office of the norns,<sup>4</sup> to whom for the same reason are ascribed *dómr* and

<sup>1</sup> Fornald sog 1, 32 *Skuld*, daughter of an álfkona, also in Saxo Gram p 31, Sculdā, n prop

<sup>2</sup> Conf Jamieson sub v *weird* (weerd, weard) Chaucer already substitutes *fatal sustren* for *weirdsysters* (Troil 3, 733 Leg of gd wom 2619) In Engl dictionaries we find *wayward sisters* explained by parcae and furiae, *weirdsisters* would create no difficulty, but *wayward* means capricious, and was once *waywarden*, in which the warden suggests the Dan. vorren, vorn (Gramm 2, 675). What AS form can there be at the bottom of it? [wá = woe is the usual etym]

<sup>3</sup> This *brunnr* deserves attention, for the wayfaring wives and fays of the Mid Ages also appear habitually at fountains, as the muses and goddesses of song haunted the same, and particular goddesses, esp Holda, loved wells and springs (p 268) Altogether it is hard often to tell which *dame* Holda resembles more, an ancient goddess or a wise-woman

<sup>4</sup> Conf AS *wyrda gesceaf*, Cædm 224, 6 *wyrda gesceapu*, Cod exon. 420, 25 OS *wurðhƿiscapu* (decreta fati), Hel. 113, 7, and the OHG term *scephentā*, MHG *scheffe* (Ottoc 119<sup>b</sup>) and *scheffer*, the poet, also a vates, was in

*qvíðr*, Sæm 273<sup>b</sup>, '*lotar nornur skôpo oss lānga þiā*,' *duæ parcae creaverunt nobis longum moerorem* 217<sup>a</sup>, '*nornur heita þær er nauð skapa*, Skáldskaparmál p 212<sup>a</sup> In the same sense '*nornir vísa*,' Sæm 88<sup>b</sup>, they give us to *wit* judgment, and are *wise* Hence to them, as to judges, a *seat* is given '*á norma stólr sat ek nu daga*' 127<sup>a</sup> They approach every new born child, and utter his doom, at Helgi's birth, it is said in Sæm 149

nôtt var í bæ, *nornur* qvâmo,  
þær er oðlingi *aldr* um *skôpo*  
þann báðo fylki frægstan verða,  
ok Buðlūnga beztan þyckja  
*snero* þær af afli *orlogþátto*,  
þâ er borgir braut í Brálundi :  
þær um *greiddo gullinsímo*,  
ok und mânasal miðjan *festo*  
þær austr ok vestr enda fâlo,  
þar átti lofðūngr land á milli  
brâ *npt Nera* á norðrvega  
*einni festi* ey bað hon halda

This important passage tells us, that norns entering the castle at night spun for the hero the threads of his fate, and stretched the golden *cord* (*þáttir* = *dâht*, *docht*, = *símu*) in the midst of heaven, one norn hid an end of the thread eastward, another westward, a third fastened it northward, this third one is called 'sister of Neri'<sup>1</sup> Their number, though not expressly stated, is to be gathered from the threefold action All the region between the eastern and western ends of the line was to fall to the young hero's lot, did the third norn diminish this gift, when she flung a band northward, and bade it hold for aye? (see Suppl)

It seems the regular thing in tales of norns and fays, for the advantages promised in preceding benefactions to be partly neutralized by a succeeding one

The Nornagestssaga cap 11 says · There travelled about in the

OHG *scuof*, OS *scôp*, from the same root. The AS word *metten* I connect with *metod* (creator, see p 22) In Boeth' p 101 (Rawlinson) a varia lectio has '*þâ gramann mettena*,' the unkind fates, the '*metodo giscapu*' in Hel 66, 19. 67, I answer to those '*wyrða gesceapu*,' and the gen. plurals '*metodo*, *wyrða*' imply that not one creator, but several are spoken of Vintler calls them '*diernen*, die dem menschen *erteilen*,' maids that dole out to man

<sup>1</sup> Conf *npt Nara*, Egilssaga p 440.



land '*volva*,' who are called '*spákonur*,' who foretold to men their fate, '*spáðu monnum aldr*' or '*orlog*' People invited them to their houses, gave them good cheer and gifts One day they came to Nornagest's father, the babe lay in the cradle, and two tapers were burning over him When the first two women had gifted him, and assured him of happiness beyond all others of his race, the third or youngest norn, '*hún yngsta nornun*,' who in the crowd had been pushed off her seat and fallen to the ground, rose up in anger, and cried 'I cause that the child shall only live till the lighted taper beside him has burnt out' The eldest *volva* quickly seized the taper, put it out, and gave it to the mother with the warning not to kindle it again till the last day of her son's life, who received from this the name of *Norn's-guest* Here *volva*, *spákona* and *norn* are perfectly synonymous, as we saw before (p 403) that the *volva* passed through the land and *knocked at the houses*,<sup>1</sup> the *nornur* do the very same A kind disposition is attributed to the first two norns, an evil one to the third This third, consequently *Skuld*, is called 'the youngest,' they were of different ages therefore, *Urðr* being considered the oldest Such tales of travelling gifting sorceresses were much in vogue all through the Mid Ages (see Suppl)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere shown in detail, that the journeying house-visiting Muse dame Adventure is an inspiring and prophetic norn, and agrees to a feature with the ancient conception, see my *Kleine Schriften* 1, 102

<sup>2</sup> Nigellus Wnekeire, in his *Speculum stultorum* (comp about 1200), relates a fable (exemplum)

Ibant tres hominum curas relevare sorores,  
quas nos fatales dicimus esse deas

They travel through the land, to remedy the oversights of nature Two of the sisters, soft-hearted and impulsive, want to rush in and help at the first appearance of distress, but are restrained by the third and more intelligent one, whom they address as *domina*, and revere as a higher power First they fall in with a beautiful noble maiden, who has all good things at her command, and yet complains, she is not helped, for she can help herself Then they find in the forest a modest maid laid up in bed, because sore feet and hips hinder her from walking, she too obtains no help from the goddesses, excellently endowed in mind and body, she must bear her misfortune patiently At last in the neighbourhood of a town the sisters come upon a poor rough peasant lass.

Exit in bivium ventrem purgare puella  
rustica, nil reverens inverecunda dea,  
vestibus elatis retrò nimumque rejectis,  
poplite deflexo crure resedit humi,  
una manus foenum, panis tenet altera frustum,

this one, at the suggestion of the third sister, when the first two have turned away, is heaped with the gifts of fortune by the goddesses

Haec mea multotiens genitrix narrare solebat,  
cujus me certe non meminisse pudet

The Edda expressly teaches that there are *good* and *bad* norns (gôðar ok illar, grimmar, liotar), and though it names only three, that there are more of them some are descended from gods, others from elves, others from dwarfs, Sn 18 19 Sæm 187-8 Why should the norns be furnished with dogs? *grey norna*, Sæm. 273<sup>a</sup>

We see, throughout this Eddic description, things and persons are kept clearly apart. Destiny itself is called *orlog*, or else *nauðr* (necessitas), *aldr* (aevum), the norns have to manage it, espy it, decree it, pronounce it (see Suppl.) And the other dialects too had possessed the same term OHG *urlac*, AS *orlæg*, MHG *urlouc* (Grimm 2, 7 87 789 790), OS *orlag*, *orlegn*, *aldarlagu* (Hel 103, 8 113, 11 125, 15),<sup>1</sup> it was only when the heathen goddesses had been cast off, that the meanings of the words came to be confounded, and the old flesh-and-blood *wunt*, *wunð*, *wyrd* to pale into a mere impersonal *urlac*

In the same relation as *norn* to *orlog*, stands *parca* to *fatum* (from *fari*, like *qviðr* from *qveða* *qvað*, *quoth*), and also *αἰσα*, *μοῖρα* to *ἀνάγκη* (*nauðr*) or *εἰμαρμένη*. But when once the *parcae* had vanished from the people's imagination, the Romance language (by a process the reverse of that just noticed amongst us) formed out of the abstract noun a new and personal one, out of *fatum* an Ital *fata*, Span *hada*, Prov *fada* (Rayn -sub v), Fr *fée*<sup>2</sup> I do not know if this was prompted by a faint remembrance of some female beings in the Celtic faith, or the influence of the Germanic norns. But these *fays*, so called at first from their announcing destiny, soon came to be ghostly wives in general, altogether the same as our *idisí* and *volur*<sup>3</sup> How very early the name was current in Italy, is proved by Ausonius, who in his *Gryphus ternarii numeri* brings forward the 'tres Charites, *tria Fata*,' and by Procopius, who

<sup>1</sup> From *legan* (to lay down, constitute), like the AS *lage*, ON *log* (*lex*); therefore *urlac*, fundamental law. The forms *urlouc*, *urluge* have significantly been twisted round to the root *lugan*, *louc* (*celare*)

<sup>2</sup> Conf *nata*, *née*, *amata*, *aimée*, *lata*, *lée*. Some MHG poets say *fere* (Hartm. Wolfr.), sine *fere*, Haupt's *zeitschr* 2, 182-3, others *ferne* (Gotfr. Conr.)

<sup>3</sup> OFr poems call them, in addition to *fées*, *duesses* (Marie de Fl 2, 385), *duesses* (Méon 4, 158 165), *duesse* and *fée* (Wolf, *lais* 51), *puceles bien euréés* (Méon 3, 418), *franches puceles senées* (3, 419), *sapaudes* (wise-women, from *sapeie*?), Marie de Fr 2, 385. Enchanting beauty is ascribed to them all 'plus bela que *fada*,' Ferabras 2767, conf 16434. A book of H. Schreiber (Die *feen* in Europa, Freib 1842) throws much light on the antiquities of fay-worship. Houses, castles and hulls of the fays remind us of the wise-women's towers, of the Venus-hill and Holla-hill, and of giant's houses. In Irish, *siabrog*, *sighbrog*, is first a fays' house, then the fay community.

mentions (De bello Goth 1, 25, ed Bonn 2, 122) a building in the Roman Forum called τὰ τρία φᾶτα (supra p 405, note) with the remark οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μοῖρας νενομίκασιν καλεῖν<sup>1</sup> At that time therefore still neuter, but everywhere the number *three*, in norms, *morai*, *parcae* and *fays* (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup>

About the Romance *fays* there is a multitude of stories, and they coincide with the popular beliefs of Germany Folquet de Romans sings

Aïssim *fadero tres serors*  
en aquella ora qu'ieu sui natz,  
que totz temps fos enamoratz

Guilhdei Poitou

Assi fuy de nueitz *fadat*z sobr'un puegau.  
(so was I gifted by night on a mount).

Marcabrus.

*Gentil fada*  
vos adastret, quan fas nada  
d'una beutat esmerada.

*The fate* go past, laughing, and give good gifts, Pentam 1, 10 4, 4, the first *fate* bestow blessings, the last one curses 2, 8, Pervonto builds a bower for *three* sleeping *fate*, and is then gifted 1, 3, *tre fate* live down in a rocky hollow, and dower the children who descend 2, 3 3, 10, *fate* appear at the birth of children, and lay them on their breast 5, 5, Cervantes names 'los siete castillos de las *siete fadas*,' Don Quix 4, 50, '*siete fadas* me *fadan* en brazos de una ama mia,' Rom de la infantina, there are *seven fays* in the land, they are asked to stand godmothers, and seats of honour are prepared at the table. six take their places, but the seventh was forgotten, she now appears, and while the others endow with good things, she murmurs her malison (La belle au bois dormant), in the German kindermarchen (Dornroschen) it is *twelve wise women*, the *thirteenth* had been overlooked. So in the famed forest of

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly I do not derive *fata* from *phátis* (speech), or *phátis* spoken, though the Latin verb is of course the same word as *φημί* Conf' Ducange sub *v* *Fadus*, and Lobeck's *Aglaoph.* §16 *Fatius* and *fatua* are also connected

<sup>2</sup> Lersch in the *Bonner jb* 1843 2, 129—131 separates the three *parcae* from the three *fata*, because in sculpture they have different adjuncts the Roman *parcae* are represented writing (p. 406), the Greek *parcae* weaving, the *tua fata* simply as women with horns of plenty But almost everything in the doctrine of *fays* points to a common nature with our *ides* and *norms*, and works of art fall into the background before the fulness of literature

Brezeliande, by the fontaine de Baiendon, *dames faées* in white apparel shew themselves, and begift a child, but one is spiteful and bestows calamity (San Maite, Leg of Arthur p 157-8 160) At Olger's bith *six wise women* appear, and endow, the last is named *Morgue* In the Childien of Limburg (Moises anzeiger 1835, 169), when Ectrtes falls asleep in a meadow beside a foüntain and a lime-tree, *three wayfaring wives* approach, and foretell the future The OFr romance of Guillaume au court nez describes how Renoart falls asleep in a boat, and *three fays* come and carry him off In Burchard of Worms they are still spoken of as *three sisters* or *parcae*, for whom the people of the house spread the table with three plates and three knives, conf the 'praeparare mensas cum lapidibus vel epulis in domo' In the watches of the night the fatuae come to children, wash them and lay them down by the fire (see Suppl) In most of the tales there appear *three fays*, as well as *three norns* and *three parcae*, occasionally *seven* and *thutteen*, but they also come singly, like that 'weirdlady of the wood,' and with proper names of their own<sup>1</sup> French

<sup>1</sup> *La fata* in Guerino meschino p m 223 234—8, *Morganda fatata, fata Morgana, Morghe la fee* (Nouv Renart 4810), 'diu frouwe de la rosche bise (black rock), die gesach nieman, er schiede dan vrô, riche unde wise,' whom none saw but he went away glad, rich and wise, Ben 144 MsH 1, 118<sup>a</sup> Monnier's Culte des esprits dans la Séquanie tells of a fée *Arie* in Franche-comté, who appears at country (esp harvest) feasts, and rewards diligent spinners, she makes the fruit fall off the trees for good children, and distributes nuts and cakes to them at Christmas, just like Holda and Berhta I believe her to be identical with the Welsh *Arianrod*, daughter of Don and sister of Gwydion (Woden), in Croker 3, 195, her name contains *arian* (argentum), so that she is a shining one, and it is also used of the milky way A jeu composed in the latter half of the 13th century by Adam de la Halle of Arras (publ in Théâtre franç au moyen âge, Paris 1839, p 55 seq) gives a pretty full account of *dame Morgue* et sa *compaignie* They are beautiful women (beles dames parées), who at a fixed time of the year seek a night's lodging at a house, where dishes are set on the table for them, men that look on must not speak a word Beside *Morgue la sage* there appear (p 76-7) two other fays, *Arsile* and *Maglore*, and the last, on sitting down, notices that *no knife* has been laid for her, while the others praise the beauty of theirs Maglore cries out in anger 'Suye li pire? peu me pris a qui estavl, ni avisa que toute seule à coutel faille.' *Arsile* tries to pacify her, and says, it is fitting that we give a present to those who have arranged this place so prettily Morgue endows one with riches, *Arsile* with the poetic art, but *Maglore* says

De mi certes naront il nient  
bien dorvent falir à don bel,  
puisque j'ai falir à coutel  
nonn soit qui riens leur donra !

Morgue however insisting on a gift, *Maglore* bestows on one fellow a bald head, and on the other a calamitous journey

tradition brings to light a close connexion between fays and our giant-maidens the fays carry enormous blocks of stone on their heads or in their aprons, while the free hand plies the spindle, when the fay who was doing the building part had finished her task, she called out to her sisters not to bring any more, and these, though two miles off, heard the cry and dropped their stones, which buried themselves deep in the ground, when the fays were not spinning, they carried four stones at once. They were good-natured, and took special care of the children whose fates they foretold. They went in and out of the neighbours' houses by the chimney, so that one day the most careless one among them burnt herself, and uttered a loud wail, at which all the fays of the neighbourhood came running up. You never could deceive them. Once, when a man put his wife's clothes on and nursed the baby, the fay walked in and said directly 'non, tu n'es point la belle d'hier au soir, tu ne files, ni ne vogues, ni ton fuseau n'enveloppe'. To punish him, she contented herself with making the apples that were baking on the hearth shrink into peas.

Of such stories there are plenty, but nowhere in Romance or German folk-tales do we meet, as far as I know, with the Norse conception of *turning* and *fastening* the *cord*, or the Greek one of *spinning* and *cutting* the *thread of life*. Only one poet of the Mid-Ages, Marner, has it 2, 173<sup>b</sup>

*zuô schepfer flächten mir ein seil,*  
dâ bi *dru dritte* saz (the third sat by);      ...  
*diu zerbrachz* (broke it) *daz was min unheil*

But this seems borrowed from the Roman view of breaking off the thread (rumpat, p 406, note). Ottokar makes the *schepfen*

ans comperront chier le coutel  
qu'il ouvlièrent chi à metre

Then before daybreak the fays depart to a meadow, their place of meeting, for they shun to meet the eyes of men by day. Here we see plainly enough the close resemblance of these three fays to the three norns. The French editor wrongly understands coutel of a cloth spread for the fay, the passage in Burchard of Worms removes all doubt. If Maglore be a corruption of Mandaglore, Mandagloire, as the mandragora is elsewhere called, a close connexion may be established with Alrûne, Olrûn. Morgue is shortened from Morgan, which is the Breton for merwoman (from *moi*, the sea, and *gwen*, splendens femina). One might be tempted to connect Morgan with that inexplicable 'norn,' as the ON *morni* stands for *moigni*, but the norn has nothing to do with the morning or the sea (see Suppl.)

<sup>1</sup> H. Schreiber, Feen in Europa pp 11 12 16 17. Michelet 2, 17.

(creating) impart all success in good or evil. The 'banun\* festan' in Hild lied is hardly to be explained by the fastening of a thread of death

If we compare the Norse mythus with the Greek, each has taken shape in its own independent way. In Homer it is the personified *Αἴσα*<sup>1</sup> that spins the thread for the newborn

*ἄσσα δι' Αἴσά*

*γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.* Il 20, 127,

'what things Aisa span for him at birth with her thread'. But in Od 7, 197 other spinners (two) are associated with her

*ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα Κατακλώθές τε βαρεῖαι*

*γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τεκε μήτηρ.*

'what Aisa and the Kataklothes unkind span'. Hesiod (*ἀσπ.* 258) makes three goddesses stand beside the combatants, *Κλωθώ*, *Λάχεσις*, *Ἀτροπος*, the last small of stature, but eldest and most exalted of all. But in Theog 218 he names them as

*Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Ἀτροπον, αἵτε βροτοῖσιν  
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.*

'who give to mortals at birth to have both good and ill,' and in almost the same words at 905. The most detailed description is given by Plato (*De republ.* 617 Steph 508 Bekk). The three *μοῖραι* are daughters of *Ἀνάγκη* (necessity), on whose knees the spindle (*ἄτρακτος*) turns, they sit clothed in white and garlanded, singing the destiny, *Lachēsis τὰ γεγονότα*, *Klotho τὰ ὄντα*, *Atrōpos τὰ μέλλοντα* just the same relation to past, present and future as the norms have, though the Greek proper names do not themselves express it. *Κλωθώ* (formed like *Ἀὔξω*, *Θαλλώ*, *Λητώ*, *Μορμώ*, *Γοργώ*) spins (from *κλώδω* spin, twine), *Lachesis* allots (from *λαχεῖν*), *Ἀτροπος*, the unturnable, cuts the thread. It must not be overlooked, that Hesiod sets up the last, *Atropos*, as the mightiest, while with us Wurt the eldest produces the most powerful impression. Latin writers distribute the offices of the *parcae* somewhat differently, as Apuleius (*De mundo* p 280) *Clotho praesentis temporis habet curam, quia quod torquetur in digitis, momenti*

<sup>1</sup> I think *αἴσα* is the OHG *êra*, our *ehre*, for which we should expect a Gothic *áira*, *áisa* (as *áistan* is *aestimare*) *êra* = honor, decus, dignitas, what is fair and fitting, what is any one's due, *κατ' αἴσαν*, ex dignitate, to each his meed. If this etymology holds, we understand why *fráun Eri* was personified (see Suppl.)

praesentis indicat spatia, Atropos *praeteriti* fatum est, quia quod in fuso perfectum est, praeteriti temporis habet speciem, Lachesis *futurae*, quod etiam illis quae futura sunt finem suum deus dederit (see Suppl.) Isidore's opinion was quoted on p 405<sup>1</sup> The *Nornagestsaga* bears a striking resemblance to that of Meleager, at whose birth three moirai tell his fortune Atropos destines him to live only till the billet then burning on the hearth be burnt out, his mother Althaea plucks it out of the fire<sup>2</sup> Our modern tales here exchange the noins or fates for *death*, Kinderm no 44 Another tale, that of the *three spinners* (no 14), depicts them as ugly old women, who come to help, but no longer to predict, they desire to be bidden to the marriage and to be called *cousins* Elsewhere *three old women* foretell, but do not spin<sup>3</sup> A folk-tale (Deutsche sagen no 9) introduces *two maidens spinning* in a cave of the mountain, and under their table is the Evil one (I suppose the third norn) chained up, again we are told of the roof-beam on which a *spinning wife* sits at midnight<sup>4</sup> We must not forget the AS term which describes a noin as *weaving*, 'Wyrð gewāf' (p 406), and when it is said in Beow 1386 'ac him Dryhten forgeaf wigspēda gewrofu' (ei Dominus largitus est successuum bellicorum texturas), this is quite heathen phraseology, only putting God in the place of Wyrð Gottfried (Trist 4698), in describing Blicher of Steinach's purity of mind, expresses himself thus:

ich wæne, daz in *fernen*  
ze wunder haben *gespinnen*  
und haben in in ir *brunnen*  
gelutert und geremet,

'I ween that fays spun him as a wonder, and cleansed him in their fountain'.

Saxo Gram p 102 uses the Latin words *parca*, *nympha*, but unmistakably he is describing norms 'Mos erat antiquis, super

<sup>1</sup> The Hymn to Mercury 550-561 names individually some other *μοῖραι*, still three in number, winged maidens dwelling on Parnassus, their heads besprinkled with white meal, who prophesy when they have eaten fresh divine food (*ἡδέϊαν ἐδωδην*) of honey Otherwise they are called *θραι*

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus i 8, 2

<sup>3</sup> Altd wb 1, 107-8-9-10 Norske eventyr no 13 Rob Chambers p 54-5 Mullenhoff's Schleswigh s p 410 Pentamer 4, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Jul Schmidt, Reichenfels p 140

futuris liberorum eventibus *parcarum* oracula consultarē Quo ritu Fridlevus Olavi filii fortunam exploraturus, nuncupatis sollemniter votis, deorum aedes precabundus accedit, ubi introspecto *sacello*<sup>1</sup> ternas sedes totidem *nymphis* occupari cognoscit Quarum *prima* indulgentioris animi liberalem puero formam, uberemque humani favoris copiam erogabat Eadem *secunda* beneficii loco liberalitatis excellentiam condonavit *Tertia* vero, protervioris ingenui invidentiorisque studii femina, *sorum* indulgentiorem aspernata consensum, ideoque earum donis officere cupiens, futuris pueri moribus parsimoniae cimen affixit' Here they are called sisters, which I have found nowhere else in ON authorities, and the third nymph is again the ill-natured one, who lessens the boons of the first two The only difference is, that the norns do not come to the infant, but the father seeks out their dwelling, their temple (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup>

The weaving of the norns and the spindle of the fays give us to recognise *domestic motherly* divinities, and we have already remarked, that their appearing suddenly, their haunting of wells and springs accord with the notions of antiquity about frau Holda, Berhta and the like goddesses, who devote themselves to spinning, and bestow boons on babes and children<sup>3</sup> Among Celts especially,

<sup>1</sup> They had a *temple* then, in which their oracle was consulted

<sup>2</sup> The Lettish *Laima*, at the birth of a child, lays the sheet under it, and determines its fortune And on other occasions in life they say, 'taip *Laima* leme,' so Fate ordained it, no doubt *Laima* is closely connected with *lenti* (ordinare, disponere) She runs barefooted over the hills (see ch XVII, Watersprites) There is also mentioned a *Dehtela* (nursing-mother, from *deht* to suckle) A trinity of *parcae*, and their spinning a thread, are unknown to the Lettons, conf Stender's Gramm p 264 Rhesas *damos* pp 272 309 310 —The Lithuanians do know a *Werpeya* (spinner). The Ausland for 1839, no 278 has a pretty Lithuanian legend The *drievs valditoyes* were seven goddesses, the first one spun the lives of men out of a distaff given her by the highest god, the second set up the warp, the third wove in the woof, the fourth told tales to tempt the workers to leave off, for a cessation of labour spoilt the web, the fifth exhorted them to industry, and added length to the life, the sixth cut the threads, the seventh washed the garment and gave it to the most high god, and it became the man's winding-sheet Of the seven, only *three* spin or weave

<sup>3</sup> Not a few times have Holda and Berhta passed into Mary, and in the *three Marys* of a Swiss nursery-rhyme I think I can recognise the heathen norns or idisi

rite, rite rosl,  
ze Baðs stot e schlossli,  
ze Bade stot e guldi hus,  
es lueged drei Maree drus  
die ent spinnt side,

ride, ride a-cock horse,  
at Baden stands a little castle,  
at Baden stands a golden house,  
there look three Marys out of it  
the one spins silk,



the fatae seem apt to run into that sense of *matres* and *matronae*,<sup>1</sup> which among Teutons we find attaching more to divine than to semi-divine beings. In this respect the fays have something higher in them than our idises and norns, who in lieu of it stand out more waillike.

#### 4. WALACHURJUN (VALKYRJOR)

Yet, as the fatae are closely bound up with fatum—the pronouncing of destiny, vaticination—the kinship of the fays to the norns asserts itself all the same. Now there was no sort of destiny that stirred the spirit of antiquity more strongly than the issue of battles and wars. It is significant, that the same urlac, urlouc expresses both fatum and bellum also (Griaff 2, 96. Gramm 2, 790), and the idisi forward or hinder the fight. Thus their office we have to look into more narrowly.

From Caesar (De B. Gall. 1, 50) we already learn the practice of the Germani, 'ut *matresfamilias* eorum *sortibus* et *vaticinationibus* declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne'. Mistresses of families practised augury, perhaps women selected for the purpose, of superior and godlike repute like Velede.

Let us bear in mind, which gods chiefly concerned themselves with the event of a battle. *Óðinn* and *Freyja* draw to themselves all those who fall in fight, and *Óðinn* admits them to his heavenly abode (pp. 133, 305). This hope, of becoming after death members of the divine community, pervades the religion of the heathen. Now the ON *valr*, AS *wæl*, OHG *wal*, denotes the carnage of the battle-field, the sum of the slain. To take possession of this *val*, to gather it in, was denominated *kiosa*, *kiesen*, to choose, this verb seems a general technical term for the acceptance of any sacrifice made to a higher being.<sup>2</sup> But *Óðinn*, who has the *siges kurr* (choosing

die ander schnatzelt chride,  
die drit schnit haberstrau  
bhuet mer Gott mis chindli an !

the other cards  
the third cuts oaten straw  
God keep my childie too !

Schnatzeln is, I suppose, to wind? [snast = wick? snood? In the marchen of the Goosemaid, schnatzen is apparently to comb]. The seventh line sometimes runs: *di dritte schneidt den faden* (cuts the thread). Conf. Vonbun p. 66. Firmenich 2, 665<sup>b</sup>. Mannhardt pp. 388, 392. The nursery-song in the Wunderhorn p. 70-1 has *three spinning tocken*, i. e. nymphs, fays.

<sup>1</sup> Lersch in the Bonn Annual 1843, pp. 124-7.

<sup>2</sup> Chief passage, Sæm 141<sup>a</sup>. Conf. Gramm 4, 608, and AS wif *curon*, Cædm 193, 9, MHG *sige kieser*, Iw. 7069, *sig erkiesen*, Wh 355, 15. So, den tót *kiesen*.

of victory, p 133, note), is served in Valhöll by maidens, and then he sends out into every battle, to choose the slain, Sn 39, '*krosa er liðnir ero*,' Sæm 164<sup>b</sup>, *vildi þik krosa*, Sæm 254<sup>a</sup>

Hence such a maiden, half divine, is called *valkyrja*, and it is another most welcome coincidence, that the AS language has retained the very same term *wælcyrre* (wælcyrge, wælcyrre) to English such Latin words as *bellona*, *erinyes*, *Alecto*, *Tisiphone* and employs it even for *parca* and *venefica*. The Cott MS Vitell A 15 has a gloss '*wælcyrgean eágan, goigoneus*' this is translating the Greek idea into an AS one, did the eyes of the wælcyrgean instil horror like the Gorgons' heads? I am quite safe in assuming an OHG *walachunrâ* (walachurrâ), *walakusjô* would be the Gothic form. At the end of the Langobardian genealogy we find a man's name *Wolcausus*<sup>1</sup>

Another name of the *valkyrjur* is ON *valmeyjar* (battle-maids), perhaps also the present Norw. *valdoger*, which Hallager 140<sup>b</sup> says is guardian-spirit. Again, they are called *skraldmeyjar*, *hraldmeyjar*, because they go forth armed, under shield and helmet (*vera und hialmi*, Sæm 151<sup>a</sup> 192<sup>b</sup>), *nonnor Herjans*, nuns of Óðinn 4<sup>b</sup>. The Edda bestows on the *valkyrja* the epithets *hvít* 168<sup>b</sup>, *hvít und hialmi* (alba sub galea) 145<sup>b</sup>, *biort* 174<sup>b</sup>, *sólbiort*, sunbright 167<sup>b</sup>, *biort-lituð* 142<sup>a</sup>, *hralmvrtr* 157<sup>a</sup>, *gullvanð* 167<sup>b</sup>, *margullin mær* 145<sup>a</sup>, *alvtr* 164<sup>a</sup>, all descriptive of beauty or helmet-ornaments. Helm and shield distinguish these helm and shield women as much as heroes, they ride on shield-service, under shield-roof, Sæm 250<sup>b</sup>, and are called *skraldmeyjar aldrstamar*, or young shield-maidens of Athi's court. The legend of the *Amazons* (Herod 4, 110—117 Jörn. cap 6 7 8 Paul Diac 1, 15) seems to rest on similar yet different notions. A *valkyr* in Sæm 167<sup>b</sup> is named *suðræn* (australis), apparently in the sense of *biort*, *sólbiort*? Again at 151<sup>b</sup>, *disir suðicænar* (see Suppl.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of *valr*, *wal* itself we might seek the root in *velja*, *valjan* (elgere), so that it should from the first have contained the notion of choosing, but being applied to strages, and its sense getting blurred, it had to be helped out by a second verb of the same meaning. Our Tit 105, 4 has a striking juxtaposition. '*Sigún drú sígehaft áf dem wal, da man wêlt magede krusche und ir sueze*' It is only in Dietr 91<sup>b</sup> and Rab 536 635 811 850 923 that *welreche* occurs, can it have any relationship to *walkure*?

<sup>2</sup> Óðinn has Frigg, the *valkyrjur* and the ravens in the waggon with him, Sn 66. For *valkyrja* I also find the name *skorángr*, derivable either from *skar* superbia, or *skari* agmen. Brynhildr is called in Völs saga cap 24 '*mestr skorángr*' (see Suppl.)

One name is particularly attractive *Óshmeyjar*, wish-maidens (Sæm 212 Vols saga cap 2), given them, I think, because they are in Óðin's service, and Óðinn is called *Oskr*, *Wunsc*. But there is something more. I find a confirmation of my opinion that Wuotan bore the name of *Wunsc* in his identity with *Mercury*, for Mercury carries the magic wand (caduceus), which is like our *wishing rod*, OHG *wunschigerta* (-yêrde, yârd). The likeness will come out more distinctly from a closer inspection of the two rods, which is yet to come, but if Wuotan and *Wunsc*, Óðinn and *Oskr* are one, we may suppose that the thorn, the sleeping-thorn, which Óðinn put into the dress of the valkyrja Brynhildr (Sæm 192<sup>a</sup>), was likewise a *wishing-thorn*. It throws light on the nature of Brunhild and Chrimhild, that rocks are named after them, one called *spilstern*, Chnismhildespil (p 370), which does not find a meaning so well from spil (ludus) as from spille (spindle, fusus). For other stones have the name *kunlel* (distaff), and in French fairy-tales *quenouille à la bonne dame*,<sup>1</sup> Dornroschen (thorn-rosekin) pricked her finger with the spindle and fell into a dead sleep, as Brunhild did with the wishing-thorn. Spindles are an essential characteristic of all the wise-women of antiquity among Teutons, Celts and Greeks.<sup>2</sup> The walkure is a *wunsch-kint*, *Wunsches kint*, pp 139, 142 (see Suppl.)

The name *wunschelweib*, which lasted down to a late time, shall be produced hereafter, here I call up from the poem of the Staufenberg a being by whom the connexion of valkyris with fays is placed beyond doubt. To the knight there shews herself a maiden in *white apparel* (the hvit and biot above), sitting on a stone (line 224), she has *watched over him in danger and war from his youth up*, she *was about him unseen* (332—364), now she becomes his love, and is with him *whenever he wishes for her* (svenne du einest wunschest nâch mir, sô bin ich endelichen bi dir 474). By super-human power she moves swiftly whither she lists (wâr ich wil, dâ bin ich, den *wunsch* hât mir Got gegeben 497). Staufenberg, after being united to her in love, may do anything except take a wedded wife, else he will die in three days

‘er *wunschte* nâch der frouwen sîn,  
bî im sô war diu schoene fîn’

<sup>1</sup> H. Schreiber pp 20 21

<sup>2</sup> I like also Schreiber's derivation, pp 65—67, of the name *Nehaea*, *Nehalennia* (supra p 257) from the root *nere*, *neza* to spin

When he notwithstanding resolves on another marriage, she *drives her foot through the floor*, and he has to die (1016 1066) According to this remarkable story, *wunscheweb* or *wunschelweb* is one whose presence her lover can procure, by wishing it, whenever he longs for her, 'names her name' as it were (p 398) this is, though not a false, yet a later meaning substituted for the original one, which had reference to the god of *wishing*, the divine Wish Old Norse legend will unfold to us more precisely the nature of these women

In Valholl the occupation of the *óskmeyjar* or *valkyrjur* was to *hand the drinking-horn* to the gods and einherjar, and to furnish the table Here comes out their peculiar relation to *Freyja*, who 'chooses val' like them, is called *Valfreyja* (p 305),<sup>1</sup> and pours out at the banquet of the Ases (at gildi Asa), Sn 108 Exactly in the same way did *Gondul*, sitting on a stól í miðrinu (in the miurute, clearing), offer the comers *drink out of a horn* (Fornald sog 1, 398. 400), and with this agree the deep draughts of the modern folk-tale a beautifully dressed and garlanded maiden from the Osenberg offers the count of Oldenburg a *draught* in a silver *horn*, while uttering predictions (Deutsche sagen, no 541) Svend Falling drank out of the horn handed him by elf-women, and in doing so, spilt some on his horse, as in the preceding story (Thiele 2, 67), I have touched (p. 372) on the identity of Svend Falling with Siegfried, whose relation to the valkyr Brunhild comes out clearly in the Danish story In a Swedish folk-song in Arvidsson 2, 301, three mountain-maids hold out silver *tankards* in their *white hands* Quite in harmony are some Norwegian traditions in Faye p 26-8-9 30, and additional Danish ones in Thiele 1, 49 55 3, 44 (see Suppl)

Still more to the purpose is the office of the valkyrs in war Not only 'kiosa val, kiosa feigð',<sup>2</sup> but 'ráða vígum' or 'sigri,' therefore the deciding of battle and victory, is placed in their hands, Sn 39 They are said to be 'gorvar (alert) at ráða grund,' 'gorvar

<sup>1</sup> So, in a Faroese song, *Valdreyg* (Finn Magn lex p 805)

<sup>2</sup> The *taking possession of souls* at the moment of death by Óðinn and Freyja, or by their messengers the valkyrs, appears to me so deep-rooted a feature of our heathenism, that we may well find it lingering even in christian traditions Of this sort is the scramble of *angels* and *devils* for the soul, described in the poem *Muspilli*, which Schmeller has hunted up, Georg 1235-44 6082-86 and Méon 1, 239 4, 114-5, and a striking passage in the Morolt I shall quote in ch XVII. Will any one think of tracing this idea to the Epistle of Jude 9, or the apocryphal Book of Enoch?

at riða til goðþjóðar,' Sæm 4<sup>b</sup> Rooted in their being is an irresistible *longing* for this warlike occupation, hence the Edda expresses their most characteristic passion by the verb 'þiá' (desiderant), Sæm 88<sup>b</sup>, 'þræðo' (desiderabant) or 'fýstoz' (cupiebant), 134<sup>a</sup> it is their own *longing*, striving and wishing that has swung itself round into that wishing for them. Usually *nine* valkyrjur ride out together, Sæm 142, 162, their lances, helmets and shields glitter 151<sup>a</sup>. This *nineness* is also found in the story of Thriðlandi (see p 402), to whom nine dísir appear first in white raiment, then nine others in black. Sæm 44-5, and after him Sn 39, enumerate *thirteen* of them *Hrist*, *Mist*, *Skeggöld*, *Skogul*, *Hildir*, *Thriðl*, *Hlock*, *Herfiotr*, *Goll*, *Geirahoð* (al. Genolul), *Randgríð*, *Ráðgríð*, *Regnleif*, but Sæm 4<sup>b</sup> only *six* *Skuld*, *Skogul*, *Gunnr*, *Hildir*, *Gondul*, *Geirskogul*<sup>1</sup>. The prose of Sn 39 distinguishes *three* as strictly val-choosers and mistresses of victory *Guðr*, *Rota* and *Skuld* 'norn en fngzta'. The celebrated battle-weaving song of the Nialssaga names the following *Hildi*, *Hiorþrumul*, *Sangríðr* (l. Rangríðr), *Svipul*, *Gunnr*, *Gondul*, the Håkonarmål *Gondol*, *Skogol*, *Geirskogol*, the Kiðkumål (ed. Rafn, p 121) only *Hlock* and *Hildi*. Several of these names are of extraordinary and immediate value to our investigation, and not one of the remainder ought to be left out of sight in future study (see Suppl.)

*Skuld*, for instance we gather from it the affinity of norns and valkyrs, and at the same time the distinction between them. A dís can be both norn and valkyr, but the functions are separate, and usually the persons. The norns have to pronounce the fatum, they sit on their chairs, or they roam through the country among mortals, fastening their threads. Nowhere is it said that they ride. The valkyrs *ride* to war, decide the issue of the fighting, and conduct the fallen to heaven, their riding is like that of heroes and gods (pp 327-332), mention is made of their horses skalf *Mistar marr* (tremuit Mistae equus), Sæm 156<sup>a</sup>, *margullin mæx* (aureo equo vecta virgo), 145<sup>a</sup>, when the steeds of the valkyrs shake themselves, dew drips from their manes into the valleys, and fertilizing hail falls on trees 145<sup>a,b</sup>, with which compare the 'destillationes in comis et collis equorum' of the wise-women (p 287), the name *Mist*, which elsewhere means mist, may have indicated

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished passages in the skálds supply 29 or 30 names (Finn Magn. lex p 803).

a like phenomenon Of the norns, none but *Shuld the youngest* (p 405) can be a valkyrja too were Urðr and Verðandi imagined as too aged or too dignified for the work of war? did the cutting, breaking, of the thread (if such an idea can be detected in the North) better become the maiden practised in aims?.

Two other valkyrs, *Hlock* and *Heifotr*, have been claimed above (p 401) as idisi, and interpreted as restrainers of the fight In the *Kormakssaga* there also occurs *Hlokk* gen *Hlakkar*, for bellona

*Huldr*, *Gunnr*, *Thrúðr* deserve to be studied the more closely, because their personality turns up in other Teutonic tongues as well, and the presence there of some walachurum argues that of the whole sisterhood Even in ONoise, *Huldr* and *Gunnr* (=Guðr) got generalized into *huldr* and *gunnr* (pugna, proelium), of bellona was made bellum '*huldr* hefir þú oss verit,' bellona nobis fuisti, *Sæm* 164<sup>b</sup> Conversely, beside the AS *hild* and *gúð* we still find a personal *Hild* and *Gúð* 'gif mec *Hild* nime (if H take me), *Beow* 899. 2962, *Gúð* nimeð 5069, *Gúð* fornam (carried off) 2240, as elsewhere we have 'gif mec deað nimeð,' *Beow* 889, wīg ealle fornam 2154, gūðdeað fornam 4494, Wyrð fornam 2411 (conf OS Wurd farnimīd, *Hel* 111, 11), swylt fornam 2872, Wyrð for-sweop (supra p 406), conf '*Hilde* grāp' 5009 And as other beings that do us good or harm are by turns aroused and quieted, it is said picturesquely *Huldr* vekja (bellonam excitare), *Sæm* 160<sup>a</sup> 246<sup>a</sup>, elsewhere merely wīg vekja (bellum excitare) 105<sup>a</sup> The valkyrs, like Óðinn (p 147), are accompanied by *eagles* and *ravens*, who alight on the battlefield,<sup>1</sup> and the waging of war is poetically expressed as *ala gogl gunna systra* (aves alere sororum belli), *Sæm* 160<sup>a</sup> The forms in OHG were *Hiltia* and *Gundia* (Gûdea), both found in the *Hild* lied 6. 60, though already as mere common nouns, composite proper names have -hilt, -gunt<sup>2</sup> The legend of *Huldr*, who goes to the val at night, and by her magic wakes the fallen warriors into life again, is preserved both in the *Edda* (*Sn* 164-5) and also in the OHG poem of *Gûdrûn*, where she is called *Hilde*<sup>3</sup>—Lastly, *Thrúðr*, which likewise sinks into a mere appella-

<sup>1</sup> Andr and EL p xxvi xxvii Conf Luke 17, 37 ὄρον τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται καὶ οἱ αἰετοί

<sup>2</sup> The Trad fuld, in Schannat no 443, have preserved the name, well suited to a valkyr, of *Themarhilt* (from demar, crepusculum)

<sup>3</sup> Deutsche heldensage p 327 seq Conf supra p 285, on *Hilde* and *Hildburg*

tive *brúðr* virgo, and in OHG occurs in a great many female names (eg Alpdriūt [Ælfþryð, Elfriða], Wolchandrūt, Himildrūt, Pliddiūt, Plihdrūt = Plectrud, Kêrdrūt = Gertiude, Mimidrūt, Sigidrūt, which naturally suggest ghostly beings), has assumed the general meaning of witch, sorceress, hobgoblin<sup>1</sup> Hans Sachs several times uses 'alte *trute*' for old witch, and noisy children are quieted with the words- 'hush, the *drut* will come!'<sup>2</sup> so that here she exactly fills the place of frau Holla or Berhta, and can the more appropriately be the ancient valkyr. An AS wood-maiden, named *Dhryð*, comes up in the Vita Offae secundi (supra, p 388) she is from France, where she had been sentenced to death for her crimes, exposed in a ship, and cast on the shore of Mercia. Here Offa saw the maiden passing fair, and married her, but she soon committed new transgressions. She is called 9<sup>a</sup> Drīda, 9<sup>b</sup> Petronilla, 15<sup>b</sup> Qvendrīda (ie, cwēn Thryð, conf Kemble's preface to Beow pp xxxv xxxvi, and Backstrom 1, 220 (see Suppl).

Beside the valkyrs named, there must have been many others, and the second section of the Sæmundaredda names several as lovers or wives of heroes. Such are *Svava*, *Sigrínn*, *Kára*, *Sigrún*, *Sigrdrífa*, who are expressly called valkyrjur, Sæm 142<sup>b</sup> 145<sup>b</sup> 157, 169 194. It also comes out, that they were of human origin, being daughters of kings, Svava of Eylm, Sigrínn of Svafnir, Sigrún of Hogni, Kára of Hálfdan, Sigrdrífa of Buðli, Svava was the lover of Helgi Hiorvarðsson, Sigrínn of Hiorvarðr, Sigrún of Helgi Hundingsbani, Kára of Helgi Haddingskaði, and Sigrdrífa, who is no other than Brynhildr, of Sigurðr. *Grímhildr* (helmet-maiden, p 238), and above all *Brynhildr*, *Prinhilt*, whose very name betokens the mail-clad Hildr, is superhuman her inaccessible hall stands on a mountain, like those of Veleda and Jetha (pp 95-6), it was a *schuldburg* (skjaldborg), where she herself, bound by the spell, slept under her shield, till Sigurðr released her. Then she prophesied to him, Sæm 194<sup>b</sup>, and before her death she prophesies again, 224 226<sup>b</sup>. Her hall was encircled with *fluckering flame*, 'oc var um sal hennar vafirlogi,' Sn 139 (see Suppl), as was also that of *Mengloð* (OHG Maniklata, ie, monli laetabunda), another valkyr salr er slúginn er visom vafirloga (Sæm 110<sup>a</sup>, conf

<sup>1</sup> Some people think Gerdrut, Gerdraut, an unchristian name. Frau Trude (Kinderm. 43).

<sup>2</sup> Flogel, gesch. des groteskekom. p 23

107<sup>a, b</sup>) Before this Mengloð, nine virgins kneel, sit, and sing sacrifice is offered to them all (111<sup>a</sup>), conf ch XXXVI Then *Vebrorg skuldmaer* appears in Fornald sog 1, 384 And *við Babehilt*, whom Dietrich finds at a fountain, *asleep* (as Sigurd found Brynhild), and who gives him healing salves, and foretells his fate (Ecke 151—160), must also be reckoned among norns or valkyrs The valkyrs bestowed on their favourites, as Staufenberger's lover did on him (p 419), victory and protection in battle (Sigrún hlífði honum opt síðan í orrostum, Sæm 142<sup>b</sup>), this relation is technically expressed by *veirja* (tuen 134<sup>a</sup>), they hide their heroes' ships (Svava 145<sup>a, b</sup>, Sigrún 153<sup>b</sup>). The above-mentioned Hildr too, the daughter of king Hogni (Hagene), was Heðin's betrothed The memory of these shield-maidens has filtered down even into modern folk-songs in Arvidsson 1, 189, *Keistun skoldmo* with her 8000 maids redeems her betrothed from captivity, at other times it is a sister that rescues her brother, by which is not meant a sister by birth, but a valkyr again, for these higher beings are everywhere called *sisters*, and fraternize with their protégés (Arvidsson 2, 120-1-2 Nyerup 4, 38-9) Now those women in our mediæval poetry, the sight of whom nerves to victory, whose name need only be uttered to bring them to one's side as quickly as a wish can be formed and accomplished, are evidently shield-women of this kind (see Suppl.)

Oðinn then admitted into his band of valkyrs mortal maidens of kingly race, deified women standing by the side of the deified heroes, yet I do not suppose that all valkyrs were of such lineage, but that the oldest and most famous were, like the norns, descended from gods or elves It is also worth noting, that Kâra and her Helgi were looked upon as a *second birth* of Svava and the elder Helgi, Sæm 148<sup>b</sup> 169 In the *Volundarqviða* three other valkyrs make their appearance together *Hlaðguðr svanhvít*, *Hervor alviti*, and *Olrún*, the first two being daughters of king Loðver, the third of Kiâr, they unite themselves to Slagfiðr, Volundr and Egill, live with them seven years, and then escape, 'at vitja víga,' to pursue their old trade of war again On the whole, it seems the union of these half-goddesses with heroes turned out detrimentally to both parties the heroes came to an early death or other harm, as Staufenberger's example teaches, and 'Sigrún varð skammlíf,' she grew scant of life, Sæm 169<sup>a</sup>. Perhaps we should be right in assuming that promotion to the valkyr's office took place under an



obligation of *virginity*,<sup>1</sup> which again reminds one of the Amazons. At all events, when Óðinn was angry with Sigrðífa for letting his favourite fall in battle,<sup>2</sup> he decreed that now she should be given in marriage, 'qvað hana giptaz scyldo,' Sæm 194<sup>a</sup>. Hlaðguðr, Hervor and Ólúnn had been carried off by the men forcibly and against their will (see Suppl.)<sup>3</sup> All these female names are descriptive. *Ólúnn* was discussed on p 404. *Hlaðguðr* is literally bellona stragis, *Hervor*, like the kindred Gunnvor, alludes to hosts and battles, the adj *alvitr* to the gift of prophecy, and *svanhvít* to the swan-shape. Saxo Gram 22-3 names another *Svanhvíta*, who has likewise much of the valkyr, is a seer of spirits, and presents a sword to Regner to seal their covenant. As for *Slagfiðr* (see p 380), I prefer to explain it not as Slagfinnr, though he is called a son of the Finnakonúng, but as *Slagfiðr* = alatus, pennatus, which goes better with Svanhvít his lover, and is supported by the OHG word slagifedara, penna.

How little we are entitled to separate the *norms* and *valkyrs* totally from one another, is taught by the tale of these three maidens also. Not to mention the prevalence among valkyrs as well as norms of the number three and sisterly companionship, nor Hervor's having the epithet *alvitr* (omniscia), which better fits a norm than a valkyr, it is said of all three, that they sat on the sea-beach *spinning* costly *flax*, nay, of the same 'all-witting' one (who is repeatedly called *únga*, as Skuld is in other places), that she was about to '*orlog drýgga*,' to dree a weird, Sæm 133<sup>a</sup> 134<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pompon Mela 3, 8 'Oraculi numinis Gallici antistites, *perpetuas* *virginitate* sanctae, numero *novem* esse traduntur. *Gallicenas* vocant, putantque ingenius singularibus praeditas maria ac ventos concitare, seque in quae velint animalia *vertere*, sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt, *scire ventura et praedicare*, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectas [i. profectis?]' The similarity of these nine sooth-telling gallicenae is unmistakable. Some read Galli Cenae, others Barigenae, conf Tzschucke, Not crit pp 159-163.

<sup>2</sup> NB against Óðinn's will, who could therefore be outwitted. destiny stood above the god.

<sup>3</sup> On p. 406 we saw wise-women represented as acquainted with *writing*, and as actually writing, it will be for similar reasons that valkyrs *embroider* and *paint*. The Vols saga cap 24 says of Brynhild 'hun sat i einni skemmu við meyrar sínar, hun kunni meira hagleik enn aðrar konur, hun lagði sinni borða með gulli, ok saumaði á þau stormerki, er Sigurðr hafði giort'. And in this chamber Sigurð comes to her. I place beside this the opening lines of a Swedish song

Sven Farling han rider till jungfruns gård,  
som *stickade* på silket det hvita

And this hero is identical with Sigurð.

The award of battle is one part of destiny, not only *norns*, but *valkyrs* also were imagined *spinning* and *weaving*. This is placed in the clearest light by the fearfully exciting poem in cap 158 of the *Njalssaga*. Through a crevice in the rock *Dorruðr* sees women sit singing over a *web*, at which human heads serve them for weights, entrails for warp and weft, swords for spools, and arrows for a comb in their weird song. they describe themselves as *valkyrjur*, and their web as intended for the spectator *Dorruðr*<sup>1</sup>. At length they tear up their work, mount their steeds, and *six* of them ride to the south, *six* to the north. Compare with this the *weaving* Wyrd of the AS poet (p 415). The parting of the maidens into two bands that ride in opposite directions, is like those nine in white and nine in black, who came riding up in succession (p 421).

I have set *norns* and *μοῖραι* side by side, with equal aptness a comparison can be drawn between *valkyrs* and *κῆρες* (without any verbal affinity, for no doubt the likeness is only an apparent one). the *κῆρ* too might be seen on the battlefield in bloody garments, tending the wounded, dragging away the dead. A *κῆρ* is allotted to the child as soon as it is born, Achilles had two *κῆρες* between whom he might choose, and Zeus put two in the balance, to decide the death of Hector or Achilles<sup>2</sup>. Hesiod (scut 249—254) makes the dingy white-toothed *κῆρες* contend over the fallen warriors, each throws her talons round the wounded man, eager to drink his blood, just as he ascribes talons and a thirst for blood to the *moirai* (p 414): a fresh confirmation of the identity of *norns* and *valkyrs*. The claws of the *moirai* and *kêres*, the wings of the *thriai*, point to their possession of a *bird's shape*. The later view [Hesiod's] brings into prominence the sinister side of the *kêres*.

## 5 SWAN-MAIDENS

But we have now to make out a new aspect of the *valkyrs*. We are told that they travel *through air and water*, 'riða lopt ok log,' *Sæm* 142<sup>b</sup> 159<sup>b</sup>, theirs is the power to fly and to swim, in other words, they can assume the body of a *swan*, they love to

<sup>1</sup> Sö at least we may understand 'vindum, vindum vef *Darraðar*,' even if the namc and the whole story first arose out of a 'vef *darraðar*,' web of the dart, conf AS *deoreð* (jaculum). We know that the *Sturlungasaga* contains a very similar narrative.

<sup>2</sup> Il 8, 70 9, 411 18, 535—540. 22, 210. 23, 79. 24, 82.

linger on the sea-shore, and the swan was considered a bird of *augury*<sup>1</sup> The Volundarvíða relates Three women sat on the shore, *spinning flax*, and had their *álftarhamr* (swan-shifts) by them, so that any moment they could fly away again as swans 'meyjar *flægo*,' and 'settuz at hvílaz á sævarstrond', one of them has even the surname of *svanhvít* (swanwhite), and wears swan's feathers (*svanfiaðrar trô*) In the Hrômundarsaga (Fornald sog 2, 375-6), the same *Kára*, who the Edda says was a second birth of Svava, appears as an enchantress in *swan-shift*, (*folkýngiskona í álfarham*), and hovers above the hero, singing<sup>2</sup> By her assistance Helgi had always conquered, but it happened in one fight, that he swung his sword too high in the air, and hewed off his lover's foot, she fell to the ground, and his luck was spent In Saxo Gram, p 100, Fridlevus hears up in the air at night 'sonum *trium olorum* superne clangentium,' who prophesy to him, and drop a girdle with runes on it Brynhildi is 'like the swan on the wave' (Fornald sog 1, 186) the simile betrays at the same time, that she had really the power of changing into the bird Many tales of *swan-wives* still live among the Norse people A young man saw *three swans* alight on the shore, lay their white bird-shifts in the grass, turn into beautiful maidens, and bathe in the water, then take their shifts again, and fly away in the shape of swans He lay in wait for them another time, and abstracted the garment of the youngest, she fell on her knees before him, and begged for it, but he took her home with him, and married her When seven years were gone by, he shewed her the shift he had kept concealed, she no sooner had it in her hand, than she *flew out as a swan* through the open window, and the sorrowing husband died soon after Afzelius 2, 143-5 On the other hand, the swan-hero forsakes his wife the moment she asks the forbidden question A peasant had a field, in which whatever he set was trampled down every year on St John's night Two years in succession he set his two eldest sons to watch in the field, at midnight they heard a hurtling in the air, which sent them into a deep sleep The next year the third son watched, and he saw *three maidens* come flying,

<sup>1</sup> Es *schwant* mir, it swans me = I have a boding The reference to the bird seems undeniable, for we also say in the same sense, es *wachsen* (there grow) mir *schwansfedern* (so already in Zesen's Simson) Conf the Eddic 'svanfiaðrar dró (wore)'.

<sup>2</sup> Rafn has chosen the reading *Lara*.

who laid their wings aside, and then danced up and down the field. He jumped up, fetched the wings away, and laid them under the stone on which he sat. When the maidens had danced till they were tired, they came to him, and asked for their wings, he declared, if one of them would stay and be his wife, the other two should have their wings back. From this point the story takes a turn, which is less within the province of the swan-wife myth, but it is worth noting, that one of the maidens offers her lover a drink of water out of a *golden pitcher*, exactly as elfins and wish-wives do elsewhere (pp 420, 326) Molbech no 49

These lovely swan-maidens must have been long known to German tradition. When they bathe in the cooling flood, they lay down on the bank the *swan-ring*, the *swan-shift*, who takes it from them, has them in his power<sup>1</sup>. Though we are not expressly told so, yet the *three prophetic merwomen* whose garments Hagene took away, are precisely such, it is said (Nib 1476, 1) by way of simile again

sie swebten sam die voegele ûf der fluot.

It is true, our epic names only two of them (the Danish story only one), the *wisu wîp*, *Hadbuc* and *Sigelint*,<sup>2</sup> but one of them begins to prophesy, and their garments are described as 'wunderlich,' 1478, 3. The myth of Volundr we meet with again in an OHG poem, which puts *doves* in the place of swans: three doves fly to a fountain, but when they touch the ground they turn into maidens, Wielant removes their clothes, and will not give them up till one of them consents to take him for her husband. In other tales as widely diffused, young men throw the shift, ring or chain over them, which turns them into *swans*<sup>3</sup>. When the resumption of human shape cannot be effected completely, the hero retains a *swan-wing*, evidence of the high antiquity of this detail lies in its connexion with the heroic legend of Scou or Sceáf (p 370), and it has found its way into modern pedigrees<sup>4</sup>. Especially impor-

<sup>1</sup> Musæus, Volksmarchen vol 3. The stolen veil

<sup>2</sup> There is a plant named, I suppose, from this Sigelint, Sumerl 22, 28 (conf 23, 19) has *cigelinta* fel draconis, and 53, 48 *cigelinde*, Graff 6, 145 has *sigelme*, see Sigel, Siglander in Schm 3, 214.

<sup>3</sup> Kinderm no 49. Deutsche sagen 2, 292-5. Adalb Kuhn p 164, the swan-chain

<sup>4</sup> Conf Deutsche sagen no. 540 'the *Schwanrings* of Plesse,' who carry a *swan's wing* and *ring* on their scutcheon. A doc of 1441 (Wolf's Norten no. 48) names a Johannes *Swaneflugel*, decretorum doctor, decanus ecclesiae majoris Hildesemensis. In a pamphlet of 1617 occurs the phrase 'to tear the *ring* and *mask* off this pseudonym'

tant, as placing in a clear light the exact relation of these swan-wives to the walkuren, is a statement about them in Altd bl 1 128 A nobleman hunting in a wild forest saw a maiden bathing in the river, he crept up and took away the gold chain on her hand, then she could not escape There was peculiar virtue in this chain, 'dor umme (on account of it) werden sulche frowen *wunschelwybere* genant.' He married her, and she had seven children at a birth, they all had gold rings about their necks, *ie*, like their mother, the power of assuming a swan-shape Swan-children then are *wish-children* In Gudrun, the prophetic angel comes over the sea-wave in the shape of a wild bird singing, *ie*, of a *swan*, and in Lohengrin a talking *swan* escorts the hero in his ship, in AS poetry *swanráð* (-road) passed current for the sea itself, and *alpiz*, *elfet*, *álp* (cygnus) is akin to the name of the ghostly alp, *elf* (see Suppl.)

We hear tell of a *swan* that swims on the lake in a hollow mountain, holding a *ring* in his bill if he lets it fall, the earth comes to an end<sup>1</sup> On the Urðarbrunnr itself two *swans* are maintained (Sn 20), another story of a soothsaying *swan* is communicated by Kuhn, p 67, from the Mittelmark. A young man metamorphosed into a swan is implied in the familiar Westphalian nursery-rhyme

swane, swane, pek up de nesen,  
wannehr bistu krieger wesen (wast a warrior)?

Another, of Achen, says

krune kiane, wisse schwane,  
we wel met nob Engeland fahre?

And the name Sæfugel in the AS genealogies seems to indicate a swan-hero

The spinner Berhta, the *goose-footed*<sup>2</sup> queen, may fairly suggest swan-maidens (p 280).<sup>3</sup> If those prophetic 'gallicenae' were able

<sup>1</sup> Gottschalk's Sagen, Halle 1814, p 227

<sup>2</sup> The pentagram was a Pythagorean symbol, but also a Druidic, as it goes by the name of elf's foot, elf's cross, goblin-foot, and resembles a pair of goose-feet or swan-feet, semi-divine and elvish beings are again brought together in this emblem, the valkyr Thruð is next door to a swan-maiden, and Staufenberger's lover likewise had such a foot

<sup>3</sup> The beautiful story of the Good Woman, publ in Haupts zeitschr 2, 350, is very acceptable as shewing yet another way in which this fairy being got linked with the hero-legend of the Karlings The two children born on one day at paske floure, and brought up in mutual love (77—87), are clearly identical with *Flore* and *Blanchefleur*, for these also are not real names, but

to assume what animal shapes they pleased, why, then the Celts too seem to have known about swan-metamorphosis in very early times, so that in French fay-legends we may supply the omissions, *e.g.*, in Méon 3, 412

en la fontaine se baignoient  
trois puceles preuz et senées,  
qui de biaute senbloient fées .  
lor robes a tout lor chemises  
orent desoz une arbre mises  
du bout de la fontaine en haut

puceles senées 3, 419 bien euréés 418 la plus mestre 413-5  
The shifts were stolen, and the maidens detained In the Lai du Desiré the knight espies in the forest a swan-maiden without her wimple (sans gumple) The wimple of the white-robed fay answers to the swan-shift.

## 6. WOOD-WIVES

We have seen that the wish-wives appear on pools and lakes in the *depth of the forest*. it is because they are likewise *wood-wives*, and under this character they suggest further reflections. The old sacred forest seems their favourite abode as the gods sat throned in the groves, on the trees, the wise-women of their train and escort would seek the same haunts Did not the Gothic aliorunas dwell in the woodland among wood-sprites? Was not Veleda's tower placed on a rock, that is, in the woods? The Volundarqviða opens with the words

meyjar flugo sunnan *Myrkvið* igognom,

invented in fairy-tale fashion, to suit the name of their daughter *Berhta*, the bright, white Berhta marries Pepin, and gives birth to *Charlemagne*, in the *Garin le Loherain*, Pepin's wife is said to be *Blanchefleur* of Moriane, but in the story now in question she is the unnamed daughter of count Ruprecht of Barria (Robert of Berry), spoken of simply as *du quote frouwe* (162 1130), *du quote* (1575), *la bone dame* (3022), conf bonadea, bonasocia, p 283, her husband, who steps into the place of the childless last king (Merovingian), is *Karelman* (3020), and the only name that can suit herself is *Berte*, already contained in that of her father Ruodbert The children of this pair are 'Pepin der kleine (little)' and 'Karle der mërre (greater)' The events in the middle part of the story are quite other (more fully unfolded, if not more pleasing, than those told of Flore and Blanchefleur, but we plainly perceive how on the new Karling race in the freshness of its bloom were grafted older heathen myths of the swan-wife, of the good wife (p 253), of the mild woman (p 280), of the bona socia (p 283), and of the bonne dame (p 287), Conf Sommer's pref to Flore xxvi xxvii xxxii.

maids flew from south through murky wood to the seashore, there they tarried seven years, till they grew homesick .

meyjar fýstoz á myrkvan víð,

they could resist no longer, and returned to the sombre wood  
Almost all swan-maidens are met with *in the forest* The *seven years* agree with those of the Swedish story on p 427<sup>1</sup>

As *Sigrún*, *Sigrúnfa*, *Sigrún* are names of valkyrs, and our epic still calls one of the wise-women *Sigelin*, I believe that the OHG *siguwîp*, AS *sigewîf*, ON *sigirîf*, was a general designation of all wise-women, for which I can produce an AS spell communicated to me by Kemble

sitte ge *sigewîf*, sigað tō eorðan !  
næfre ge wilde (I wille) tō *wuda fleogan* !  
beo ge swā gemyndige mīnes gōdes,  
swā bið manna-gehwylc metes and ēðeles<sup>2</sup>

Like norns, they are invited to the house with promise of gifts

On this point we will consider a passage in Saxo, where he is unmistakably speaking of valkyrs, though, as his manner is, he avoids the vernacular term In his account of Hother and Balder, which altogether differs so much from that of the Edda, he says, p 39 Hotherus inter venandum errore nebulae perductus in quoddam *silvestrium virginum conclave* incidit, a quibus proprio nomine salutatus, 'quaenam essent' perquirat Illae *suis ductibus auspiciisque* maxime *bellorum fortunam* gubernari testantur saepe enim se *nemini conspicuas proclius interesse, clandestinisque subsidius optatos amicus praebere successus* quippe conciliare prospera, adversa infligere posse prohibitu memorabant After bestowing their advice on him, the maidens with their house (aedes, conclave) vanish before Hother's eyes (see Suppl) Further on, p 42 At Hotherus extrema locorum devia pervagatus, insuetumque mortalibus *nemus* emensus, *ignotis* forte *virginibus* habitatum reperit *specum* easdem esse constabat, quae eum insecabili veste quondam donaverant They now give him more counsel, and are called *nymphae*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Wallachian marchen 201, three wood-wives bathing have their crowns taken from them

<sup>2</sup> Sedete bellonae, descendite ad terram, nolite in silvam volare ! Tam memores estote fortunae meae, quam est hominum quilibet cibi atque patriae

<sup>3</sup> Three other nymphs appear directly after, and prepare enchanted food for Balder with the spittle of snakes, p 43. A '*femina silvestris et immanis*' is also mentioned by Saxo p 125.

This seems no modern distorted view, to imagine the maids of war, that dwelt in Oðin's heavenly company, that traversed air and flood, as likewise haunting the *woodland cave*, therefore Saxo was right to call them *silvestres*, and to place their chamber, their cave, in the forest

The older stages of our language supply some similar expressions, in which I recognise the idea of *wisewood-wives*, not of mere elvish wood-sprites. They are called *wildru wîp*, and the Trad fuld, p 541, speak of a place 'ad domum *wildero wîbo*' Burcard of Worms, p 198<sup>d</sup>, mentions '*agrestes feminas quas silvaticas vocant, et quando voluerint ostendunt se suis amatoribus, et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse, et item quando voluerint abscondunt se et evanescent*' This 'quando voluerint' seems to express the notion of wish-life. Meister Alexander, a poet of the 13th century, sings (str 139, p 143<sup>b</sup>) 'nû gênt sî vur in (go they before him) uber gras in *wilder wîbe wæte* (weeds)' So 'von einem *wilden wîbe* ist Wate arzet,' is (i.e. has learnt to be) physician, Gudr 2117, 'das *wilde frouwelîn*,' Ecke 189. In the Gl monst 335, *wildaz wîp* stands for lamia, and 333 *wildru wîp* for ululae, funereal birds, death-boding wives, still called in later times *klagefrauen*, *klagemutter*, and resembling the prophetic Berhta (p 280). In groves, on trees, there appeared *dominae, matronae, puellae* clothed in white (pp 287-8), distinguishable from the more elvish tree-wife or dryad, whose life is bound up with that of the tree. The Vicentina Germans worship a *wood-wife*, chiefly between Christmas and Twelfthday: the women spin flax from the distaff, and *throw it in the fire* to propitiate her.<sup>1</sup> she is every bit like Holda and Berhta. As three bunches of corn are left standing at harvest-time for Wuotan and frau Gaue, so to this day in the Frankenwald they leave *three handfuls of flax lying on the field* for the *holzweibel* (wood-wives, Jul Schmidt's Reichenfels, p 147), a remnant of older higher worship. Between Leidhecken and Dauernheim in the Wetterau stands the high mountain, and on it a stone, *der welle fra gestol* (the wild woman's chairs), there is an impression on the rock, as of the limbs of human sitters. The people say the *wild folk* lived there 'wei di-schtan noch mell warn,' while the stones were still soft, afterwards, being persecuted, the man ran away, the wife and child remained in custody at Dauernheim until they died. Folk-songs

<sup>1</sup> Deutsche sagen no 150.



make the huntsman in the wood start a dark-brown maid, and hail her 'whither away, *wild beast*?' (Wunderhorn 2, 154), but his mother did not take to the bride, just as in the tale of the swan-children. We find a more pleasing description in the Spanish ballad *De la infantina* (Silva p 259) a huntsman stands under a lofty oak

En una rama mas alta viera estar una *infantina*,  
cabellos de su cabeza todo aquel roble cobrian  
'*siete fadas* (7 fays) me fadaron en brazos de una ama mia,  
que andasse los siete años sola en esta montina'

But the knight wants first to take his mother's opinion, and she refuses her consent. When *Wolfdieterich* sits by a fire in the forest at night, *rauhe Els* comes up, the *shaggy woman*, and carries off the hero to her own country,<sup>1</sup> where she is a queen and lives on a high rock at length, bathing in the *jungbrunnen*, she lays aside her hairy covering, and is named *Sigemünne*, 'the fairest above all lands'<sup>2</sup>—Synonymous with 'wildaz wîp' the glosses have *holzmuoja* (*lamia* and *ulula*), she who wails or moos in the wood, *holzfiowe* (*lamia*) Altd bl 2, 195, *holzrüna* (Gl mons 335 Doc 219<sup>b</sup>) meaning the same, but suggestive of that Gothic *ahorumna*, AS *burgrüne*, and the ON *Sigrún* (see Suppl.)<sup>3</sup>

## 7 MENNI, MERIMANNI

One general name for such beings must from very early times have been *menni*, *munni*, it is connected with *man* (*homo*), and with the ON *man* (*virgo*), but it occurs only in compounds *merimanni* (neut.), pl *merimanniu*, translates *sirena* or *scylla* (*Reda umbe diu tier*, in Hoffm fundgr 19, 18), *meriminni*, Gl Doc 225<sup>a</sup> mons 333. In the 13th century poets, *merminne* is equivalent to *merwîp*, *merfrouwe*, yet also to *wildez wîp* 'diu wise *merminne*,' Diut 1, 38 'gottinpe oder *merminne*, die sterben niht enmohten (could not die),' Eneit 8860. In the *Wigamûr* 112. 200 227 seq.,

<sup>1</sup> Called *Troje*, conf Ecker 81; and *Elsentroje*, Deutsche heldensage 198 211 (see Suppl.)

<sup>2</sup> In the *Wolfdietr* (Dresd MS. 290—7), twelve goddesses go to a mountain, fetch the hero to them, and tend him, the loveliest wants him for a husband. These beings are more wise-women than elves.

<sup>3</sup> As the *Xápires* (Graces) and fays *spin* and *weave*, so do the wild women also 'mit wilder wibe henden geworht,' Ulr. Lanz. 4826, *πεπλος ὅν χάριτες κάμουν αὐταί*, Il 5, 338 (see Suppl.)

there appears a *wildez wîp*, who dwells in a hollow rock of the sea, and is indifferently termed *meruîp* 168 338, *merfrouwe* 134, and *merminne* 350 AS *merewîf*, Beow 3037 M Dutch *maerminne* Those three *wîsu wîp* of the Nibelungen are also called *merwîp* 1475, 1 1479, 1, they foretell and forewarn; then having individual names would of itself put them on a par with the Norse valkyrs *Hadburt*, *Sigelint* The third, whose name the poem omits (p 428), is addressed by Hagne as 'aller wîseste wîp' 1483, 4 Wittich's ancestress (p 376) is named frouwe *Wâchalt*, as if Wave-Hilde, she is a *merminne*, and says sooth to the hero, Râb 964—974 Morolt also has an aunt a *merminne* who lives in mount *Elsabé* and rules over dwarfs, her name is not given, but that of her son is Madelgêr, and she likewise gives wise advice to Morolt, Mor 40<sup>b</sup> 41<sup>a</sup> The *merminne* in Ulrich's *Lanzelet* (lines 196 seq) is said to be *wîs* (5751 6182), she has under her 10,000 *unmarried* women (*derne kenne bekande man noch mannes gezoc*), they dwell on a mountain by the sea, in an ever-blooming land. In the Apollonius, a benevolent *merminne* is queen of the sea (lines 5160 5294), here the poet had in his mind a siren in the classical sense, but the Germans must have had a *merminne* before they ever heard of sirens The Danish name is *maremind* (*Danske viser* 1, 118 125) Norse legend has preserved for us a precisely corresponding male being, the taciturn prophetic *marmennill* (al *marmendill*, *marbendill*), who is fished up out of the sea, and requires to be let go into it again, *Hålfssaga* c 7 (*Fornald sog* 2, 31—33), and *Isl sog* 1, 33 (*Landn* 2, 5)<sup>1</sup> From him coral is named *marmennils smíðr*, he cunningly wrought it in the sea. At a later time the word *merfei* was used in Germany. that lover of Staufenberger, whom he found in the forest, and the Fair Melusina (possibly even a tradition of ancient Gaul), are precisely the fairy being that had previously been called *mermenn*<sup>2</sup> —But, similar to the merminne, there was also a *waltminne*, which word equally stands for lamia in old glosses (*Diut* 3, 276) *Sigeminne*, whether the baptized Rauch-els, Wolfdieterich's lover (p 433), or the wife of Hugdieterich,<sup>3</sup> may with perfect right be

<sup>1</sup> Marmennill is extremely like the Greek Proteus, who is also reluctant at first to prophesy, *Od* 4, 385 seq. There may have been Proteus-like stories current of our Baldander and Vilander, p 172 (see Suppl.)

<sup>2</sup> Yet *merfeine* occurs already in *Diut* 1, 38, *wasserfeine* (*Oberl. sub v.*), and even *merfein*, *MS* 2, 63<sup>a</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche heldensage* pp 185. 200-1

regarded as a *waltminne* or *merminne*<sup>1</sup> In the Vilk saga cap 17 I find *sækona* used of the woman whom Vilkinus found *in the wood*, and who bore him Vadi Saxo Gram, p 15, speaks of a *tugurium silvestris immanisque feminae* (see Suppl.)

By this array of authorities it is proved to satisfaction, that the *wildaz wíp* or *menni, minni* was thought of as a higher, superhuman being, such as can be placed at the side of the Scandinavian *norn* and *valkyr* But in the scanty remains of our tradition the names stand woefully bare, finer distinctions are inevitably lost, and in more than one place the boundary-lines between gods, demigods, elves and giants cross one another Equally with noins and *valkyris* (pp 413-9 425), we have goddesses spinning and weaving, as Holda, Berhta, Freyja, and even giantesses, as we shall see by and by

Among the figures in the Greek and Teutonic mythologies, we have placed side by side the *νύμφαι* and *ιδισί*, the *μοῖραι* and *nornir*, the *κῆρες* and *valkymior* But several isolated names might be compared in the same way, as for instance, *Νίκη* or Victoria with some Sigrún or Sigdrífa, 'Eris and 'Ennó or Bellona with a Hildr and Gunnr Eris, like Iris, is sent forth on an errand by Zeus (II 11, 3), as Skogul or Gondul by Óðinn I often find these Grecian figures in attendance on individual gods in II 5, 333 *πτολίπορθος* 'Ennó goes with Athene, in 5, 592 *πότνι* 'Ennó with

<sup>1</sup> A Leyden parchm MS of the 13th century contains the following legend of Charles the Great *Aquisgran dicitur Ays (Aix), et dicitur eo quod Karolus tenebat ibi quandam mulierem fatatam, sive quandam fatam, que alio nomine nimpha vel dea vel adriades (l dryas) appellatur, et ad hanc consuetudinem habebat et eam cognoscebat, et ita erat, quod ipso accedente ad eam vivebat ipsa, ipso Karolo recedente moriebatur* *Caroli tunc quidam vice ad ipsam accessisset et cum ea delectaretur, radius solis in faciem eius, et tunc Karolus vidit granum aure lingue ejus affixum, quod fecit abscondi, et contingenti (l in continent) mortua est, nec postea revixit* The grain of gold, on which the spell hung, is evidently to explain the name of the city later tradition (Petrarcha epist iam 1, 3 Aretin's legend of Charlem p 89) has instead of it a ring, which archbishop Turpin removes from the mouth of the corpse, and throws into a lake near Aachen, this lake then attracts the king, and that is why he made the town his favourite residence There is no further mention of the maiden's fairy existence It was a popular belief (applied to the Frankish king and gradually distorted) about the union of a wild-woman or mermaid with a christian hero Not very differently was Charles's ancestress Berhta, as we saw above (p 430), made into a 'good woman,' i.e a fay [The similarity of names in the heroic line Pepin of Herstal, Charles Martel, Pepin the Little, Charles the Great, seems to have made it doubtful whether Berhta was Charles's mother or his great-grandmother]

Ares, in 4, 440 and 5, 518 "Ερις ἄμοτον μεμανῖα with Ares, who is also followed by Δείμος and Φόβος (p 207-8) And lastly, the Charites are nearly allied, and there was supposed to be a special Charis of victory Still nearer to our wood-wives stand particular classes of nymphs, especially those whom Theocritus 5, 17 names τὰς λιμνάδας νύμφας, or those called νύμφαι ἀκοίμητοι, δειναὶ θεαὶ ἀγροιώταις 13, 44 The graceful myth of swan-wives appears indeed to be unknown to the Greeks and Romans, while we Teutons have it in common with the Celts, yet a trace of it remains in the story of Zeus and Leda (p 338), and in the swan's prophetic song, as in the Indian Nalus too the gold-bedizened swan (hansa = anser, goose) finds human speech (Bopp's ed pp 6 7)

The Slavs have not developed any idea of goddesses of fate<sup>1</sup> The beautiful fiction of the *vila* is peculiar to Servian mythology she is a being half fay, half elf, whose name even resembles that of the vala The relation of valkyrs to christian heroes is suggested by the *fraternal bond* between the vila and Marko (Vuk 2, 98 232 Danitza for 1826, p 108), as also by the vilas appearing singly, having proper names, and prophesying In some things they come nearer the German elfins of our next chapter they live on hills, love the song and the round dance (Ir elfenm lxxxii), they mount up in the air and discharge fatal arrows at men. 'ustrièlila ga vila,' the vila has shot him with her shaft Their cry in the wood is like the sound of the woodpecker hacking, and is expressed by the word 'klikatı'. The vila has a right to the child whom his mother in heedless language (diavo ye odniyo!) has consigned to the devil (Vuk no 394), as in similar cases the wolf or bear fetches him away Vile te odnele! (vilae te auferant) is a curse (Vuks sprichw p 36), 'kad dot'u vile k otchim' (quando vilae ante oculos veniunt) signifies the moment of extreme distress and danger (ibid 117) The vila rides a seven-year old stag, and bridles him with snakes, like the Norse enchantresses (see Suppl).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Bohem sudice translates *parca*, but it simply means judge (fem) the Russians even adopt the word *parka* We must at least notice the *luchopier* in Hanka's Glosses 21<sup>a</sup>, who are said to be *three*, like the sirens and mermaids

<sup>2</sup> The Bulgarian *samodiva* or *samovila* corresponds to the Servian vila When the wounded Pomák cries to his 'sister' samodiva, she comes and cures him The samodivy carry off children, and mischief wrought by the

elements, by storms, &c, is ascribed to them. Like the Fates, they begift the newborn: three samodivy visit the infant Jesus, one sews him a shirt, another knits him a band, and the third trims a cap for him. Some stories about them closely resemble those of the swan-maids. Stoyán finds three samodivy bathing, removes their clothes, restores those of the two eldest, but takes the youngest (Majyka) home, and marries her. St John christens her first child, and asks her to dance as do the samodivy. But she cannot without her 'samodivski drékhí,' Stoyán produces them, she flies away, bathes in the móminski fountain, and recovers her móminstvo (virginity) —TRANS

END OF VOL I